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# ZAFAR UL WĀLIH BI MUZAFFAR WA ĀL

## AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARAT

Vol. I

# ZAFAR UL WĀLIH BI MUZAFFAR WA ĀLIHI

AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARAT

( English Translation )

Vol. I

By

ABDULLĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-MAKKI AL-ĀṢAFI
AL-ULUGHKHĀNI ḤĀJJI AD-DABIR

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## FOREWORD

Zafar-ul-Walih or the book which is otherwise known as the Arabic History of Gujarat found by Sir Denison Ross in a pile of books in the Madresa Library at Calcutta is a very important history on Gujarat. Sir Denison Ross was so elated with joy when he found it that he devoted twenty-five years of his precious life to editing and publishing this book. The book deserves the attention because it contains very valuable information not to be found in other books on Gujarat history such as Mirat-i-Sikandari and Mirat-i-Ahmadi. The author Hajji Dabir writes in his book that "Gujarat has some special features of its own which Hind in spite of its vastness does not possess. In whatever direction you cast a glance, you will behold in plenty three things which drive away grief and sadness, *viz.*, water, verdure and beautiful.... ". Again, the book is important because we find in it an account of advent of the Turks and Abyssinians who ultimately rose to power and played the role of king-makers. He mentions the name of very prominent scholars and learned savants who gravitated to Gujarat because of munificent patronage of the Sultans. Gujarat had its navy and Div was very prosperous port where a number of ships anchored with merchandise. Gujarat had a very large army even when Akbar made his inroads in it. Description of such facts are not found in other histories. On perusal of this book, students of Gujarat History will find material in it which they had not hitherto found in other books on history. It is not merely a political but a social and literary history.

Thus looking to its importance as a history of Gujarat the Oriental Institute undertook to get this book translated from Arabic language into English. It is a matter of satisfaction that Shri M. F. Lokhandwala, an able scholar and experienced teacher of Persian and Urdu, has translated the whole text, and I am glad to put the First Volume of the same before the world of scholars. The Second Volume will be published at an early opportunity.

I take this opportunity to thank University Grants Commission and the Government of Gujarat for giving full financial aid towards the publication of this volume.

Oriental Institute, Baroda
July 31, 1970.

B. J. SANDESARA.
Director

## INTRODUCTION

"Zafar ul Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Ālihi" of Hājji ud-Dabir was given to me for translation into English by the Director of the Oriental Institute of the Maharaja Sayaji Rao University, Baroda. Somehow or other, I did not like this work of translation so I passed it on to an Arabic Scholar well versed in theology but he hardly did thirty, forty pages when he returned it to me either for want of time or lack of interest in history. I then gave it to a scholar of Arabic literature who also kept the book to himself for some time and then returned it to me being a man of literary rather than historical taste. The book seemed to be attracted towards me as it was with that great scholar Sir Denison Ross with whom it remained for quarter of a century. Willy milly, I had to undertake its translation. To write an original book with no strings is much better and easier than to translate a book from one language into another. It is tedious and uninteresting. A translator has to enter into the very spirit of what the original writer wants to convey. Again the beauty of language in the original book is difficult to be retained in translation. Certain words and phrases in language of the original book cannot be appropriately translated and so the translator has to face a serious difficulty for their equivalents in the language.

The author Hājji ud-Dabir has translated his book into Arabic from histories written in the Persian language such as Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣeri, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi, Ṭabakat-i-Bahādur Shāhi, Tuḥfat-us-Sādāt, Akbarnāma etc. At some places, he has translated the passages in a haphazard manner. Some of the beautiful passages written in elegant and eloquent Persian has been rendered by him into Arabic in ordinary language and so the beauty of the original Persian pieces is lost while some ordinary passages have been translated into elegant Arabic by him. Again, the author has narrated events, particularly in the Second Daftar, without maintaining continuity as it deals with the history of Hindustan. Here his translation becomes clumsy and confused. His sole aim was to write the history of Gujarat where he is very clear. He has given an account of the history of Hindustan and other places and countries as he was interested in the establishment of Muslim power in any part of the world.

The book has been translated by me with care and diligence even though some misprints have crept in the book edited by Sir Denison Ross who has written an excellent introduction to it. I have not touched upon those topics which he has dealt with in his exhaustive introduction but I wrote out some notes which, I think, would be of interest to the reader. I request the reader

to read the translation taking my difficulties into consideration and connive at mistakes detected in it with toleration.

As the book is out of print and its copies are not available in the market, we are very grateful to the Superintendent of Records Office, Baroda for lending it to us whenever we needed it.

M. F. LOKHANDWALA

## CONTENTS

## LIFE OF ḤĀJJI DABIR

The full name of our historian was 'Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Makki al-Āsafi, al-Ulughkhāni, Ḥājji ud-Dabir. He was the son of Siraj ud-Din 'Umar an-Naharwāli, son of Kamāl ud-Din Muḥammad, son of Farid ud-Din Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan, son of Kāsim. He was born in the holy city of Makka in A.H. 946 ( 1539 A.C. ). It was in A.H. 962 ( 1554 ) that he first came to India, lived with his father Sirāj ud-Din in Aḥmadabad and entered, three years later, into the service of Muḥammad Ulugh Khān, an eminent Abyssian noble and general in Gujarat in the capacity of a dabir ( a scribe ). Muḥammad Ulugh Khān was then himself in the employ of 'Imād ul-Mulk. 'Imād ul-Mulk and I'timād Khān quarrelled in 966 ( 1558 ). Muḥammad Ulugh Khān, therefore, left 'Imād ul-Mulk and went over to the side of I'timād Khān. Our author left the service of Muḥammad Ulugh Khān for some time but he came over to him after a short while. In 967 ( 1559 ), he took part in the Battle of Baroda where he showed his mettle, whereupon, his master in appreciation of his services assigned to him the two villages of Biskar and 'Ālampur near Baroda. In 980 ( 1572 ), the Mughal Emperor Akbar conqured Aḥmadābād. Muḥammad Ulugh Khān, the master of our author, was made a captive. Our author fell on evil days. He lost his job and remained unemployed for some time. Akbar continued the religious endowments ( wakfs ) as they were during the regime of Muḥammad. Akbar appointed the author's father, Sirāj ud-Din as an administrator of wakfs dedicated to Mekka and Madina. Our author was assigned the duty to carry wakf money to Hijaz and distribute it among poor and needy persons. But his father died in 1576 and so our author's services terminated. Our author decided to renounce the world and lead life as a recluse. But to his surprise, some of his friends recommended him to 'Abd un-Nabi, administrator of wakfs who employed him in his former capacity. He embarked the ship, travelled via Hormuz and reached Makka exactly after a year. In 983 ( 1575-76 ), he returned to India and served Sayf-ul-Mulk in Khāndesh till the noble died. After his death, our author gave his services to Fulād Khān in the Dekkan. Fulād Khān died in 1014 ( 1605-6 ). He attended his funeral. Now we hear no more about the author.

The author has given an interesting and graphic account of his family in the course of his history. His father's name was Siraj ud-Din 'Umar. He was born in Anhilwād-Pattan in the early part of the sixteenth century of the Christian era. His ancestors originally belonged to Persia. During the Mongol invasion in the 13th century, many eminent men and scholars fled to different parts of the Muslim world for safety and security. During this exodus, his fore-

fathers migrated from Persia to Multān and Sind. On Timur's entry into Delhi in 1398, one of Sirajud Din's ancestors Mawlānā Kāsim fled to Gujarat, which enjoyed peace and prosperity under Zafar Khān, the founder of the Muzaffari Dynasty, with a number of relatives and settled in Pattan. Some of them lived in surrounding places. One of Mawlānā Kāsim's descendants was Mawlānā Aḥmad better known as Makhdum Badā, who in early childhood evinced a great love of learning. But the teacher under whom he studied was a man of strange nature. He did not lend books to his pupils to copy. Aḥmad swore that if God gave him knowledge, he would liberally lend his books to others. When he finished his education and became an accomplished scholar, he placed his library at the disposal of his pupils. All his books were written half in his own hand and half in the hand of his brother Isḥāk. This practice of copying books continued in his family so that the number of books, during the regime of Sultān Maḥmud, the Martyr were more than five hundred. During Maḥmud's reign, his father Sirajud Din lived in Makka. One of his aunt's daughter was married to 'Abdul-Kādir, al-Bimbāni al-'Abbāsi. He was a Police Officer. She had three children of the marriage. When the Police Officer died, his widow and children were reduced to extreme poverty. To maintain herself and children, she sold the books which the author's uncle Farid had inherited from his ancestor Isḥāk and his descendants. His uncle lived in retirement from the world. He never left the masjid till after the last evening prayer and his aunt took no objection to selling of books due to monetary difficulties. Thus all books were disposed of except the Holy Kurān with marginal notes and two other books which the author had taken for himself. When he first came to India with his father in 1555 he became acquainted with his uncle Farid and his grandmother who was then over a hundred years of age. He had the Kurān still with him. He also took at the same time a copy of the 'Wāfi fin Naḥw' with commentary bearing the endorsement of Jamāl ud-Din Muḥammad al-'Aidrus and a copy of the 'Munyat ul-Muṣalli' in the writing of his father's aunt, with a commentary in various hands. This last book he lent to Shaykh 'Abdul Fattāh who never returned it.

He continues: My father studied under his father and his uncle—and his home was the home of Theory and Practice—even the women read and wrote and the offices of mufti (one who pronounces a religious decree), mudarris (teacher) and Kāḍi (magistrate) in Aḥmadābād remained in our family till the end of the Muzaffari rule.

In the reign of Sultān Muzaffar the Second (1511-1525), a certain noble named Ḥāmid-ul-Mulk arrived in Pattan, and becoming acquainted with the father of Sirāj ud-Din, said he desired that his son 'Aziz should become life-long friends with Sirāj ud-Din, his Wakil or major domo. Of this Āsaf Khān we know very little. He was a most remarkable man and certainly deserves a

more prominent place in history than has hitherto been accorded to him. He was, however, sufficiently famous in his own day to cause that well-known author Ibn-i-Hajar al-Haythami to devote a monograph to him, entitled "Riyāḍ-ur-Riḍwān" which is reproduced in its entirety by our author in the book with a running commentary.

Āsaf Khān claimed descent from Jām Nanda, King of Sind in the middle of the 15th century. He was born in 1503. We first hear of him in 1530 when he led an expedition against Wagher. In the reign of Bahādur, he became grand Vazir to that Sultān.

In 1535, when the relations between Humāyun and Bahādur which had hitherto been friendly, became strained and it seemed likely that war would break out between the two rulers, Bahādur took the precaution of sending his harem and his treasures away to Makka, in charge of Āsaf Khān, who took along with him all his own household and his major domo Sirāj ud-Din, our author's father.

In the war which ensued Bahādur received a crushing defeat at the hands of Humāyun and lost all his possessions, only to recover them again in the following year, thanks to the vacillating tactics of the Mughal Emperor, who never understood how to follow up a victory. Very shortly after the recovery of his kingdom Bahādur was drowned in a scuffle with the Portuguese at Div (1536 A C.)

After the death of Bahādur, his harem and treasure continued in Makka mainly under the charge of Sirāj ud-Din; for Āsaf Khān seems to have spent much of his time travelling in Egypt and Turkey.

Now when news reached Egypt that Bahādur Shāh was dead, Khusraw Pāshā,—the ruler of Egypt, the Hejaz and Yemen on behalf of the Ottoman Sultān—despatched an envoy to the Amin of Jeddah with orders to search and confiscate Bahādur's harem and belongings and place his seal upon them. On hearing of his, Āsaf Khān, who happened to be in Egypt, used all his influence to have this order cancelled, and he sent a letter by the same envoy to Siraj ud-Din saying: "Following on this, such and such order will arrive by the Sherif's messenger cancelling the order brought by the envoy."

Our author continues the narrative as he heard it in his father's own words: When the news of the Pasha's design and of the arrival of the Amin in Makka reached us, we were all greatly alarmed. For though we were sufficiently strong to resist the governor of Makka, we could do nothing against the Amin of Jeddah. And when we had made up our minds that the seizure would take place on the morrow, we commended ourselves to God's care; and the women, preferring death to capture, washed, clothed and perfumed themselves, and

gave what they were able in charity. While the chief of the harem, Malik Firuz, sharpened their blades for them. The whole of Bahādur's household spent the night in fear and trembling, not knowing what the morning might have in store for them.

Now on that same night all the grandees of Makka happened to be assembled in the house of Abu Bakā as-Sukkari, who was giving a party in his son's honour. This house was next to the Khān's house, and we were all invited to the party; but we excused ourselves on account of the state of anxiety we were in. We spent the night, however, in the court-yard which was at the gate of Khān's house.

Now the Egyptian messengers used to arrive in the early morning, and the road they took passed in front of this verandah; and when dawn broke, I was sitting at the end of the courtyard, and whenever a rider passed I called out to him by the name of the Khān had mentioned in his letter. And each passed on until at last one rider answered 'na'am' (yes), and then asked me, "Are you so-and-so?" to which I replied, "I am", whereupon he drew rein and handed me a sealed packet and then rode on again. I fell on my knees in thankfulness to God, and then withdrew to peruse the Khān's letter. As the letter was in Turkish I sent for one of Khān's confidential attendants, who was a Turk, to translate it to me, and it turned out to be the cancellation of the orders issued by the Amin. The Turk was an excellent fellow and though he was probably capable of keeping a secret, I thought it better to be on the safe side, and so gave him something to occupy him in my house, while I myself went to the women's quarters and told the good news to Malik Firuz and asked him to communicate it to the ladies. I next sent for the head butler (sharbatdār) and ordered him to bring out a hundred trays of Indian sweets and preserved fruits, I then returned to the courtyard, where I found several of our people.

When the trays were brought out, I sent forty of them to the guests at the party next door, and a like number to Malik Firuz and the leading men of Bahādur's suite, who had spent the night, hovering between life and death; while I sat down with my friends to enjoy the remaining trays. Two of them, however, I sent to that virtual prisoner, the Turk.

The guests at the party were amazed at the arrival of trays of sweets; and one of them said: "Thus does despair of enjoying a thing lower its price—even though it be precious." By this he implied that everything that we possessed would be seized by the Amin in the morning.

To make a long story short, after morning prayers we were summoned to the Amin's court (majlis) in the Masjid at the gate of Ṣafā, where we found assembled the Turkish officials and the chief men of Makka.

First of all the Amin's letter was read out, then the Amin turned to me as if to ask my permission to take action in the orders therein contained. Whereupon I rose and handed to him the letter I had received. This he took from me with evident disapproval of my audacity in handing him a letter; but when he examined it and recognized the hand-writing, he rose out of respect of the writer and read its contents. And behold! it was a cancellation of the orders he had himself received.

He then handed my letter to the Chief Kāḍi and the Amin-ul-Bait who were both amazed. After some discussion among the notables and imāms, the Kāḍi mounted the pulpit and read out the second letter, mentioning the date it bore, and when he had descended from the pulpit again the majlis terminated.

*Āsaf Khān's return to India:*

In 955 (1548) our author being about eight years of age, Āsaf Khān returned to India, leaving Sirāj ud-Din in Makka. And the reason of Āsaf Khān's return was that at this time Gujarat had fallen into a state of disorder and confusion owing to the independence and insubordination of the foreign nobles and mercenary captains. The then Sultān Maḥmud III and his councillors felt that nothing short of a thorough reorganization could save the state. The difficulty was to find a man of sufficient strength and influence to deal with the recalcitrant nobles. One day the Chief Vazir said, "Āsaf Khān alone can save the kingdom." And although Āsaf Khān had been absent from India for twelve years, he had left behind him such a high reputation for integrity and administrative capacity, that it was decided to send a man to Makka to invite Āsaf Khān to return to Gujarat in order to bring order into the affairs of the kingdom and reorganize the mercenary troops.

Now it happened that a messenger had just arrived in Gujarat bringing a letter from Āsaf Khān to his brother Khudāwand Khān; hearing of this the Chief Vazir sent for the messenger and asked him if he thought Āsaf Khān would accept the invitation; and the messenger replied: "Nothing would prevent him except the provision and means for the journey." Then the Chief Vazir said, "Make ready at once for the messenger's return to Mekka and give him even more than he requires."

So the messenger set out with a hundred sundas of Sarkhej indigo—and at that time the sunda was worth two hundred gold pieces in Mekka, as the importation had been stopped by the Portuguese. And with the proceeds of the sale of this indigo Āsaf Khān made the necessary preparations for his journey and bought a ship. Then leaving Sirāj ud-Din in charge of the family and household, he set out for India. The sea was very rough and Āsaf Khān only effected a landing with great difficulty at Mangalore. He lost most of his

possessions in the process, among which he especially regretted his books, a sword given him by the Governor of Makka and a favourite Arab horse. After spending seven days in Mangalore, supplies reached him from the Grand Vazir and he set out for Aḥmadābād. On his arrival in the capital, the Sultān came down from his throne to welcome him.

At the first majlis which he attended in the Sultān's Diwān, he proposed disciplinary measures for the mercenary troops and the formation of a personal guard of 12,000 of the foreign legions for the Sultān. After a short time, a body-guard of the required strength including (Maharas of South Arabia), Yāfai's, Turks, Abyssinians, Jāvans and Portuguese, was brought together and placed under the supreme command of Ulugh Khān Mandal, one of Āsaf Khān's Abyssinian mumluks.

These men never quitted the vicinity of the palace and no outsider was allowed to pass them. They were divided into numerous sections, each told off for specific duties. Some were posted outside the Sultān's Diwān, others were set to guard the treasury, while others, again, had to accompany the Sultān whenever he went out. Apparently, the men were divided according to their nationality, for our author says: "The largest body was that of the Yāfai's. These men were absolutely reliable, and they rode immediately in front of the Sultān, and took orders from no one but the Commander-in-Chief."

The measures taken on the advice of Āsaf Khān were crowned with success, and the authority of the Sultān was fully established. Seven years later, in 1555 both Sultān Mahmud III and his wise councillor Āsaf Khān were murdered—and from that time down to the arrival of Akbar in Aḥmadābād in 1572, the history of Gujarat is one of continual struggles and engagements between the rival parties—the nominal Sultān being the while little more than a figure-head.

# HISTORY

*Title of the Book*: The title of the book is "ẒAFAR UL WĀLIH BI MUẒAFFAR WA ĀLEHI". The literal translation of it is "Bewildering victories connected with Muzaffar and his descendants." We can put it freely and in a better manner thus: Excellent victories of Muzaffar and his descendants. This meaning is quite clear from the beginning of Daftar Two where he states the cause of composition of the book. Sir E. Denison Ross has explained its meaning thus: "By this book one who desired to know the history of Muzaffar and his descendants obtained his object." A French Orientalist whom he consulted about its meaning suggested thus: "La défaite der Cruntif par un Victorienx et sa famillé" which may be rendered into English thus: "The subjection of the Tirnorous by a conqueror and his family." It is left to the reader to judge as to what is its appropriate meaning.

*Cause*: The author says in the beginning of Daftar two that he wrote his history based on materials which he deemed necessary to copy from other books on history to explain about the Sultāns of Gujarat as to how they established independent power and how they met with fortune and misfortune. He had singled out Gujarat because of Ẓafar who first established independent authority and carved out a state for himself and his descendants. The book was written by him in Makka-made safe and secure by God—on Gujarat because of its peculiar features and qualities when compared with other parts of Hind. Again, he and his father spent their lives in service of amirs and sultāns of Gujarat. His ancestors had migrated to Gujarat at the time of Timur's invasion from northern India, because of its peace, plenty and prosperity. He has written the history of other Muslim dynasties who had similarly established themselves in different parts of India as well as Afghanistan, Yaman and abyssina as he was interested, as he says at the end of Daftar Two, in the establishment of Muslim power in those parts.

*Contents*: The whole book is divided into two parts (daftars). The first part deals with the Sultāns of Gujarat from 1396 to 1572. The second part is an abridged history of other Muslim Dynasties which ruled over India from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

Copy of the book as found by Sir E. Denison Ross is incomplete. The reigns of Sultān Muzaffar, founder of the Dynasty and Sultān Aḥmad, founder of Aḥmadābād are missing. It is probable that the missing portion of the book must have contained as Sir E. Denison Ross surmises an introduction to the book but I feel that it must have also contained the history of early conquest of

Gujarat by the Muslims as he has given the history of the first conquest of the Muslims in the Dekkan.

Daftar II ends in the early part of Akbar's reign.

The first daftar contains an account from the accession of Muḥammad Shah in 1443 down to the murder of Maḥmud Shāh III in 1553, as well as Rulers of Khandesh and the Dekkan. This work is much more than a chronicle of the Sultans of Gujarat. A large portion of this daftar is devoted to digressions—" historical, biographical and bibliographical "—of other countries. It deals with the early history of Islam on the one hand and beginning of the XVII century on the other.

There are certain gaps in the narrative. Principal gaps as noted by Sir E. Denison Ross are:

| | |
|---|---|
| A.H. 799 to 846 | in the beginning |
| A.H. 947 to 953 | PP. 273-274 of the text |
| A.H. 957 to 961 | On P. 300 of the text |
| A.H. 971 to 978 | Between PP. 530-531 |

Half of the Daftar II contains a general history of the Muslim rule in Northern India from middle of the sixth century of the Hijra down to his own day. Upto 940, he employs the best available authorities such as Juzjāni, Barni and Husām Khān. There is also an account of local rulers of Bengal upto 965 A.H.

The first half of the Dafter II embraces the history of the Ghuris A.H. 453 to 688 ( 1148-1289 ) and the Khaljis A.H. 688 to 761 ( 1289-1353 ).

The whole narrative is covered by the following chain of historians from Juzjāni to Hajji ud-Dabir :—

1. Juzjāni's *Tabakā-i-Nāsiri* from the Tāhirids ( A.H. 198 ) down to Ghiyāthuddin Balban ( A. H. 658 )

2. Dia ud-Din Barni's *Tārikh-i-Firuzshāhi* from A.H. 658 to 752 sixth year of Firuzshāh's reign.

3. Ḥusām Khān's Tabakāt-i-Bahādurshahi from A.H. 752 to 940.

4. Ḥajji ud-Dabir's History from A.H. 940 to 1014.

*Date of composition*:—According to the author of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* which was completed in 1174 A.H., the Mirāt-i-Sikandari was composed forty years after the destruction of the Gujarat Saltanat *i.e.* in A.H. 1020 ( 1611 ). The last date mentioned in it is 1001 ( 1594 ) but it was not given to the world before 1020.

Hājji ud-Dabir began to write his history in A.H. 1015 and was still engaged on the work and its revision at the time when Mirat-i-Sikandari first became

available. He returned to Makka after the death of his two great friends Fulād and Amin in A.H. 1014 and that he wrote the whole of his history of Gujarat in that city.

Hajji ud-Dabir has compiled his history on very reliable sources. They are Ṭabakāt-i-Nāsiri of Juzjāni, Tārikh-i-Firuzshāhi of Barni, Tārikh-i-Bahādurshāhi of Ḥusām Khān, Mirāt-i-Sikandari of Manjhu Sikandar, Tuḥfat-us-Sādāt of Arām Kashmiri and Akbarnāma of Abul Faḍl. All of them were connected with the courts and sultāns of whom they have written, and taken part in those events or heard reports of those events who had taken part in them. He has mostly copied from Husām Khān, author of Tabakāt-i-Bahādurshāhi throughout the book. His history of Gujarat is mainly based on Hasām Khān, Manjhu Sikandar and twice or thrice, he has borrowed material from Ārām Kashmiri. His greatest and most reliable source is Ḥusām Khān. He speaks of Manjhu Sikandar as sagacious but he criticizes him when he does not agree with him. He quotes his authorities in a frank manner. He does not speak highly of Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri while Manjhu Sikandar is all praise for him because he was his spiritual director. He has written Ārām Kashmiri's account of Sultān Maḥmud III and his amirs in a lucid and graphic manner. His history is most important for a period from 940 to 1014 A.H. It is an eye-witness's account as well as the account of one whose masters participated in events of this period. He is not very clear when he describes an abridged version of any event. He jumps by leaps and bounds without maintaining a connected link of the whole event. His abridged versions from Barni are of this type. In between the narrations of such abridged versions, he introduces other topics and so the reader fails to understand what he means to convey. He gets himself confused and makes the reader confused. The account of Murtuza Nizām Shāh is of such nature. Sentences are of loose construction and incomplete with omission of certain words, sometimes, we find him at his best in narrative powers with use of simple and elegant style. His rhythmical words and balanced phrases are so tuneful that they ring into our ears even after we have ceased to read them but in such cases he sacrifices substance to sense. He is in the habit of giving different versions of different historians for the sake of comparison. He then sits in judgment upon them. For example, he studied what Abul Faḍl had to say about the conquest of Ranthambhor. He then quotes Ḥusām Khān and gives his own version pointing out who is more reliable. He does the same with regard to Humayun's conquest of Champāner and criticized Abul Faḍl when he said that it was conquered by escalation. Bahadur Shah had set fire to it and Humāyun conquered it when it was ablaze with fire.

His life-sketches of amirs and scholars are marvellous. Being a religious minded man, he moralized on events by citation of traditions of the Holy prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him.

*Note on Ḥadith Literature* :

The Holy Kurān is, undoubtedly, the origin and basis of Islām. It is not possible for every man to understand it because it only contains basic principles of religion. Elucidation, explanation and details thereof were the work of the person whom God sent to this world as His Messenger or Prophet. The Prophet elucidated and expounded the teachings and instructions of the Holy Kurān to the people. The Kurān is the theory while the Prophet was the practice. The Holy Kurān lays down basic principles of guidance which are explained to the people by the Prophet by means of his practice. As for example, it is laid down in the Holy Book to wash hands, face and feet prior to Namāz or prayer but how these parts of the body are to be washed was shown by the Prophet by practice. Again, there is reference to the performance of namāz in the Holy Kurān but how namāz is to be performed was displayed by the Prophet by practice. The Holy Kurān is a book of spare parts of the machinery of instruction while the ḥadith or practice of the Prophet in word and deed was to assemble these parts together to turn out a complete machine for work. The ḥadith means a saying in word and deed of the Prophet for illustration of the principles of the Kurān. It supplements the teaching of the Kurān. It is second in importance to the Kurān. Ḥadith literature is a unique kind of literature produced by the Muslims alone. It is responsible for shooting up several branches of learning such as travel, geography, demography, biography, canons of reasoning etc.

To cite an example : Suppose a man in Madina who intends to collect the ḥadith or sayings of the Prophet. He comes to know that a man in Egypt knows certain sayings of the Prophet having heard directly from him or from one who enjoyed the society of the Prophet etc. He will start from Madina for Egypt to see that man. He comes to the first place—village, town or city—and halts there to inquire from local people whether there exists a school for religious instruction or not, how many Muslims say namāz, what profession or avocation they follow, what is their population, what is their general condition, how far is that place from Madina, how many persons are literate etc. etc. He will make a note of all these things. He was not alone in this respect. Hundreds and thousands of persons moved about in every nook and corner of the Muslim world suffering hardships of travel just to collect ḥadith from persons acquainted with it. When he will see such a person, he will make inquiry about his personal character and also of the family. He will thus prepare a biographical account of that person. If he is found to have told a lie or neglected his prayer etc., he will be considered to be a man of doubtful character and the ḥadith heard from him will also be regarded as doubtful and not of much reliance. They invented canons of reasoning to find out veracity or falsehood of the ḥadith. They also exposed character of paupers and princes alike. The Muslims have

thus prepared biographical accounts of nearly five lacs of persons. This branch of learning is known as Asmā' ur-Rijāl. Thus a search of ḥadith became a cause of origination of several branches of learning such as travel, geography, etc. etc.

The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him, sat in an assembly of his companions and explained to them the verses of the Kurān when revealed to him or some persons from the audience asked him questions on religion which he answered them. They noted down or remembered what he said. It should be borne in mind that the Arabs were noted for marvellous retentive memory. The Prophet facilitated their writing by speaking slowly and thrice in the assembly. They wrote down everything that he said with religious zeal because it is stated in the Kurān. "Take what the Prophet gives you and reject what he forbids." The Prophet also insisted upon the audience to write down or remember what he said and convey his teachings to others who were absent. Daremi in his book on Ḥadith as well as Imām Aḥmad in his Musnad have mentioned names of such writers.

It is a common belief that no book was composed in the first century of Hijra. Hence the important portion of Islamic teachings called the ḥadith remained in an unsystematic manner for more than a century. It is said that Ibn i-Jariḥ was the first man to write on ḥadith. He was followed by Imām Malik who opened the way for composition for others. Ibn-i-Jariḥ died in 150 A.H. and Imām Malik in 179 A.H. Hence the book of Ibn i-Jariḥ and the Muatta of Imām Mālik are the composition of the second century Hijra.

The teachings of the Holy Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him, to remain in this unsystematic manner is an eyesore to certain critics. Hence they have raised many objections against the veracity of ḥadith literature but the fact is that it is an obvious historical error. It is a characteristic feature of Islām that it assembled together all the means of civilization and culture soon after its propagation. Composition is a part of civilization and its foundation was laid in the first century of Hijra. Books on Traditions or Ḥadith were also written during this period but the system and the method which are necessary for compilation and composition were established in the second century. The historians regard this systematic arrangement as the product of the second century, otherwise it is quite clear that the "Kitāb ul-Kaḍāyā" of Ḥaḍrat 'Ali, may God be pleased with him and the Book on Traditions of Ḥaḍrat Ibn i-'Abbās, may God be pleased with him, made their appearance soon after the death of the Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him. Again, there is a ḥadith quoted by Her Holiness Ḥaḍrat 'Āyesha, may God be pleased with her to the effect that "My father (Ḥaḍrat Abu Bakr Ṣiddik, may God be pleased with him) had collected five hundred ḥadith of the Holy Prophet (Tadhkira-i-Ḥuffāz-Zahbi).

It is probable that these books were in an abridged form. It is because of this fact that when Imām Ibn-i-Shihāb Zuhri compiled a lengthy and detailed book on Ḥadith, it was commonly believed that Ibn-i-Shihāb was the first compiler of ḥadith. He was appointed to do this work by the Umayya Khalifa 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Aziz may God be pleased with him.

Abu Bakr b. Ḥazm also composed books on Traditions at the encouragement of Haḍrat 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Aziz, may God be pleased with him. This Khalifa issued an order for the collection of traditions because he felt that the persons who had retained in their minds the sayings of the Prophet were dying and so this important branch of religion second only to the Kurān will disappear. It is stated by Imām Malik (95-179 H) and Imām Bukhāri (194-256) that 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Aziz wrote a letter to the Governor of Madina Abu Bakr b. Ḥazm to the effect "Write down whatever traditions of the Holy Prophet you get, for I am afraid that knowledge of religion may not get effaced and the learned scholars may depart from the world. You should only collect the ḥadith of the Holy Prophet. It is the duty of scholars to spread knowledge. They should sit down to impart knowledge so that the illiterate may become literate because knowledge will disappear wherver it is kept concealed". (Kitab ul-'Ilm: Bukhāri; Kitāb ul-'Ilm, Muatta, Imām Malik).

The Khalifa 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Aziz wrote similar letters to governors of different provinces of the Empire. Ibn i-Hajar writes in "Fath-ul-Bāri" that 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Aziz wrote to all officers of the Empire to search for and collect the traditions of the Holy Prophet. Hence Hāfiz Shams ud-Din Zahabi and Ḥafiz Ibn-i-'Abdul Birr write that volumes of traditions came to Damascus in a systematic manner and that the Khalifa sent authoritative copies of these volumes to different parts of the Muslim Empire.

Books on Traditions began to be written with chapters on different topics by Sa'eed b. Abi 'Arubah in Basra, Rabi 'b. Ṣorbiḥ in Makka, Mu'ammar b. Rāshid and Ibn-i-Jariḥ in Kufa, Sufyān Thawri in Syria, Walid b. Muslim in Ray, Jarir b. 'Abdul Ḥamid in Khurāsān, 'Abdullāh b. Mubārak in Wāsiṭ etc. Abu Bakr Abi Shaybah lived in Kufa. He divided his book in chapters for every topic. Imām Mālik compiled his book, 'Muatta' in accordance with theological topics.

Principal writers on ḥadith are Imām Malik (93-173); Imām Shāfai (d. 204), Imām Aḥmad (d. 241), Imām Bukhāri (194-256), Imām Muslim (206-261), Abu Dāwood (202-275), Imām Tirmidhi (209-279), Ibn i-Māja (209-273), Imām Nasāi (215-273). Their books are considered to be authoritative. They were followed by 'Abdullāh Ḥākim, Abu Ja'far Ṭaḥawi, Dār-i-Kaṭni, Tabarāni, Baiḥaki etc.

## THE GUJARAT SALṬANAT

The advent of Prophet Muḥammad, may peace and benedictions of God be on him, heralded an era for establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. The Prophet and his immediate successors, the first Four Pious Khalifas, may God be pleased with them ruled the territory under their sway in accordance with the principles of the Holy Kurān and the sayings and actions of the Holy Prophet. It was not as certain prejudiced historians state that Islām spread with sword in one hand and the Holy Kurān in the other. There are other writers of history who with their superficial knowledge of history and malice in their mind state that the Muslims came out of Arabia with a desire for establishment of world empire. These statements do not stand the test of original Arabic sources. According to the historians Ibn i-Athir and Ṭabari, the message which these Muslims sent to the Emperor of Persia and its nobles was as under:

" Our object in coming to Persia is to liberate the creatures of God from the bondage of men and take them to the servitude of God, show them the wide and spacious road by extricating them from the narrow passage of the world and bring them to environment of justice and equity by protecting them against tyranny and oppression. Sons of Adam are children of the same parents. There should be brotherly love between them. It is not proper in our view to divide human beings into two groups of noble and ignoble. We do not believe in man-made division of man into high and low groups. We regard all human beings as branches of the same tree. We want to give good treatment to all. Our aim is not to conquer and expand our territory but to liberate men from thraldom of men. If you accept these terms, we go back ".

Inspired by such pious thoughts and high ideals, they entered into the environs of Persian and Byzantine Empires. They had uncommon feelings and sentiments for human welfare and sympathy in their hearts. It was not their object to conquer countries, expand their dominions, pile up wealth and riches and lead a life of ease and luxury. They were, in reality, sorry for the sufferings and anxieties of human beings. Their sole object was to take them to the path of God as shown by the Prophet, give them security of life and property and make them lead peaceful and comfortable lives. They wanted human beings to prostrate before God the Almighty rather than bow down before human beings like them such as kings and potentates under whom they led a life of harassment and persecution. It was their sincere desire to suffer difficulties themselves to make others easy and comfortable. They were unfamiliar with kingly majesty and grandeur and unacquainted with aristocratic, luxurious life. Their rulers did not designate themselves as kings or emperors. They ate coarse

kind of food, wore patched garments and served human beings as ordinary men. They never deemed themselves as superior beings but they gave preference to the needs of common-folk over their own. They first fed others and then fed themselves.

When the Prophet died, people elected Haḍrat Abu Bakr Siddik as successor to the Prophet to rule over them. It was an onerous duty which, he, in his mind did not like to perform. He announced to the people that he should be guided aright to conduct state affairs in accordance with the commandments of God and the sayings and actions of the Prophet. In case he failed to act in that manner, he should be immediately removed from office. He was lord over all Arabia and some portions of territory beyond. If he had wished, he would have led a kingly life. But he placed pieces of cloth over his shoulders, moved into lanes and streets of Madina in the evening to sell them like an itinary vendor to maintain his family. Those who had elected him as the Khalifa brought to his notice that he should give up his business as it was not in keeping with dignity of the office that he held as the responsib lity of the post was heavy and that he had not to do any other kind of work otherwise the work of Khilafat would suffer. They told him that they would pay him daily such amount from the Bait-ul-Māl ( Public or Government Treasury ) as to maintain his family. The Khalifa, under these circumstances, was forced to accept their proposal. He estimated his daily expenses and asked them to pay him two dirhems ( silver coins equivalent to our eight anna coin or so ). This amount was so insufficient for his family needs that his wife complained to him that since long she was not able to prepare some sweet dish for children out of this amount and that he should try to get that amount slightly increased. He replied that was not possible but she should try to save something out of that amount to prepare a sweet dish some day for children. His wife managed family needs so economically that she was able to prepare a sweet dish. He praised his wife for her economy but got what she had saved decreased from his daily allowance of two dirhems saying that he could maintain himself in less than two dirhems. When he died, he willed that his house should be sold to refund the amount he had received from the Public Treasury as salary.

The second Khalifa Ḥadrat 'Umar, may God be pleased with him was of similar character. Though he ruled over a vast empire, he ate course barley-bread as the empire could not produce wheat in sufficient quantity for every one to eat it. He had only one pair of clothes which he wore by washing when they got dirty. He sent his wife to nurse a woman in child-birth when she had none to attend upon her. He fetched water for an old widow at night without the knowledge of that woman that he was the Khalifa. He lived in an ordinary house and took his nap under shade of a tree with a brick as pillow without

fear of any one except God. He was so powerful that his name was sufficient to terrify an enemy to the roots of his hairs.

They never regarded rulership as a means of majesty and might, nay, they regarded their responsibility as a heavy burden upon themselves for which they felt tremors every moment. They considered themselves as ordinary human beings. When they stood up on the pulpit to deliver address as Khalifas, they declared that "I am appointed as your Khalifa but I am in no way superior to you. So long as I obey the commandments of God, obey me. If I deviated from them, it is not incumbent on you to execute my orders." Every citizen had a right to stop the Khalifa when he found him on the wrong path. They strove hard to see that every citizen lived in comfort to his satisfaction. Once the commander of the army at Hams collected a defence tax from its Christian citizens but later on the commander failed to defend the city so he refunded the tax to the Christians. The Christians were so much pleased that they prayed to God for the return of Muslims as their rulers. Wherever they went, they were welcomed as messengers of mercy. It was the result of this attitude towards people that they were able to conquer a vast area of land within a few years.

The Muslim conquerers of India were not inspired by the high ideals of the Pious Kalifas who ruled over a vast empire with justice and efficiency inspite of being confronted by complex administrative problems, protection and responsibilities of non-Muslims of various communities and nationalities and defensive organisation against opposition of great empires. They did not enter India to liberate God's creatures from bondage of human beings to bring them within fold of servitude of God. Their sole aim was personal aggrandisement for conquest and expansion of territory. They were despots. They had no idea for establishment of a welfare state conducive to the well-being of the public in general with no individual freedom but thraldom for all. They based their kingdom on military might. They never conceived of the idea of human equality and fraternity. They believed in absolutism and dictum of hereditary succession and not in democratic principles. The government was mostly based on feudal system. It is true that they called themselves Muslims and recited the Muslim article of faith but they were superficially acquainted with the true way of life of a sincere Muslim. Even the best rulers did not care to put into practice the collective governmental organisation according to the principles of Islām. They were characterised by lust of power, majesty, might, magnificence, pomp, grandeur, dignity, absolutism and luxury of life. The population being largely of Hindu religion, a great gulf of separation existed between the rulers and the ruled. The non-Muslim subjects found no difference in Muslim and non-Muslim rulers except in point of name, culture, civilization and social life. They harboured evil opinion about Islam by looking to the attitude and behaviour of

Muslim rulers. They thought that Islam was no penacea for the ills of human life but it was a fetter of another kind of bondage. Consequently, they became enemies of Islam along with Muslim rulers.

The Sultāns of Gujarat were autocrats but they ruled their kingdom with benevolence. They strove hard for progress and advancement of the kingdom. Gujarat was the most prosperous kingdom in India under their benign rule. They founded cities, constructed buildings of rare architectural beauty, encouraged agriculture and gardening by importing flower and fruit bearing plants, promoted commerce and industry, increased international trade, maintained diplomatic relations with foreign countries, built boats and ships, expanded territory, administered the kingdom with justice and equity and raised the status of Gujarat to high eminence in the comity of states.

During their regime of approximately two centuries—14th to 16th—the Sultāns patronized arts and sciences to such an extent that it is difficult to find its parallel in that period. It was due to their encouragement and appreciation of learning and knowledge that the best scholars and most learned men of Shiraz and Yaman chose to live in Gujarat and enriched it by their scholarship within a short period. It produced great intellectual giants in different branches of learning. It is to the credit of Gujarat that Ḥadith literature was first taught in it in the whole of India. Pupils of celebrated traditionists such as Shaykh-ul-Islām Zakariyā, Shams ud-Din Sakhāvi and 'Allāma Ibn i-Hajar al-Makki founded madresas for spread of Ḥadith literature. Great traditionists such as Mawlānā Nur ud-Din Aḥmad Shirāzi, Jamāl ud-Din Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Hadhrami alias Bahrak ( the teacher of Muzaffar Shāh, the Clement ), Shaykh 'Abd ul-Mu'ti b. al Ḥasan Bakhtir al-Makki, Shihāb ud-Din Aḥmad al. 'Abbāsi al-Miṣri (he wrote books and dedicated them to the Sultans), Shaykh Muḥammad b. Abd ul-lāh al Fākahi, Sayyid Shaykh b. 'Abd ul-lāh al-'Aidrus, Shaykh Sa'eed Shāfai' Habashi, Jamāl ud-Din Muḥammad b. 'Abd ur-Rahim 'Amudi, Jamāl ud-Din Muḥammad 'Ali b. al-Ḥashiri, Majd ud-Din b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Iji lived in Gujarat. Some other traditionists came to Gujarat only to teach ḥadith and then left for Makka. Their names are Shaykh 'Ali Muttaki, Shaykh Tayyib Sindhi, Shaykh 'Abd ul-lāh b. Sa'd ud-Din Mutlaki, Shaykh Raḥmat ul-lāh b. 'Abd ul-lāh Sindhi etc.

Imām 'Allāma Badr ud-Din Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr al-Damanini came to Gujarat in 800 H ( 1397 ). He lived in Gujarat for many years. He wrote books in the name of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh. Another literary man was Jamāl ud-Din Muḥammad b. 'Abd ul-Latif al-Jāmi better known as Makhdum Zada was Mir Munshi ( Chief Secretary ) to Gujarat Sultāns. Shaykh Ahmad Bakthir Dabir was a traditionist as well as a poet. Thikat ud-Dawlāh Mawlānā 'Abd uṣ-Ṣamad was Mir Munshi in the regime of Sultān Maḥmud Shah II. Mawlānā 'Abd

ul-lāh Muḥammad b. Umar Āṣafi, author of Zafar ul-Wālih was Mir Munshi of Āṣaf Khān and then of Ulugh Khān.

Besides these traditionists and literary men, there were logicians, philosophers and theologians.

Rot set in at the close of the Salṭanat due to absence of lineal successor to the throne, personal rivalry and mutual feuds and dissessions among powerful nobles of different nationalities till it was conquered and merged into the Mughal Empire by Akbar.

On the eve of Akbar's entry into Gujarat, the army consisted of one lakh of soldiers and twelve thousand armed horsemen—700 Habshis, 300 Turks, 400 Bahlims, 600 Ghuris, 500 Mughals, 500 Bukhāri Sayyids, 4000 Afghans and 5000 others. There were 300 elephants. There was a corps of elephants consisting of more than one thousand elephants. There were 500 copper cannons, six thousand Kokabs ( fire stars ) and double than which were the guns.

# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF GUJARĀT WRITTEN BY 'ABDULLĀH MUḤAMMED BIN 'UMAR KNOWN AS AL-ḤĀJJ, AL-DABIR, AL-ĀSAFI, AL-MEKKI ULUGH KHĀNI

The original copy begins here as written by the author himself in his own* hand which appears to be defective as the account of the first three Sultāns viz. the preceding three Sultāns is not found in it.

## CHAPTER I

*Abuljud (father of generosity) Muizuddin Muḥammed Shāh, son of Aḥmed Shāh, son of Muḥammed Shāh, son of Muzaffer Shāh.*

He ascended the throne of sovereignty on 7th Rabi 'II 846 (1442) at Aḥmedābād. He showed favours to the ministers and officers of his father. He retained them in their respective posts during his regime.

Brith and death of al-Qutb Shihābuddin Sayyedonā al-Shaikh Aḥmed (may his grave be sanctified and may we be benefited through him) of Sarkhej.

I have written this account from Sharh-i-Risālah of Abi Ḥāmid bin Ibrāhim. Qutb-ul-Ārifin Mawlānā Shaikh-ul-Islām Shihābuddin Aḥmed of Sarkhej composed this Risālah (pamphlet) and dedicated it to al-'Ābid, al-Mujāhid as-Sultān Aḥmed bin Muḥammed bin Muzaffer. He wrote therein about the birth, death and life of the saint. I reproduce it here. The saint was born at Khattu in the district of Nāgor in the year 737 (1336) and died$ before noon on Thursday, 14th Shawwāl, 840 (1446-47) at his residence in Sarkhej.

The author has composed an elegy on him. The first line is

"A mountain of grief has fallen on our earth-like heart."

In one line, he has stated the year of birth and death thus:

"If you add toy (9 according to Abjad system) and mim (40) to 800, you will get the year of death.

It was ye (10) and dāl (4) of the month of Shawwāl."

In one line, he has referred to his age which is found out from the word Qutb (111). He reached the mercy of God before noon on Thursday.

A poet of Sultān Muḥammed, son of Aḥmed composed two lines in condolence wherein he said a prayer on behalf of the Sultān.

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* Original Text, p. 1.

$ Original Text, p. 2.

" When Shaikh Aḥmed, Imām ( leader ) of religion and world
Went happy and cheerful to paradise.
The sky spoke on the date of that year
May the king of the world Muḥammed live long. "

The last line gives the year 849.

It was on 20th Ramazān of the year 849, an auspicious child Maḥmud was born. He went to Idar in the year 50. The King of Idar Rāy Bir, son of Rāy Punjā presented himself in his darbār. He paid obeisance to him. He had a beautiful daughter whom he offered him in marriage. She became the source of joy to the Sultān. She pleaded before the Sultān to give back the state of Idar to her father. The Sultān accepted her pleading. A line of a poet is quoted in evidence of it.

" Oh king ! recommendation of that person is not accepted by you,
Who comes to you with garments on his body.
Recommendation of that person is certainly accepted
Who comes to you without garments. "

He marched on Bāker this year. Munir Khān Jahān represented to the Sultān that Rai Keepā, the rājā of the place had acknowledged submission and paid the tribute also. The Sultān started for Champāner in 853 ( 1449-50 ) and attacked its king Rāy Gangdās, son of Trimbakdās. Many of his soldiers were killed and he fled to the fort. The Sultān entered the fort and ordered an architect to construct a reservoir. It consists of two words: shakkar = sugar and talāo ( sugar reservoir ). It consists of two words: shakkar = sugar and talāo is a pond more than 10 × 10 hands in length and breadth. He also ordered that this city should be made a capital of the Kingdom. It may prosper. Gangdās made representation for forgiveness. He was not pardoned. He sought help of Sultān Maḥmud Khalji and agreed to pay him expenses of every manzil. Sultān Maḥmud accepted his terms. He came as far as Dahiwad ( Dohad ). Even though Sultān Muḥammed was ill, he went as far as Gothara to fight with him. Both these places are situated near the strong and impregnable fort of Champāner. They are near Mandu also. On hearing about the march of Sultān Muḥammed, Maḥmud Khalji retreated to his kingdom. Muḥammed Shāh's illness became serious and so he set out for Aḥmedābād.

Muḥammed Shāh died on 8th Muḥarram, 855 ( 1452 ). He was buried by the side of his father's tomb under the same dome. He sat on the throne at the age of nineteen.* He was born in Nandurbār-which is situated near Sultānpur. Sultānpur was named after him. There is a fort around it. He died at the age of 28. He reigned for eight years, nine months and four days. It was this king who inflicted a defeat upon Khān-i-Khānān, son of Aḥmed Bahmani and con-

* Original Text, p. 3.

noted for horsemanship and bravery. He was very charitable and worthy as a quered Dawlatābād. Its account is given in the reign of his father. He was ruler. He was a poet. Poets have sung his praise. A poet has said about him:

> He gives in lacs and does not care for it
> His least charity is full of a sack.
> He is famous as a bestower of lacs.
> He is a person of good character.

He has left a good name after his death. He was succeeded by his son Aḥmed.

## CHAPTER II

*Abul Fazl Qutb-ud-din Aḥmed Shāh*
*b. Muḥammed Shāh b. Aḥmed Shāh*
*b. Muḥammed Shāh b. Muzaffar Shāh.*

Qutbuddin Aḥmed Shāh, son of Muḥammed Shāh sat upon the throne on 11th Moḥarram 855 (1452). This day was noted for conferment of favours and kindness upon all sections of people and the officers of his father in particular. He retained all of them in service. His regime passed on well. It was stated previously in the account of his father that Khalji had come as far as Dahiwad (Dohad). Qutb-ud-din then was at Idar. When he heard about his father's arrival, he went to him. By chance, his father died. The Khalji had returned. But he came back with more than one lac of horse and five hundred * elephants. Qutb-ud-din learnt about it. When he was free from mourning, he ordered his army from the portico of palace to proceed to Maḥmudpur. He marched to Mahi river and encamped there. Maḥmud Khalji had arrived at Sultānpur. 'Alāuddin Sohrāb Sultāni was the governor of the place. He invited him to submit himself to him. He went to wait upon him and submitted his family and children to the Khalji. He made him the commander of the advace-guard. In the meantime, he heard about the death of Muḥammed Shāh. He fulfilled the dues of Ziyārat (third day mourning) and paid a visit of respect to the saint of God, Bābā Ghor, may his grave be sanctified. He then proceeded to Broach. He encamped at Sārsā and Pāldi. He summoned Mirgān Sultāni, the governor of Bharuch for submission. He rejected his offer. He, therefore, ordered for the siege of Bharuch. Sohrāb said to him to postpone conquest of Bharuch for a certain period. It would be possible during that period to conquer the capital. Afterwards, there would be no obstacle for the conquest of Bharuch. The Khalji, therefore, marched to Baroda. The Khalji had a mad elephant. It moved before his army. It so happened that it was killed on the bank of a pond at Varnāmā. Several Brahmins had collected together at the pond. Some were busy cooking while others were taking their usual bath before meals. The elephant attacked them. There was no alternative for them but to kill it. It is so said, "Majority dominates over bravery." The Brahmins surrounded it and killed it even though the Brahmins were not swordsmen. As it has been said, "Sometimes a mosquito kills an elephant." When the Khalji learnt about the incident he was surprised to find the Brahmins so brave. It is a proof of the bravery of other men of this region.

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* Original Text, p. 4.

A similar story is narrated in connection with Sultān Maḥmud Ghaznawi. When he was at Naharwāla for a religious war, he went out one day for hunting. He saw a dog attacking a hare. The hare turned back to resist him. He said what was said by the Khalji. ('Awfi narrated in his history that a hare attacked a lion. Maḥmud of Ghazni was surprised at this. He meditated over it with his head bent down for some time. He then raised his head and said what was said by the Khalji. He conquered Naharwāla with great difficulty in 416 (1025).

Gangdās and other residents of the region gathered around Khalji at Baroda. The Khalji intended to cross the river Mahi. Gangdās advised him that it was difficult for the army to cross the river except in boats. Qutb-ud-din had already encamped there. It was easy to cross the river from the side* of Anbisli. The Khalji then crossed the river and went to Kapadwanj. Sohrāb remained behind. He said to those amirs of Khalji who were with him to go ahead in safety and tell their lord that Sohrāb was absolved from his oath. He had taken an oath that he would not be disloyal to his benefactor. He meant thereby Qutb-ud-din and not he. He then crossed the river at Thānesar and joined Qutb-ud-din. He was pleased with his arrival. He questioned him as to why he did not offer resistance to the Khalji. He replied that he thought it advisable on his part to keep himself away for some time because he could not prevent him from conquest of the fort on account of his might. Hence he had to remain with him for some time. Now he was near his liege lord. He applauded his judgment. He then inquired about his wife and children. He said "I can get a wife in exchange for a wife. If children are killed in childhood, it will be good service. They will meet with the same fate when they grow up in service of the King. They have rendered their dues of service. Now it is the turn of the father. He is therefore present before you." Qutb-ud-din thanked him for that and conferred upon him the title of 'Alā-ul-Mulk Ulugh Khan. He inquired from him about the Khalji. He told him that he was with a multitude of army and strength as well as experienced men. "Victory is only from God." He crossed the river and proceeded to Kapadwanj. It is proper for you to go to him." Qutb-ud-din then proceeded to Kapadwanj with his forty thousand regular and irregular horse.

Husām Khān narrates in his Tabaqāt. "I saw persons riding green horses in white dress near the gate of the Great Masjid which had a dome over it on the day of battle at Naharwāla. It was a shrine of Sultān of the abstemious, path of the pious, altar of the gnostics and pivot of the travellers, the master of Naharwāla, its protector, its Qutb-(pole star), its preserver, the help of the Unitarians Mawlānā al-Shaikh Husām-ud-din, may God the Great sanctify his grave. A pious man lies buried on one side under the dome. He was heard

* Original Text, p. 5.

saying, "Make haste for help." There was a response from the dome "Who will protect the city?" It was said. "Bibi Ārām." A horseman issued forth from the dome. He joined them. They all disappeared from sight of those who stood at the gate of the masjid. There was the learned, the practitioner, the perfect, the united, full of ecstacy, of illumined light, auspiciousness of the world and the faith Mawlānā al-Shaikh Qāsim son of Muḥammed Dohar, may his grave be sanctified, teaching students on the bank of the famous reservoir "Khān Sarwar" (Khān Sarowar), He was repeatedly heard responding to salām. When he was free from giving lessons, some of his favourite pupils inquired from him about his repeated responses to salām. He said "The saints were hastening to the succour of their Sultān Qutbuddin. Whenever they passed by me, they greeted me with a salām. I responded to the salām of every one of them. They asked me to accompany them but I apologized." Some persons say that the horseman who entered the masjid and shouted out * to make haste was the saint of the elevated vestiges Mawlānā al-Sayyed Ḥusain Khingswār. He was a lion and Bibi Ārām was his sister, may God benefit us through them.

I narrate a strange story in regard to the succour of saints to Qutbuddin. It is chain-like stated on the authority of narrators and their associates. Its subject-matter rests on "To them is whatever they wish from their Lord." Unique of the age, chief of the time, traveller of the (spiritual) path, owner of time of investigation, star of the horizon of glory, Maulānā al-Shaikh Kamāl Mālwi, may his grave be sanctified came to Gujarāt during the regime of Muḥammed Shāh. He was in debt. His creditors dunned that amount from him. He could not pay it. He wrote to the Khalji about it. If the Khalji paid the amount, the saint agreed to come and stay in Gujarat as stated in the letter. By chance, a war broke out. The elevated saint, Sultān of the path and truth, unrivalled in the height of glorious manifestations and subtlety son of the Prophet's chaste daughter, mystery of the Messenger, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and his descendants, Burhānuddin Qutb-i-Ālam sent his son, nay, his prop of lofty dignity, master of the time, centre of the circle of manifestation, the controlling Qutb in life, a lamp of lamp-post of the greatest secret Mawlānā Manjhan Shāh 'Ālam to al-Shaikh (Kamāl Mālwi) for prayers of help on behalf of Qutbuddin. He replied, "I have entered into such and such a pledge with the Khalji. Its fulfilment is incumbent on me." He said to him, "If the cause of your pledge is the payment of debt, my father takes it upon himself to pay it." He replied, "A decreed affair had taken place. I wrote to the Khalji about it. The matter has ended. How can it be nullified?" He said, "If I bring to you what was sealed." He replied, "Order will be cancelled." He took out from his pocket the same sealed letter.

* Original Text, p. 6.

No one can understand it except men of God. His beneficence extends over them all. He said, " I will now say prayers for his clear victory as desired by * God." He gave him two arrows to be thrown at the enemy of Qutb-ud-din. He took those two arrows and went to his father. The father smiled. He said, " He was not willing till I presented before him the will of God. It was with great difficulty that he gave me these arrows." He sent him to the Sultān with those arrows taking out their iron head to protect Muslims from their fatal effects. Whatever was to happen, happened. " Oh God! benefit me by their blessings and give me a portion of their bounties. You have created such beings; do not disappoint me from their generosity and manifestation." (Some persons have connected this event with Mawlana Shaikh Kamāl Mālwi who lies burried at Ilampur, (Alampur) one of the suburbs of Ahmedabad by the side of the masjid of Khudāwand Khān known as Malek 'Ailam. Correspondence continued between him and the Khalji Maḥmud. He always requested him to say prayers for assignment of saltanat of Gujarat to him. He sent him once five hundred gold tankas. It was reported to Sultān Muḥammed that he loved gold. He made a cover for the Holy Book as the bag in which he received gold coins from Maḥmud Khalji. It was reported to him as he had heard it. He sent some one to snatch it from him with force. It was brought and kept in custody of the Treasurer. It had a bad effect on the Shaikh. He complained to God about it. He prayed for the saltanat of Gujerat to be given to Maḥmud. His prayer was accepted. He wrote to Maḥmud about this good news, and advised him to come. He acted accordingly. It was at this time that Sultān Muḥammed died and Qutb-ud-din succeeded him. He smellt a peril from Maḥmud Khalji on account of a small army. He held a council of his ministers. They said to him that the saltanat of this dynasty is due to the blessings of Makhdum.i-Jahāniān. Hence it is proper to seek help from his son Qutb-i-'Ālam and turn to him. The ministers took Qutb-ud.din to the saint's presence and requested him for help. The saint gave him good news about victory. He said that Sultān Muḥammed suffered distraction because of his causing harm to a saint. God willing, it will be remedied. He then said, " Is there any one here who can approach Shaikh Kamāl for apology ? " They unanimously said that this task can be accomplished only by Shāh 'Ālam. Qutb-i-'Ālam replied that none except he could accomplish it. He then sent him to him with a message " No one bears the burden of another." Qutb-ud-din is not to be punished for what his father has done. Hence it is proper to write to the Khalji to go back to his kingdom. Shāh 'Ālam went with this message to Shaikh Kamāl. He gave an uncongenial reply. Shāh 'Ālam went back and repeated what he had heard. Qutb said to him to go again to tell him that the darwishes should connive at the faults of people and that they should look to

* Original Text, p. 7.

comforts of the creatures of God. Hence it is proper to write to him. He* went to him to convey that message. The Shaikh flew into more anger. He went back to his father and reported what he had seen. The Qutb sent him for the third time. He said, "Tell him that the slave Burhānuddin pays obeisance and requests you through medium of the love of the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him that he should connive at the offence of Muḥammed Shāh; because men of that region have so much harshness in them which the residents of this region cannot bear." The Shaikh replied, "I said prayers for the last seven years on behalf of the Khalji. Now my prayers are accepted. Maḥmud is the friend of the faqirs. I invite him. Now should I reject it for that person whose father harassed me? This will not be." He raised his hand on which there was a piece of paper. He gave it to Shah 'Ālam saying that "it was a mandate of government in the name of the Khalji, and it would not be beneficial to act contrary to it. Go back to your father and inform him about it." The vein of Hashemite blood throbbed in Shah 'Ālam. He tore it to pieces saying "it has been issued from the Office of Destiny without consultation of the Qutb-ul-Aqtāb, and hence it is invalid." On seeing it, the Shaikh became invisible and knew what was in the decrees of fate. He said that the Syed treated me witn harshness. He immediately parted from the world. Shāh 'Ālam returned home. The Qutb said to him that he made haste. There was scope for patience. Qutb-ud-din requested the Qutb to keep him under the shelter of Shah 'Ālam to be at ease under such difficulties to bear which I have no strength. The Qutb said to Shāh 'Ālam. "Maḥmud tyrannizes over Qutb-ud-din and regard for the oppressed is a virtue. You accompany his army." He accompanied him. It so happened that at the same camp there was scarcity of water. It was so scare that it was not sufficient to perform ablution for the tahajjud namaz (mid-night prayer). At daybreak, Shāh 'Ālam said to Qutb-ud-din that the climate of the army has become tarbid, the road is uncomfortable and just then the dust-ball rose up. I will go back with your permission. Let there be no anxiety in your mind about victory for it is fixed in your name." Qutb-ud-din requested him to give him his sword by way of an auspicious token. He replied, "A sword, a staff, a shoe and a sheet of cloth and whatever other thing are a source of delight to the darwishes. You are a great sultan. While connecting yourself with them, you may commit some such thing which may not be in accord with the faqirs. Under such circumstances, you may be harmed by a sword. Sultān Qutb-ud-din fell at his feet saying "How can you imagine unmannerly behaviour from me to my benefactor." Shāh 'Ālam replied that such a thing might one day happen through decrees of ordained fate. What I have said, would happen one day." He then gave him his sword. Sultān Maḥmud had a favourite war-elephant in his army.

* Original Text, p. 8.

It was named "Ghālib-i-jung" (dominant in war). Shāh 'Ālam ordered the state elephants to be presented before him. He then chose one elephant who had not reached the limit of madness. He rubbed his hand over him. He said, "Let me have grace to split the stomach of the butcher. That elephant bore the name of "Butcher." When he overpowered an elephant, he tore open his stomach. Shāh 'Ālam then took an arrow without its point, put it in a bow and darted it towards the army of the Khalji. He remarked that "this arrow will hit the middle prop of the Khalji's pavilion and break it." He bade them adieu and returned. (It happened what he said). Maḥmud Khalji encamped on the environs of Kapadwanj. He wrote out the following couplet and sent it to Qut-bu-ddin through a qalander.

"I heard that you play with a ball without a polo-stick within the palace,

If you profess yourself a chief; come, here is the ball and the plain."

Qutb-ud-din sent the following reply to him

"If I hold the polo-stick, I will have your head as a ball

But it is a disgrace to cause harm to one's captive."

This sort of contest continued between them for some days. The Khalji thought to make a night-attack. He made a Hindu his guide and rushed upon him on the last night of the month of Safar. A cyclonic wind blew through blessings of the saints in his face to such an extent that the guide lost his way and consciousness through dust and darkness till it was daylight, and he began to roam about to the right and left in search of the army. The Khalji thought that the guide had deceived him and therefore, he killed him. He was one of the reputable leaders of that locality. All of them were much affected by his murder. None dared to help him. Qutb-ud-din learnt about it. He advanced towards him which indicated that he rushed forward to fight with him without caring for the largeness of his army and elephants. He had before him, so to say, the maxim of the Emperor of Iran that a butcher is not afraid of a flock of sheep. He held the hilt of his sword and remarked that "this will be a decisive factor between us." His advance-guard consisted of Mahtah Khān, son of Sultān Muzaffer, Sikander Khān, the maternal uncle of his father Muḥammed Shāh, Iftikhār-ul-Mulk Tughān Khatri, Khān Jahān Munir Sultāni, A'zam Khān Sultāni, Qadr Khān, and 'Alā-ul-Mulk Ulugh Khān Sohrāb Sultāni. Ikhtiār-ul-* Mulk Sultāni, Dilāwar Khān Sultāni were posted on the right wing. The left wing was commanded by Nizām-ud-din Mukhtass-ul-Mulk. When the banners of both the armies became visible, they lost their sleep, anger flamed forth, destruction came near, eye-sockets became red, mouths foamed, the armies rushed forth and encountered like surging sea. Muzaffer Khān, the ruler of Chanderi, a famous city in the district of Māndu was commander of the right

* Original Text, p. 10.

wing of the Khalji's army. He attacked the left wing of Qutbuddin and went as far as the last portion of his army and seized his treasure and provisions. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk, the commander of the right wing pursued him and fought with him fiercely. He fell down from horse-saddle and was captured. He was the cause of war. He was, therefore, hanged on the gate of Kapadwanj after the war was over. Muhtah Khān attacked the vanguard of the Khalji but his regiment could not maintain steadiness and retreated to the centre. The man who broke the rows personally till he entered the centre, and went to the pavilion was Ulugh Khān Sohrāb. He wielded his sword and returned in safety. In like manner, his nephew Malek Dādan who galloped his horse bravely, tore the royal pavilion by his sword but died a martyr in the battle-field. The Khalji then lost his temper. He put his great elephant called "the butcher" in fight. Qutb-ud-din encountered him with his very intrepid soldiers. He put his small elephant called "Hoshiār Mast". "The Butcher" attacked him and "Hoshiar Mast" stood firm. He entangled his tusks in his tusks on account of which his one tusk broke. Inspite of it, he stood firm. When the Butcher intended to press him between his feet, he attacked him with his one tusk which penetrated into the mouth of the Butcher and seriously wounded him. He fled from him. The Hoshiār Mast pursued him and felled him on the ground. He was severely wounded by spears and consequently he died. Two other elephants, besides the Butcher, came forward to encounter Hoshiār Mast. He met both of them. One of them was called Malek Sudani. (Sudani means intoxicated). "Both were overpowered by the Sultān's retinue.. Now the encounter was between Qutb-ud-din and Maḥmud. The oven of war got heated. It was so dark that the guidance was available only through the lightning of the sword and the lustre of the* spear. At last, Qutb-ud-din was victorious. The Khalji left behind him many elephants, provisions and men. The Khalji came out safely from the battle-field. When he passed by the village of Mekhrej, the kolis and other mischief-mongers plundered him of what was left with him. This incident took place on the last day of Safar (855) (1452). The historian Husām says that many dead soldiers of the Khalji bore no wounds. If there was any mark on their faces, it was a mark of a stick. This proved that Qutb-ud-din's victory was due to the help of the saints as previously stated.

In 857 (1453-54), Maḥmud Khalji set out for Dandwana though he intended to go to Nāgor. On the way, he received information that the great amir Syed 'Atāullāh Qiwām-ul-Mulk was coming that side. He wished to make a night-attack on him and so he lagged a manzil behind him. At night, he made a night-attack on him but did not find him at that place and so he returned. The absence of Syed 'Atāullāh was due to this that when he learnt about Khalji's lagging behind, he suspected of some manoeuvre on his part and so he left that

* Original Text, p. 11.

place early in the night and went to some other place. The Khalji's companions dissuaded him to go to Nāgor. He, therefore, went to his kingdom. Firoz Khān, son of Shams Khān Dandāni, the ruler of Nāgor and the son of Wajih-ul-Mulk died this year. His second son Mujāhid Khān b. Shams Khān occupied the fort. Shams Khān son of Firoz Khān, the nephew of Mujāhid Khān approached Rānā Kumbha, the ruler of Khunbhalner and sought his help to fight with his uncle. Before this, Firoz Khān and Rānā Mukul, the father of Rānā Kumbha had fought many battles. In one battle, ten thousand Hindus were killed. Rānā Kumbha agreed to help Shams Khān b. Firoz Khān on condition that he should pull down three turrets after the conquest of Nāgor fort. The Rānā marched to help him on fulfilment of the above condition. Mujāhid Khān sought refuge with the Khalji on receipt of this news. The fort of Nāgor was occupied by Shams Khān. When Rānā Kunbha started to pull down the turrets for fulfilment of the above condition, the amirs and the army refused to fulfil that condition. Whereupon, Rānā Kumbha left the place in anger and made preparations for war. Now Shamsuddin (Shams Khān Firoz Khān) went to Qutb-ud-din Sultān and reported to him that Rānā Kumbha wanted to subdue Nāgor. Qutb-ud-din sent an army for its defence while Shams Khān remained with him and got his daughter married with him. This girl became his great favourite. Rānā Sangha collected a large army and invaded Nāgor. A bloody battle was fought between the two armies. A large number of Muslims were martyred. Many of them were made captives. Besides the fort, the whole region was occupied by the Rana.

On receipt of this news, Sultan Qutb-ud-din marched to the fort of Sirohi* in 860 (1456) and conquered it. This fort is situated on the top of a mountain. He killed a number of unbelievers. He rode an elephant at the hour of victory. After laying it waste, he marched to Kunbhalner. Its fort is stronger and higher than that of Sirohi. He did what he did at Sirohi. He then laid siege to the fort. The Rānā lived in the fort. He came down and fought with those who had laid siege to the fort several times but he suffered a defeat. He was reduced to a helpless state. He submitted, agreed to pay a tribute and to undertake repairs of the Nāgor fort. He gave an elephant to the Sultān and ten thousand ashrafis to Shams Khān. He then returned to Aḥmedābād. It was during this time that Ghiyāsuddin b. Maḥmud Khalji carried out pillaging raids in the neighbourhood of Surat and Rānder.

There was a flash of lightning of divine grace. The Khalji sent a message of peace to Qutb-ud-din for concord on jihād in the path of God and mutual help in hours of need. Qutb-ud-din appreciated it and persuaded him for jihād. After this correspondence, he went to his kingdom from Chāmpāner. The

* Original Text, p. 12.

Khalji sent Nizām-ul-Millat wad-din Shaikh Maḥmud and Malek-ul-'Ulama and Sadr Jahān as emissaries. Qutb-ud-din ordered for their reception. When they came to him, he accorded welcome and gave them many presents. They then talked about the treaty of the Khalji. They agreed on its terms. The Munshi drafted the agreement. He made an offering of gold and jewels upon him, them and every one who was present in the assembly out of respect for jihād, one of the commandments of God, the Holy. When they went back to the Khalji, he accompanied them from his side, the Chief Qāzi Husām-ud-din to hear from the Khalji what was pledged without intermediary and placed the Khalji's seal upon the written document of the pact. The substance of the agreement was: We are children of the day. We do not repeat the past. We are unanimous in helping the cause of God's religion and raising the word of God. We shall not cross each other's frontiers. We shall fulfil the terms of agreement. Chitor, Sirohi, Kunbhalner, the region of Rānā Kunbha and their neighbourhood fall within the jurisdiction of Sultān Qutb-ud-din. Mewār, Ajmer, and their adjacent territory are within jurisdiction of Sultān Maḥmud Khalji. Peace is concluded on these terms.

In 841 (1438. 861 ? 1457), Qutb-ud-din marched for the conquest of Ābu and conquered its fort. Rānā Kunbha exercised his authority over it. It did not belong to him. Its old ruler was a tributary of Qutb-ud-din. He gave it back to him. He then marched forward to Sirohi and subjected it to pillage. He proceeded to Kunbhalner and did to it what Kunbha did to Nāgor. Rānā * Kunbha emerged one day from ravines of mountains with four thousand horse and foot of the same number and one hundred elephants. The Muslims assaulted him with all their might and made him flee. Very few persons remained with him. When he found that most of his good soldiers had died, he accepted payment of tribute. Qutb-ud-din then left him and returned to his capital.

It was in this year that a messenger from Nāgor brought news that Rānā Kunbha had marched to invade Nāgor. It was night. 'Imād-ul-Mulk Sha'bān-us-Sultāni knocked the door of the harem, entered it and went to the Sultan's chamber and sought permission. When he stood before the Sultān, he inquired as to what happened in this dark night. 'Imād-ul-Mulk informed him about the Rānā's invasion of Nāgor. He advised him to go out of the city at that very moment as the spies of the enemy might be moving about and they would write to him that the Sultān had knowledge of his invasion and that he had made arrangement for administration during his absence and further that none should transgress his limit. 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent for the pālki and took out Qutb-ud-din from his bed-chamber by catching hold of his hand, seated him in the pālki and took him outside the capital. When he crossed the river, his amirs collected

* Original Text, p. 13.

around him with their regiments. They all marched to the Sarkhej plain. It so happened that a spy of Rānā Kunbhā who lived in the city sent him a report of the Sultān's march against him. Qutb-ud-din was yet as Sarkhej when an emissary of Rānā Kunbha brought information that the Rānā repented of the report which had spread and that he sought pardon. He also placed before him his costly presents. Qutb-ud-din cherished him with his favours. He then addressed 'Imād-ul-Mulk saying that he was the cause of those costly presents and therefore, he should take them. He then returned to the capital.

In 861 (1457) Qutbuddin marched to Kunbhalner and burnt the city and brought whatever wealth, goods and animals he could lay hand on, to his kingdom. In like manner, the Khalji did similar deeds in regions of his side. Both of them had decided to reduce the Rānā to such a state that he might be in a position to establish peace and order in his kingdom and therefore, they neither spared his village nor town where he could settle. They did not leave any piece of land where he could graze his animals. Ruin and desclation alone could be seen after him. The Rānā made 'Imād-ul-Mulk, a mediator and sought Qutb-ud-din's protection as a tributary. He went back to his kingdom.* After some days, Qutb-ud-din felt ill and died in Jamādi II, 862 (1458). He was buried by the side of his father. He reigned for seven years and six months. He was strong, brave, intrepid, glorious, victorious and triumphant. His mother suspected his wife, who was Shams Khān's daughter to have poisoned him. His mother subjected her to great hardship. Her co-wives were responsible for this because he loved her most. Her father was Shams Khān. He was also made a butt of reproach and rebuke. Wish of God happens.

A historian said that one day Qutb-ud-din came to pay respects to the saint, His Holiness Shāh Ālam, may God sanctify his grave. They talked about virtuous children who enliven their foreathers and families. Qutb-ud-din talked about the same matter privately with the saint. The saint replied that "your brother after you will be a person of great glory and majesty." Qutb-ud-din lowered his head in disappointment in respect of his successor. God gives Kingdom to whomsoever He wishes. When Qutb-ud-din died, his son Dāwood sat upon the throne. He was not fit to be a King. He was given up to lust and passion. He had given promises of great posts to mean and base persons. He assigned high posts to them. Consequently his amirs dethroned him. 'Imād-ul-Mulk went to the harem and demanded Maḥmud from his mother. The mother put forth excuses and apologies when Maḥmud stepped in. 'Imād-ul-Mulk saluted him and carried him from the harem to the abode of saltanat. On getting this news, Dāwood hid himself at some place and then was not seen.

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* Original Text, p. 14.

# CHAPTER III

*Abul Fatḥ Saif-ud-din Maḥmud Shāh*
*b. Muḥammed Shāh b. Aḥmed Shāh b*
*Muḥammed Shāh b. Muzaffer Shāh al-Ghāzi.*

Abul Fatḥ Maḥmud Shāh b. Muḥammed Shāh ascended the throne on 11th Rajab, 862 (1458). It was a day which saw his rise to the rank of a sovereign. There were 53 title-holding amirs. He continued Imād-ul-Mulk Sha'bān as a Wazir who held the same post during the regime of his brother Qutbuddin. He was a man of sound intellect and vigorous intelligence.

Certain events took place in the early part of his reign. The first was the imprisonment of the above mentioned Wazir. There was a clique of certain amirs and maleks such as 'Azd-ul-Mulk Kabir Sultāni, Safi-ul-Mulk Khizr, Burhān-ul-Mulk Ismā'il and Husām-ul-Mulk Chhajhu who desired to seat Ḥasan* Khān b. Muḥammed Shāh b. Muzaffer Shāh on the throne. They knew that so long as 'Imād-ul-Mulk was there, they would not accomplish their desire. They unitedly said to Maḥmud that he intended to seat his son Shihābuddin on the throne. Maḥmud was much affected by this account. They all advised him to incarcerate him in the citadel of the capital. When they were satisfied from his side, they made efforts to implement their decision. One night, Malek Abdullāh, the superintendent of the elephant-stable saw the Sultān. He gave evidence of 'Imād-ul-Mulk's innocence from the guilt they attributed to him. They were unanimous in making Ḥasan Khān the Sultān. They are afraid of 'Imād-ul-Mulk's onslaught and so they tried for his imprisonment. The truth of what I say will manifest itself with the rise of morning. Maḥmud saw his mother and informed her what he had heard from the superintendent. She sent for him and questioned him. He repeated what he had said and confirmed it on oath. She asked him about the plan to frustrate their wish. 'Imād-ul-Mulk should be immediately liberated. The Queen Mother gave an order for his release. Sultān Maḥmud summoned the amirs of the State, particularly, Ḥāji Kālu and Bahāuddin and placed before them the facts. They also gave their consent to release 'Imād-ul-Mulk. The Sultān personally went to the turret and he sent Sharaf-ul-Mulk to the citadel for his release. Sharaf-ul-Mulk went to the citadel and got 'Imād-ul-Mulk released inspite of prevention of the guards. Maḥmud ordered the chains to be cut down from his hands and feets and apologized himself for it. The Sultān then sought counsel from 'Imād-ul-Mulk in connection with those disloyal amirs. He requested the Sulṭān to sit in the balcony of the

* Original Text, p. 15.

mansion in the citadel situated opposite to the gate of the capital The Sultān acted accordingly. He then ordered the elephants to be brought. Malek 'Abdullāh brought them and made them stand on both the sides in a row of thirty on each side. The amirs of the State were made to stand along with their retinue in the plain which was attached to the inside gate. 'Imād-ul-Mulk made his soldiers stand breadth-wise on both sides of the gate. He himself sat opposite to Maḥmud on the balcony of the gate of the parapet. He was thus in a position to have a full view of the situation. At dawn, the insurgents came completely armed with Ḥasan Khān. They found 'Imād-ul-Mulk ready with elephants and regiments. They remarked with regret that the secret was divulged during the night. They were thus thinking over the matter when 'Imād-ul-Mulk's soldiers faced them. Behind them, there was a battalion of soldiers. Blood-shed and war ensued from every side. 'Azad-ul-Mulk left his soldiers and fled towards the river bank. He was killed there. The title † ot 'Azad-ul-Mulk was conferred upon Kālu. Burhān-ul-Mulk was made a captive and his title was conferred upon Sa'ad Bakht Sultāni. Safi-ul-Mulk was similarly made a captive. Ḥusām-ul-Mulk fled to his brother Rukn-ud-din, the 'Āmil of Luwāni, a village nearby. The rest retreated with regret. 'Imād-ul-Mulk became a Wazir with full authority. He was a good Wazir, peace-loving and a well-wisher of the faqirs. He laid out a garden in Ahmedabad which became known as Bāgh-i-Sha'bān. He personally planted most of the plants of that garden. It is stated in the Traditions of the Prophet, " Every person will definitely get what he has sincerely wished for. " It is said that the cause of laying out the garden of Sh'bān was a famine. He wanted to help and show sympathy to the needy without their questioning on this pretext. He had instructed the labourers that none should be asked to go back even if he is not in a position to give full work. They should neither be forced to work nor they should be compelled to come earlier. It is sufficient that they should come for work. It does not matter whether they work or not. He personally paid a visit to the place of work every evening and paid wages to the labourers. It so happened one day that he issued forth from his house in the evening with a small amount of money to the garden to pay wages to the labourers. The amount was found to be insufficient. Some persons approached him to get help in money from him. He told them that as the labourers had worked for the whole day, they must be paid the wages, otherwise their wives and children would sleep without food. He promised them to pay the amount the next day. Those persons told him that if they came the next day, they would be afraid to approach him on account of policemen being around him. 'Imād-ul-Mulk took an oath for the fulfilment of promise. They then allowed 'Imād-ul-Mulk to go home. Next day, he came with the amount he had promised. Policemen were with him,

† Original Text, p. 16.

Those persons dispersed through fear. He kept the policemen at a certain distance, approached those persons and paid each of them the promised amount by shouting their names. He then inquired from them about their means of subsistence. They stated that their monetary condition was bad, that they were needy and in difficulties without any helper. He ordered them to come to his public audience-hall. He then went towards the garden. When those persons presented themselves in the audience-hall, he gave each one what he deserved. They gave up robbery. They had got addicted to predatory habits for lack of means of subsistence. It is stated in the Tradition of the prophet, "Poverty sometimes makes a man an unbeliever."

In my opinion, if 'Abdul Karim I'timād Khān Sultāni had behaved similarly with the Imperial army during the days of his ministership particularly with the needy, there would have been no disturbances and insurrections both † on land and sea and those who deserved pity would not have attacked him. Wazir 'Imād-ul-Mulk Sh'bān deserves good prayers of those persons who lived in his age as well as of those who were other than they. Oh God! give us grace to practise goodness and spare those with thanks who do good. Verily, you listen to prayers and accept them.

The historian says that 'Imād-ul-Mulk resigned the post of ministership. After some time, he died. His title was conferred upon Hāji Sultāni. The title of Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk was bestowed upon Bahāuddin Sultani. Kālu Sultāni was made 'Azad-ul-Mulk ; Aisan Sultāni was titled Nizām-ul-Mulk while Sa'ad Bakhsh Sultāni was conferred the title of Burhān-ul-Mulk. Sārangpur Sultāni was titled Mukhlis-ul-Mulk and Tughān Sultāni, Farhat-ul-Mulk. In 866 (1461), Sultān Maḥmud went out for hunting to the side of the river Kāri when an emissary of Nizām Shāh b-Humāyun Shāh brought a letter wherein it was stated that Sultān Maḥmud Khalji had invaded his territory and that he was in a helpless state and asked for help. The Sultān postponed his idea of hunting and marched towards Sultānpur with his companions. He ordered his Wazir also to join him when the Sultān reached Sultānpur, another messenger arrived and gave him intelligence of war. Nizām Shāh gained a victory at first. The Deccanis hid themselves in the ravines. The Khalji was in ambush with twelve thousand horse. He emerged from his ambuscade and poured upon Nizām Shāh, who was with a few of his favourites. He was only eight years old. Sikander Khān attacked him from the rear and he carried Nizām Shāh to his capital, Bidar. The Wazir Khwāja Jahān stood firm against the Khalji for as much time as Sikander Khān was out of his sight. He too then retreated. This battle-field is situated at a distance of forty farsakhs from the capital.

† Original Text, p. 17.

The Khalji then killed many persons by his sword. He seized a large quantity of war-materials of the enemy. He then began to build forts. When the messenger finished delivery of this news, Maḥmud marched from Sultānpur. Thānēsar was his first halt, where a third messenger gave him news of Maḥmud Khalji's departure because he heard of Maḥmud's approach. He left Bidar and the Rāy of Gondwānā took him to the path of Ancot and Elichpur fearing lest Maḥmud might meet him on the way. His six thousand foot soldiers and twice the number of animals died due to scarcity of water. Again the mountain insurgents attacked him on account of which many more persons died. At the same time, he had to leave war-materials behind him. When the Khalji came † out of the Gondwāna frontiers, he killed the Rāy on account of destruction of his men and animals. He returned to his capital after a great loss. Hence a proverb, "He who digs a well, falls into it." Maḥmud sent his chamberlain along with the chamberlains of Nizām Shāh while he himself returned to Aḥmedabad.

In 867 (1462), a messenger of Nizām Shāh brought news that the Khalji was advancing with an army of 90,000 horse on the territory of Nizām Shāh. On hearing this intelligence, the Sultān got ready along with the messenger. On the other side, the Khalji returned to his capital on hearing this news from Barkanda in the district of Fateḥābād in the territory of the Telangas. When Sultān Maḥmud reached Bhānber, Nizām Shāh's emissary arrived with a letter of thanks and delivered news about the Khalji's return. Sultān Maḥmud then wrote a letter to Sultān Maḥmud Khalji the substance of which was: It is contrary to manliness to intend to invade the territory of a child who has not yet attained to the age of discretion. I will defend his kingdom so long he had not become a man. When you will step into his kingdom I will invade your kingdom as well as those of the unbelievers around you. If it is possible for Nizām Shāh, he will raise you to the stage of jihād. Hemistich: When you reach your kingdom in safety, do not try to advance.

In 869 (1464), the Sultān marched to the fort of Bārud which is situated on top of a mountain near the port of Daman. He killed many persons and seized a large booty. The residents of Bārud were insurgents and raised disturbances every now and then. When he escaladed the mountain for conquest of the fort, the Rājā handed over the keys of the fort and submitted himself to the Sultān. The Sultān entered the fort, saw it, gave it back to him and came down from it.

In 870 (1465), Sultān Maḥmud marched to Aḥmednagar. He heard a report at this place that Bahā-ul Mulk b. 'Alā-ul Mulk Ulugh Khān Sohrāb killed

† Original Text, P. 18.

an armour-bearer. The Sultān sent for him. He sought refuge of 'Imād-ul-Mulk Hāji and 'Azad-ul-Mulk Kālu. He requested both of them to save him. They saw no alternative to save him except that he should state that he had not murdered him and that some one else had committed that misdeed. They then pleased two persons on condition that they would save him being the the favourite amirs of the Sultān. After confession, they would pay the blood-money. Those who confessed were under the impression that they would not be punished with death on payment of blood-money. The heirs of the murdered refused to accept the blood-money and therefore, they were ordered to be put to death. Bahā-ul Mulk thus escaped with his life. After a few days, Sultān Maḥmud learnt about facts of the case. He felt greatly shocked. The case was entrusted to the court of justice. Imād-ul-Mulk Hāji and 'Azad-ul-† Mulk Kālu were ordered to be executed out of retribution. Even though these two amirs were the Sultān's great favourites, yet he did not hesitate in implementing the injunction of religion. Their case is very tragic. If these two amirs had tried from the very beginning for payment of blood-money they would have saved their lives. But the will of God alone is fulfilled. The surprising thing in this case is that Bahā-ul Mulk was the true murderer of the armour-bearer and he came out scot-free. A poet has well said in this respect. Another person committed a heinous crime while punishment is meted out to me. Hence I am a finger of the Kalima for the repentant.

In 871 ( 1467-68 ), the Sultān invaded Girnār, the territory of Rāy Māndalik. His ancestors ruled over it for nearly one thousand years. There was anarchy at the close of Muḥammed Shah b. Tughluq, the king of Delhi. He conquered Girnār in 750 ( 1348-49 ) and made its ruler Rānā Khengār, a captive. The Rānā left the fort and fled in a boat. The kingdom remained in the hands of the Muslims till the reign of Aḥmed Shāh b. Muḥammed Shāh b. Muzaffer Shāh. The Rāna then tried to occupy the fort as well as Fateḥgadh within it. Sultān Maḥmud marched to it this year. He also invaded the round-about territory of Saurath. Residents of Saurath were prosperous and well-to-do. The army of Junagadh consisted of 36,000 soldiers. There is a qasba known as the ravine of Mahāyalah. Its passages are very narrow. It was difficult to pass through them. The Sultān learnt that their treasures were hidden in that place. He, one day, pretended to go out hunting on a horse-back with a falcon on his hand to that* glen when he was suddenly attacked. In the meantime, the army arrived and seized immense wealth and treasures. Many residents of that mountaneous region were killed. There was also their famous idol. When Maḥmud intended to break it, a large number of Brahmins collected together to save it but they were all killed. Rāy Māndlik's emissary came to see Maḥmud

* Original Text, p. 19.

and he accepted submission and agreed to pay tribute. Sultān Maḥmud accepted his terms.

In 872 (1468-69), Sultān Maḥmud heard that Rāy Mandalik wears precious jewels with a canopy over his head when he moves out in sawāri. Maḥmud told him not to do it. He carried out his word.†

Sultān Maḥmud b. Mughisuddin Malek-ush-sharq Khān Jahān Khalji died in 873 (1469). Their rise and fall will be narrated in the account of Sultān 'Alāuddin Maḥmud, who was the last ruler of the Khalji Dynasty. This account will be given in an account of Sultān Bahādur, son of Muzaffer Shāh. When Sultān Maḥmud learnt about the death of Maḥmud Khalji, he prayed for mercy of God on him and performed his funeral rites. Some counsellors advised him to invade Mandu but the Sultān replied that it was not proper to descend calamities upon a mourning family. Still the wound is fresh and it is not proper to plunge them in difficulties.

In 874 (1469-70), he again invaded Girnār. Rāy Māndalik had already become his tributary. The Sultān said to him when he visited his Darbar, " I consider you wise and capable of training. Hence I advise you to become a Muslim so that all your difficulties might be over. I will give you whatever you will demand from me." He lowered his head and gave no reply. The Sultān then said to him that his kingdom would remain with him after his conversion to Islām. On hearing these words, he remained silent and signs of repentance became visible on his face. He felt ashamed as to why he visited his Darbar. The Sultān understood his confused state. He, therefore, told him, " Do not worry. Still it is in your hand to decide between war and Islām. You will have sole authority over your affairs. You will reach your fort. You are now under my protection. You need not feel any fear or danger; go back to your fort and think twice as to which is a better course for you. If you reject conversion to Islām, the war will face you. God willing and I hope from God that I will conquer your fort. You will have to come out empty—handed even though you will be in full power and authority." Rāy Māndalik kissed the royal carpet, said prayers on behalf of the Sultān and said nothing. In the darkness of night, he came out of his pavilion and entered the fort and closed its gates. When the Sultān learnt about it, he remarked that he was free from the enemy. At daybreak, he ordered the army to surround the fort-gate. Rāy Māndalik issued forth from the fort with his army and plunged in war. He fought bravely and retreated to the fort in the evening. The war continued for three days in this manner. The Rāy used to get tired and retire to the fort. During this time, Sultān Maḥmud learnt that 'Ālam Khān son of 'Ālam Khān Fāruqi was martyred. He always fought against the Sultān.

† Original Text, p. 20.

His pavilion was just opposite to the fort-gate. He said good prayers on behalf of 'Ālam Khān. He got furiously enraged against Rāy Māndalik. He personally began to array the army. He made a severe assault with intrepid soldiers and veteran commanders. He was about to win the fort through grace of God by means of his sword but it grew dark. Rāy Māndalik began to think that it was impossible for him to defend the fort. At the same time, most of his soldiers were killed that day. He sent an emissary with apology, submission † and payment of tribute. The Sultān replied, "Your terms will be accepted if you become a Muslim first and then leave the fort." The Rāy sought protection a second time with a request that he should be allowed to go to Girnār with whatever he had with him, and surrender the fort to him. The Sultān accepted his proposals. Rāy Māndalik felt heaviness of heart at the time of leaving the fort. He gathered together his army. They all said that life had no worth after leaving the fort. Death is better than a life of disgrace. How could they leave the fort where their heads were buried, where there were monuments of their community; where their ancestors ruled generation after generation for the last one thousand years. We shall never surrender the fort to the Sultān so long as hilts of swords are in our grip. He was about to leave the fort when at sun-rise the battlefield became hot when many soldiers were killed. Rāy Māndalik felt sorry for his rashness. He again sought apology and protection of the Sultān. Next morning he went away with his men and money. People saw him going but no one raised any objection because the Sultān had given him protection. He did not look baekwards after coming out of the fort. Even if he looked, it was with regret and remorse.

*Conquest of Junagadh*:—The Amir entered the fort on 10th Jamādi II 875 (1470). The drum was brought to his gate. The drums of victory were beaten continuously for several days. Sultān Maḥmud entered the fort and saw all the buildings. He got many of them repaired. He then came back to the royal pavilion and ordered the masons to build a city at the foot of the mountain. When the city was built it was named Mustafābād. He made it his capital.

During these days, it was reported to him that Rāy Jaisingh b. Gangādās Rāwal of Chāmpāner created disturbance and committed depredations and plunder. He appointed Jamāluddin Muḥammed b. Malek Shaikh as the commander of that region, raised his status and conferred upon him the title of Muḥāfiz Khān. He also gave him a banner and a drum. He enjoined upon him the care of subjects and kindness towards creatures of God. He proved to be an efficient administrator. He was a wise statesman, a rider, a manager of affairs, just, perfect, God-fearing, pious, forgiver of faults, hater of corruption.

† Original Text, p. 21.

He prospered the region and left a good name after him. He rose to the rank of a Deputy of the Sultān. He became the confidante of the Sultān. He was noted for soundness of judgment. His magnificence can be gauged from 1700 horses in his stable. It was a favour of God to him. He was the grand-father * of the historian, Husām Khān. Bahāuddin was one of the persons who was ennobled with the title of ' Imād-ul-Mulk. Songhir was his jagir. He had 3500 horses in his stable. His servants were 1200 while the number of orderlies and attendants was 4000. He built the fort of Kutiyāna situated at a distance of 20 miles from Junāgadh. The Sultān similarly raised the rank of Sārang Mukhlis-ul-Mulk and bestowed upon him the title of Qiwām-ul-Mulk. He was assigned the jāgir of Godhra. Tāj Khān b. Malek Shāh also was elevated. Both of them were ' Imād-ul-Mulk in the kingdom. All of them were sent with Muhāfiz Khān to their respective jāgirs.

In 876 ( 1471 ), Sultān Maḥmud marched against Sind. He covered a distance of 61 miles in one day. He had six hundred intrepid youths every one of whom should be called Rustam of the age. He ordered the army and other servants to follow him. On the way, he came across a place called Khur-i-Bahr. It is also called Ran. There was scarcity of water at a distance of ten miles from it. He proceeded further and came to a spot inhabited by tribes called Somru, Sudah and Kahlah. They were 24000 horsemen. When they saw the army flags, they got afraid and wanted to go to some place but when they learnt that it was the army of a Muslim king they stayed on. The Sultān sent word of protection to him and called them to himself. When they came before the Sultān, he inquired from them about their lineage, religion and nationality. They said that they were Muslim but they did not know the commandments of Islām. They, therefore, intermarried with the unbelievers and thus they lived their lives. The Sultān won over their hearts, sent many of them to Mustafābād, gave them houses to live in and assigned jāgirs to them. He gathered them in his Darbār and appointed a learned man to instruct them as to what was lawful and what was unlawful.

In 877 ( 1472 ), Sultān Mahmud learnt that the archer Nutak rose in rebellion against the Sultān of Sind. His men are 40,000 in number. All of them are sea pirates living in Jazr. They do not recognize the authority of any one. They are, really speaking, sea pirates. Sultān Maḥmud marched from Mustafābād at an average speed of 60 miles per day. When he reached the Sind frontiers, they fled away in different directions. Sultān Mahmud halted there for some days when the Sultān of Sind sent him a present and a letter of £ thanks. Sultān Mahmud's mother was the daughter of a Sultān of Sind.

* Original Text, p. 22. £ Original Text, p. 23.

*Conquest of Jagat* :—In the same year 877 (1472), he concentrated his designs to plunder Jagat because the ruler of the place Rānā Bhim had become an insurgent. Jagat is a famous Hindu place of pilgrimage. Its idols are regarded superior to those of other places. Another name of Jagat is Dwarka. Many Brahmins live here. Hindus come here for worship from distant parts of Hindustān. They consider it a righteous reward to bear difficulties and hardships on the way. Some of them used to stand erect, stretch their hands and jump to a distance of half a yard or more and thus paid a visit to it. Length of time did not matter with them. Some of them walked with fetters on feet. They believed that the deity's proximity could be had by bearing such hardships. The image is kept in an elevated temple. It had many worshippers and attendants. Dancing and singing continue through night and day. Lamps remain kindled night and day. It is situated at a certain distance from the sea. Many boats founder near its shore. The cave is so narrow that it was very difficult for one to come out after getting in. There was a strong fort near the temple which was called "Bait Bamālah." The place could be easily reached by sea, but it was difficult to reach by land because the valleys of that mountaneous region are very narrow. Besides there are luxuriant forests wherein beasts, serpents, scorpions etc. dwelt. The Sultān invaded Dwarka because of Mahmud Samarqandi who was a learned man, a poet and a merchant in that age. Once he started from a port in the Deccan for business. A storm arose in the sea. His vessel got entangled in a cave nearby. Residents of the place plundered him. He went to Sultān Maḥmud's Darbār with a complaint shouting, "Help, help." Sultān Maḥmud called him to himself and inquired about his condition. He narrated his sufferings to him. The Sultān sent a messenger to Ahmedabad. He then ordered to beat drums of march and proceeded towards Jagat on 16th Zilhajj. He encamped at Arāmrah. Serpents and scorpions were abundant in this place. Their bites and stings raised a * tumult among soldiers. Nearly more than 700 persons died. Monsoon also was one of its causes. Hot vapour was emitted from below the earth. There were innumerable beasts who roamed about in those forests. People lived in danger because of them. At sunrise, Sultān Maḥmud marched on horse-back. When residents of that region learnt about his march, they garrisoned themselves within the fort along with Rāy Bhim. The Sultān entered Jagat after a few days. He broke its idols and demolished their temple. He established principles and tenets of Islām.

The Sultān surrounded the Bet fort from the sea side. It contained wealth and property in abundance but the quantity of food-grains was so small that it became difficult to live. Rāy Bhim fled away in a boat. He was

* Original Text, p. 24.

pursued by Muslim boatmen. The Sultān's Amir-ul-Bahr (admiral) entered the fort and seized all things. He took precious stores and articles and rare textiles which he obtained to the Sultān. These articles were scattered along the Jagat shores from boats foundered by sea waves. These articles were in abundance. The Sultan then entered the fort and he ordered to store up food-grains. He repopulated it. Amir Tughān Farhat-ul-Mulk Turki was appointed governor of the place. Sultān Maḥmud was the first Muslim king to conquer the Bet fort. He then returned to Mustafābād. Rāy Bhim was brought as a captive soon after the Sultān reached Mustafābād. It was Friday, 13th Jamādi I, 877 (1472). The Sultān detained him and sent for Maḥmud Samarqandi. When he entered the Darbār, the Sultān entrusted Rāy Bhim to him in a fettered state, saying that he was his enemy and that he was permitted to treat him in a manner he liked. The Samarqandi said many prayers on behalf of the Sultān and praised him.

The Sultān sent Rāy Bhim to Ahmedabad with an order to behead him. Every limb of his body was exhibited on every city-gate. Under order of the Sultān, the Samarqandi chose textiles of his own from the stock brought from the fort of Bet. He gave him many more things which he failed to recognize as his own. He was also given the choice to stay or go. The Samarqandi went to Div port. This victory took place in 878 (1473). Twenty years had elapsed from the time Sultān Mahmud had started coming and going from Junagadh till he conquered the fort of Bet. During this period, he was never seen without an armour. He was always found with a sword, a shield and a spear in hand as well as on horse-back. The historians say that none except Sultān Mahmud conquered Junagadh, Bet and Chāmpāner whose account follows. He placed Junagadh in charge of certain reliable person in the month of Rajab* of this year. He then returned to Junagadh.

He marched to Moramli this year. He stayed there and made night-attacks on Chāmpaner several times and returned.

He marched to Junagadh in 885 (1480) and stayed there. He permitted 'Imād-ul-Mulk to go to the charge of his respective territory. He similarly permitted Qiwām-ul-Mulk, Nizām-ul-Mulk, Isan, and Farhat-ul-Mulk. They all passed through Ahmedabad on way to their respective charges. During these days, there lived in Ahmedābād, Sultān Mahmud's son Ahmad Khān, Khudawand Khān b. Yusuf-ul-Wazir and Amir-i-Kabir, Jumlat-ul-Mulk, Jamāluddin Muhāfiz Khān. When all these amirs reached Ahmedābād, it so happened that the Wazir Khudāwand Khān consulted Rāy-i-Rāyān. He was the trustee of royal amirs under the influence of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. The cause of 'Imād-ul-Mulk's murder was that he wanted to seat Ahmad Khān b. Sultān Mahmud on the

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* Original Text, p. 25.

throne. He hoped for help from the amirs as well as the military commanders who most often visited him. When all of them reached Ahmedābād, he desired to win them over to his side. He was certain that 'Imād-ul-Mulk will not be won over to his way of thinking because he knew that he would not be shaken in his view and that he was very loyal to the Sultān. He, therefore, desired to bring him as an accomplice of his plot. 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Rāy-i-Rāyān were very intimate friends. When the Wazir Kudāwand Khān took counsel from him, Rāy-i-Rāyān became a security to bring him to their way of thinking and that no one will be of greater help in this work than he. The Wazir tried to prevent him from this work but he did not listen to him. Rāy-i-Rāyān went to see 'Imād-ul-Mulk that very night who was at Mahmudpur. He saw him and gave him oaths to hide the secret and then apprized him of the Wazir's idea. He approved of it and said that this work should be soon done without any delay. Rāy-i-Rāyān returned home. He had no doubt that 'Imād-ul-Mulk would agree to what he said. But 'Imād-ul-Mulk was not at ease due to his imposture. He sent a messenger to Qiwām-ul-Mulk and his two confederates who had halted at Isanpur village. The message was that they should come to him completely armed before sun-rise. They uprooted their tents at night as soon as they received the message thinking that some new disturbance had arisen. They took themselves to 'Imād-ul-Mulk at night and pitched their tents near him. 'Imād-ul-Mulk did not talk about it to them at night. In the morning when Rāy-i-Rāyān saw the Wazir and informed him that 'Imād-ul-Mulk had agreed with him, the Wazir laughed and said that if it were so, Imād-ul-Mulk and his companions would not have come completely armed in this manner. On the other hand, the Sultān learnt that all the amirs had halted at Ahmedabad and so he was very much surprised. He further learnt that his son Ahmad* wanted to occupy the throne which left no limit to his surprise because no intelligence was given to him about it inspite of 'Imād-ul-Mulk's presence in Ahmedābād. The Sultān started for Ahmedabad. He wanted to inquire about those reports. He sent Sa'eed-ul-Mulk ahead of himself to collect facts. Sa'eed-ul-Mulk started under order of the Sultān and was at a greater distance from the Sultān to inquire about that report when he met certain persons coming from Ahmedabad. S'eed inquired from them about news of Ahmedābād. They told him that everything was alright but 'Imād-ul-Mulk and his companions completely armed on horse-back went for 'Id prayers with the prince. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came out last from the Darbār. He was also armed. On hearing this news, Sa'eed-ul-Mulk came back to the Sultān and reported to him what he had heard. The Sultān turned to Qaiser Khān and said that even though 'Imād-ul-Mulk had written a word to me, but I understand from his movements that some event was about to take place. He then went towards Khanbhāyat. He wrote to the

* Original Text, p. 26.

Amirs at Ahmedabad that he intended to go for ḥajj that year, and that the Amirs should give their co-operation to the prince. 'Imād-ul-Mulk replied that he would be the first to accompany the Sultān for ḥajj. First of all, it was necessary for the Sultān to conquer Chāmpāner and then he should intend to proceed for ḥajj. All the Amirs started for Khanbhāyat. The Sultān held a private talk with 'Imād-ul-Mulk and told him that some event would certainly take place as could be gauged from his external behaviour. He should tell him frankly about it otherwise when suspicion got thick the Qurān and the guitār both would get consumed in fire *i.e.* good and bad will be ruined. The Sultān then remained silent for a while. He then told him that he would not talk with him so long as he did not inform him about facts. 'Imād-ul-Mulk said nothing. The Sultān turned his face from him (remained displeased with him) for some days. One day, 'Imād-ul-Mulk went to see the Sultān in privacy and said, "Oh Sultān, do not be displeased with me because I have taken an oath not to disclose truth and so I did not talk about it to you. As you insist on it, I tell it to you. Rāy-i-Rāyān gave me such and such information and wished to make me of his way of thinking. I told him yes, but I had fear about it. I thought to myself that if I and my companions went to their respective jāgirs and the Wazir will find the plain vacant, then difficulties will arise and amends thereof will be impossible. If I were to speak about it, a revolt might take place. I took an oath on the word of an unbeliever that I will not disclose the secret. So I stopped here instead of going to the jāgir. When Sultān Maḥmud learnt about all these facts, he proceeded to Naharwāla and gave orders to 'Imād-ul-Mulk to conquer Jālor and Sānchor. He presented himself before the saint Mawlānā Shaikh Ḥāji Rajab. At night, the two sons of the Wazir Khudāwand Khān, Mujāhid Khān and Sāhib Khān intruded in the pavilion of Qaisar Khān and murdered him. Both of them absconded. There was an uproar in the army. Imād-ul-Mulk went and saw the Sultān when he found that Ajder Khān b. Ulugh Khān Sohrāb was presented before him by the people* on a charge of Qaiṣar Khān's murder. After some time, intelligence was received that Mujāhid Khān and Ṣāhib Khān had fled away. This news saved the life of Ajder Khān. The Sultan solaced him and gave him a khil'at. The Sultān suspected the father to have instigated his two sons to commit murder. The Sultān returned to Aḥmadābād. The first order that he issued was the arrest of Khudāwand Khān. Sultān Maḥmud's sister was married to him and these two guilty sons were through him on account of whom he had to go to prison. Muḥāfiz Khān was appointed as Wazir.

Imād-ul-mulk died in 855 (1452). His territory and title were given to his son, Budah. He had three other sons, Muḥammed, Manjhu and Gohar.

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* Original Text, p. 27.

*Conquest of Chāmpāner*:—In 887 (1482), the Sultān marched to Chāmpāner. The cause of it was that Malek Sudhā, brother of Ghāzi Khān started from his capital Rasulābād and plundered a village situated at a distance of seven miles from Chāmpāner. On hearing this news, the Rānā of Chāmpāner, Rānā Patāi, son of Rānā Udaisingh invaded Rasulābād. The Amir of the place got killed. The Rānā laid waste his seat of government, captured two elephants and returned. On receipt of this news, Sultān Maḥmud marched to the bank of Dahluhar. When he reached Baroda, he ordered Tāj Khān, 'Azad-ul-Mulk, Biram Khān Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk, Imād-ul-Mulk and Qadr Khān to march against Chāmpāner. Rānā Patāi offered resistance to them when they approached Chāmpāner and fought valiantly with them. He then fled to the mountain fort. Sultān Maḥmud proceeded to the frontiers of Kirmāri situated to the back side of the fort where he resorted to massacre and pillage. He occupied the village of Chitori which is on a lower level than the fort of the mountain. It is separate from it and opposite to it. He then entered the kingdom of Alpāl (Harpāl?) and seized whatever food-stuff and animals he could and sent them to his army encamped at the mountain-foot. Most of the things had fallen in * the hands of the Rānā. It was a year of famine, the army was, therefore, pleased to obtain quantity of food and other commodities. They regained freshness. The Sultan laid siege to the fort. The kitchens were established at several places in the army to feed the poor and the labourers with ease. The Wazir Muhāfiz Khān remained with the army during day time and engaged in administrative work in office in afternoon. Rānā Patāi apologized several times and made submission but the Sultān did not accept them. When the Rānā was disappointed, he sent his Wazir Surā to get help from the Khalji on a promise to pay him expenses for his manzils. Ghiyāsuddin Khān came as far as Na'lcha to his succour. When Sultān Maḥmud heard about it, he continued the siege and sent a part of the army to Dahiwad (Dohad). The Khalji stopped at Na'lcha and he repented of having come to his aid. The Khalji summoned a meeting of the 'Ulamā (learned men) and inquired about the jihād of Muḥmud on supposition that he might invade his territory after conquest of Chāmpāner. Ke asked them whether it was religiously permissible for him. The 'Ulamā replied in the negative. They further said that he who would prevent him from jihād, would be a sinner. The Khalji relied upon that answer and returned to his capital. Similarly, Maḥmud too returned to the foot of the mountain. He built a Jame 'Masjid there which exists even today in Chāmpāner but city itself has become desolate and wild animals and beasts dwell in it. The Sultān then raided a neighbouring village where it was difficult to reach. There were many rare things which could be had with difficulty. The name of the village was Pitwara. The enemies were killed and an immense booty was

* Original Text, p. 28.

seized. Malek Khizr b. Muhāfiz Khān intruded the territory of Alpāl and seized immense stores of wealth and many animals from its village of Bijalhat. The Sultān besieged Chāmpāner for one year and nine months. The garrisoned were reduced to more and more straits, the more the siege continued. During this period, Mahmud raided round about places and collected food-grains and money from almost every village and house around Chāmpāner. Cloth of those* places also enriched his ward-robe. Animals of those places were in his stables and food-stuff came to his kitchen. Youths of those places sought his protection. Weak old men were his freed slaves. Remedy of insurrection was none other than the swords of his friends when the Rānā Patāi was reduced to this state, he sought counsel of his mother to free himself from this hardship. He informed her that he had become helpless in every respect. All hopes have been severed and they are in despair of means of living. The mother replied, "Oh my son! your minister Surya had involved you in hardships while he himself is free from them. He went to the Khalji as an emissary and did not come back. I find your welfare in surrender and submission to the Sultān." The Rānā replied, "It is better to burn myself than to submit myself to this disgrace." He then came down with his soldiers and fought for the whole day. At night, he decided to burn women-folk. The Hindus call it jauhar. This custom prevails among them even today. When they become helpless in war, they burn their women in this manner. All those persons who agreed with him in this matter bade adieu to their wives. It was such a painful moment, the sight of which even melted stone-like hearts. After this decision of jauhar, flames and smoke became visible in Chāmpāner. After this, Rānā Patāi and seven hundred soldiers who were despaired of life after burning of their wives, took a bath in a reservoir, wore good garments, suspended swords, tied daggers to waists and waited for day break imagining that night to be the last of their lives. When the Muslim army saw that the inmates of the fort were in their respective worries and they did not find watch-men of the gates, they posted their cannons facing the fort-gates. It was day-break and the cannons had begun to be discharged, the Hindus made utmost efforts to see that the gates did not open but a hole at last was made in the fort-wall due to discharge of cannons. Farhat-ul-Mulk Tughān entered the fort through this hole with his regiment of the Turks. They all climbed up the parapet-wall. Patāi's soldiers intended to fight but they jumped into flames of fire at night. They set fire to a house near the gate, the flames of which spread light around that place. The Sultān † saw through this light that his army had escaladed the fort-gate, he prostrated before God out of thanks and prayed that his soldiers might not be burnt in fire. When he raised his head from prostration, he saw that the fort-gate was burning and that his army was safe. Then gradually, the houses near the gate

* Original Text, p. 29.

† Original Text, p. 30.

began to burn due to flames of fire. The house in which Rānā Patāi, his wives and companions had collected together for burning, caught fire. They too got burnt in no time and were reduced to ashes. The Sultān kept awake for the whole night. In the morning, he intended to climb up the mountain. Those who first entered the fort-gate were Malek Pyārā Bhānderi and Malek Bachhu. Some persons had joined the army a few days with an intention for jihād. They went away as soon as the war was over. One of them was Qāzi 'Imād of Baroda. He came to his master Ulugh Khān and got his name cancelled from the roll of soldiers. These mujāhids prepared their own flag and stood collected under it. They then rushed upon the gate. These persons were in front of the Sultān. When Rānā Patāi saw that they were advancing, he came out of the reservoir with his companions and fought valiantly with the Muslim army. It was a very critical hour for both the armies. Only those who were fired with the zeal of martyrdom or bravados could remain steadfast in this battle-field. Qāzi 'Imād and Rānā Patāi continued to fight. Malek 'Imād wounded him by his sword when a piece of stone hit him from some unknown quarter. Rānā Patāi fell down unconscious. Maḥmud put him in charge of Muhāfiz Khān for treatment. One of his sardārs named Dungersi was seriously wounded, he too was entrusted to Muhāfiz Khān for treatment. He ordered them to be imprisoned in a wooden cage with iron locks. Qāzi Imād got martyred while fighting. Sultān Maḥmud went on advancing by wielding his sword. The Sultān entered the Rānā's mansion and thence he went to a house which was most elevated in the fort. It was named Molyā. When he reached it, he found the Rānā's son, two daughters and his mother. When these children saw them burning, they deserted their mother and fled to the Molyā. The Sultān entrusted the girls to his harem and the son to Saif-ul-Mulk Sultāni to adopt him as a son. This Saif-ul-Mulk Sultāni was bestowed the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk during the reign of Muzaffar Shāh. He was appointed as Amir of Idar. When the Sultān conquered the fort, he ordered a city to be built at the foot of the mountain. It was named Muhammedabad. From this account, it becomes clear that* Naharwāla was the capital from the early days of Sultān Muzaffer Shāh as stated before from the days of Mu'izuddin Muhammed Sām upto his time. This was also the capital of the Sultāns of Delhi. Ahmedābād become the capital from the regime of Sultān Muzaffer as well as during the reign of Aḥmed Shāh son of Maḥammed Shāh. When Sultān Maḥmud conquered Junāgadh, he made Mustafābād as capital. When he conquered Chāmpāner, he made Muhammedābād as capital. He stayed here for one year and one year at Mustafābād because Mustafābād was also near Sindh, while Mandu's frontiers joined Muḥammedābād. After the conquest of Chāmpāner, Maḥmud's territory extended to distant places. The details of it are: From Muḥammedābād to Mandu and from Junā-

* Original Text, p. 31.

gadh to Sindh; from Jālor and Nāgor to Sewālik mountains; from Baglāna to Nāsik Trimbak; from Burhānpur to Berar as far as Malkāpur of the Deccan; from Burhānpur to Karkun ( Konkan ? ) as far as the river Narbadā, from Idar to Chitor and Kumbhalner; from the west coast of Hindustan to Chewal. God gives His kingdom to whomsoever He wishes. When he made this great conquest, the 'Ulamā and eminent men of the kingdom came to congratulate the Sultān. When the festival of felicitation was held, he addressed the audience saying that there was a great lesson to be learnt from the Rānā remaining alive along with the death of his dependants. Put the teachings of Islām before Rānā Patāi and invite him to accept Islām. His kingdom will be given back to him. You persuade him to accept the path of guidance. He was called before them. The learned men who were instructed by the Sultān to show him the path of guidance, persuaded him much to accept Islām. But Rānā Patāi remained intransigent and said, " I will die but not accept Islām." None can be guided who is misguided by God. At last, the Sultān ordered that he should be beheaded on a black hillock. The black hillock is at the foot of the Chāmpāner mountain. It is a small hillock separate from the fort. This event took place in 890 ( 1485 ). But when Dungersi was being led to the place of execution, he took a sword by trick from one who walked beside him. He struck a Muslim whose name was Shaikhan b. Kabir with it. He began to fall on the ground but before falling, he threw the sword at him with such force that he died at that very spot while that Muslim remained alive.

Mawlānā Yusuf b. Ahmed b. Muhammed b. Usmān writes in his " Manzar-ul-Insān " Khutba ( address ) as a commentary on the history of Ibn-i-Khallikān which book has been dedicated by him to Sultān Mahmud b. Muhammed * wherein he states that Chāmpāner was conquered in 889 ( 1484 ). It is clear from the Khutba's year of composition. Perusal of the book shows that the author was proficient in both the languages. We also learn from it that both the parties acknowledged the scholarship of the author. Syed Usmān was a great successor without any intermediary of Burhānuddin Qutb-i-'Ālam, may his grave be sanctified. His title was " Sham'-i-Burhāni. Usmanpur village was named after him. He lived there. His tomb is also situated there. Sābarmati is in between the fort of Ahmedābād and Usmānpur. Sābarmati is to the north-east of the fort. It is said that Sultān Mahmud b. Muhammed was a spiritual disciple of Syed Usmān. For this reason, the Sultān populated the village in his name. The Sultān had great faith in his spiritual guide. He looked after him very much. He had received many beneficences from him on the path of Tariqat. He very often paid visits to him. He was granted monthly stipend more than alllowances. In like manner, allowances were fixed for members of his family as well as attendants. Most of Sultan's books were

* Original Text, p. 32..

with him as well as in his madresa. He died in 863 (1458-59). May God benefit me through him! Conquest of Chāmpāner took place on 2nd Ziq'ad, 889. After that, the Sultān went to Dhanduka. He nominated his son, Khalil Khān as a viceroy of the region extending from that place to the bank of the river. He then returned to Chāmpāner.

In this very year, the Sultān went out for hunting round-about Hālol. While he was hunting, certain merchants complained to him that the ruler of the Ābu fort had seized their horses which were bought by them for the Sultān at Lahore. Sultān Maḥmud said to them, "I am ready to pay the price of horses as you mention. If you wish me to get back your horses, I will get them for you and sell them on profit wherever you like. He then sent an order to the Rājā of 'Ābu to give back their horses. He ordered the tents to be pitched in the forest. He stayed there in expectation of the result. The merchants approached the Rājā of Ābu. He returned their horses to him on getting acquainted with the Sultān's farmān. He requested them to get his offence forgiven by their entreaties. The merchants came to the Sultān with horses and presented them to the Sultān. The Sultān did not like to take them without payment of price but he ordered the price of the horses to be paid. They then requested the Sultān to pardon his fault. The Sultān acceded to their request.

In 896 (1490), Sultān Maḥmud received intelligence that Bahādur Gilāni* had created disturbances at the port of Dābol. His mischief had extended from Dābol to Khāmbhāyat and all the ports on the seashore. Travellers on land and sea suffer many hardships at his hands. The Sultān ordered his vanguard to march to the Deccan. He wrote to the king of the Deccan Mahmud Shah Bahamani that he should prevent Gilāni from carrying out depredations otherwise he had already ordered his vanguard to march to the Deccan. The Sultān then ordered Qiwām-ul-Mulk to march against Gilāni. As soon as Qiwām-ul-Mulk received the order he started for the ports keeping himself near the sea-shore. Qiwām-ul-Mulk had reached the port of Akāsi Basi when he received a letter from the king of the Deccan with a request that he should halt where he was because he would curb the activities of Gilāni. Bahādur Gilāni was an adherent of the Minister Maḥmud who was popularly known as Makhdum. His title was Khwāja Jahān. When Khwāja Jahān was killed, Sultān Maḥmud Bahamani was of tender age. Taking advantage of his weakness, Bahādur occupied the port of Dābol which was in possession of the Bijapur State. The Sultān of the Deccan assembled the amirs and wazirs of the kingdom and said that he had obligations of Khwāja Jahān Maḥmud. If he was not well-disposed towards him, the Khalji would have involved him in difficulties. Maḥmud was one the rebels of his state and that he would not have

† Original Text, p. 33.

resisted Maḥmud Khalji. It is better on our part to please Sultān Maḥmud by suppressing the revolt of Bahādur. After that, the king of the Deccan fought with Bahādur. When he was captured in the battle-field, he was put to death. Maḥmud Khalji was apprized of this event. Qiwām-ul-Mulk also returned. The main cause of Bahādur Gilāni's disturbances on the sea-ports and particularly around Khanbhāyat was that Malek-ut-tujjār lived in that region during the days of the Minister Khwāja Jahān. He then came to reside in Khanbhāyat. He had a beautiful daughter. Bahādur wished her father to marry her with him but he rejected the offer. The merchant died a few days later. Bahādur wrote to Khwāja Muḥammed the Vakil of the deceased merchant who was popular as Khayyāt to get the girl married with him. He also did not give any reply. He continued to make repeated demands for the hand of the girl yet he failed to get her. Bahādur sent a man to Khanbhāyat to murder Khwāja Muḥammed Khayyāt and to kidnap the girl. At last, he murdered Khwāja Muḥammed and yet he failed to get the girl. He absconded in a small boat fearing that he might be captured and killed. This was the root of Bahādur Gilāni's disturbances.

In 897 (1499), he learnt that the Amir-i Kabir Bahāuddin Ulugh Khān b. 'Ālāul Mulk Ulugh Khān Sohrāb practised tyranny over his subjects. He was at Modāsa. None had the strength to oppose. The Sultān marched against him. Ulugh Khān fled to some direction. The Sultān sent Sharaf Jahān to him with a guarantee for protection of his life. Ulugh Khān did not believe him. He left his jagir and fled to Ghiyāsuddin Khalji. He also gave him no shelter. Ulugh Khān had gone to him because his father Sohrāb Ulugh Khān* had cordial relations with his father Maḥmud. When Ghiyāsuddin did not give him any shelter, he left him and proceeded to Sultānpur. The governor of Sultānpur was 'Aziz-ul-Mulk Shaikhan Sultāni whose nickname was "Khushāmad". He laid siege to Sultānpur. When Qāzi Barah came to his help, Bahāuddin Ulugh Khān hid himself among the mountains of Murgh-i-Dasrah, and sought help from the ruler, Rāj Dahāwji. Qāzi Barah pursued him as far as the qasba of Tarkirah where he found Dahāwji waiting to aid and assist Bahāuddin. A war ensued between them. Mashāikh b. Qāzi Baraha and some others got killed. Bahāuddin fled from the battle-field. Ultimately, he came to Sultān Maḥmud. The Sultān pardoned him because he knew that his father Sohrāb Ulugh had cordial relations with the Sultān's brother. After a month, he killed the government peshkar. The Sultān arrested him, imprisoned him where he remained ill for some time and died in 901 (1496).

In 904 (1499), the Sultān marched to Asir Burhānpur because its ruler failed to send tribute this year which he sent regularly before that. He en-

* Original Text, p. 34.

camped on the river Piyās where his vakil arrived with the tribute. The Sultān, therefore, turned to Bhānbir and Derpāl. Both these places were conquered by Nizām-ul-Mulk Isan Sultāni.

In 906 ( 1501 ), his vanguard marched to Mandu because it was reported that Nāsiruddin Khalji had poisoned his father. He intended to punish him. Nāsiruddin's emissaries met him who reported that he had no hand in it.

It is stated in Mirāt-i-Sikandarī that Syed Muḥammed Jaunpuri who styled himself as the Promised Mahdi came to Ahmedābād at the close of Sultān Maḥmud's reign. He put up in the masjid of Tāj Khān b. Sālār situated near the Jamālpur gate. He was very much liked on account of his litanies and lectures on religion. People crowded themselves around him. The number of his believers went on increasing. When he first arrived here, he did not profess him-elf as Mahdi. When his fame reached the perfect saint His Holiness Shāh Shaikh Jiv b. Syed Maḥmud b. Qutb-ul-'Ārefin Syedna Burhānuddin famous as Qutb-i-'Ālam, he came to see him and shook hands with him and sat down. Muḥammed Jaunpuri read out a verse of the Qurān. In like manner Shaikh Jiv gave a suitable reply by reciting the verse of the Qurān. Thus they talked among themselves by reciting verses of the Qurān. No other talk took place between them except this. Mawlānā Shaikh Jiv left him after shaking hands. When he came out of the house, some persons inquired from his companions about Maḥammed Jaunpuri. They replied that he was an intoxicated (sar-mast) man. He talks to commoners which are meant for particular persons.* He does not act according to a maxim, " Talk with the people according to their intelligence ". It so appears from his behaviour, that his followers will create a disturbance after him. I say what Mawlana Jiv had stated, took place. His followers made use of sternness in making people believe that he was the Promised Mahdi and those who did not believe him as such were unbelievers. It was lawful to kill such persons.

These persons spread in Hindustān at many places and converted many persons to the Mahedwi sect. I do not say that his followers were only illiterate but his magic worked on many intelligent persons. When his creed spread and the amirs and the army commanders believed in his talks, they increased in strength. They openly supported their creed. They became so daring in propagation of their creed, that they killed those who did not acquiesce in his claim of Mahdi. They killed some learned men. The faith of believers had become so deep-rooted that an individual never thought of himself as an individual but an aggregation and considered surrender of life and inviting hardships as attainment of proximity with God. He was indifferent to life like the Fidais of the Ismailia sect. Their fanatic belief spread in Gujarat during end of the reign of

* *Original Text, p. 35.*

Sultân Maḥmud b. Latif b. Muzaffar. He tried hard to expel the Mahdawis. His attack on them was so severe that Gujarat would have been empty of them. During this struggle Muḥammed Jaunpuri was martyred. His martyrdom was regarded as a miracle by his followers. They repeat this account often and often. During the amirship of Sher Khân b. 'Ain-ul-Mulk and the sovereignty of Muzaffer b. Maḥmud there lived at Naharwâla Pattan the Shaikh of their creed. This misguided person's name was Rashid. During the beginning of Akbar's invasion, those persons fled away from Pattan and resided on the region under Khân-i-Azam 'Aziz Kuka, Amir Amin Sanjar was the viceroy in Gujarat. People addressed him as Naib Sanjad Khan. Rashid created his own influence among the people. He requested a certain man to convey his message to the viceroy. The person whom he had made his confidante told him that he was disposed towards his faith. He wanted to make his confidante, the Shaikh of his creed. The confidante agreed to his proposal after much effort. Rashid approached Sanjad Khân with his companions. Sanjad Khân made arrangement for his hospitality which was the last morsel of his worldly provisions. When Rashid and Sanjad Khân sat together, he inquired from Rashid about his belief as well as his co-believers. Rashid told him everything in detail. He kept quiet. After the meal was over, he ordered Rashid and his companions to be killed. His son Mustufâ was sent as a captive to Khan-i-A'zam. After that, no one dared become a leader in Gujarat during the reign * of Jalâluddin Akbar. Syed Muḥammed Jaunpuri then stayed for sometime in Aḥmedâbâd. One day he said to the audience, "If you want to see God, I will show Him with your eyes which are in your head. I will show Him with these seeing eyes." When the 'Ulmâ received this news they debated this question very much among themselves. At last, they all decided to put him to death but Muḥammed Tâj kept himself aloof from signing this document of religious decree. He was the most learned man of the age. He was a teacher of the age. He said nothing. He reproached the 'Ulma by saying that they acquired learning only for this object that they should issue a religious decree for killing the Syed. Sultân Maḥmud very often wished to see him but the grandees of the court requested him not to see him. They always dissuaded the Sultân from seeing him. It was because that they knew that the Syed had such power in him as to make his visitor his own and that he advises him to renounce the world. Once it so happened that a man was in love with a woman. One night he paid a visit to her. He came out of the house in anger with a sword in hand and went straight to the residence of the Syed. It was morning. He went towards the river where he found the Syed with his companions. When that man went before the Syed, he asked him as to why he had come to the river bank and that what work he had there. He said to that man who

* Original Text, p. 56.

had come in an exasperated state from his beloved to become his friend and be his companion. On hearing these words, he was overtaken by unconsciousness. When he regained his consciousness, he repented of his idea of killing the Syed and gave up his beloved. The Syed then started for Naharwāla from Aḥmedabad and stayed at Bazli, a village situated at a distance of thirty-six miles from Aḥmedabad. It was in this village that he declared that he was the Promised Mahdi. The common people accepted him as such. When his claim reached the elite, they inquired about his murder. He left Hindustan and proceeded to * Khurāsān. He was suddenly attacked at Charkh near Qandahar and was martyred. His followers do not accept his murder. This event took place in 910 (1504). Historians have stated that people did not accept his claim. They state that he was not Mahdi. (This is the account of Mirat-i-Sikandari).

In 913 (1507), the Firangis (Portuguese) began to play their part on the shores of Hindustān. Sultān Maḥmud started from Chāmpāner with the intention of jihād. He travelled on the seashore and halted at Daman. He wrote to Malek Ayāz-i-Khās-i-Sultāni who was the governor of Junāgadh and Div port that he should prepare for war with the Firangis from the sea side. The Hindustānis call this port as Dib. The Arabs changed b into v. It so happened that when Ayāz was about to start with his army from Div, Amir Ḥusain al-Miṣri arrived with two big ships and three boats. He was sent by the king of Egypt Qanṣu al-Ghori to pursue the Firangis in the Indian Ocean and port of Hormuz. The king of Egypt had heard that the Firangis had created disturbance there. When Ayāz met Ḥusain, his anxiety lessened. He was much pleased by the arrival of Ḥusain and gave him provisions more than necessary. Both of them then started towards Chewal for war. Amir Ḥusain's army was made the vanguard. The Firangi's met them at the Chewal port. They were in large numbers. But God the Holy elevated the formula of religion. Many of them died by Muslim swords. Many of their boats foundered. Many of them were captured. Many of them fled to the shore to save themselves from swords. Malek Ayāz pursued them. He killed 7000 Firangis and captured many. The total number of the killed was 10,000. Four hundred of Amir Ḥusain Turki's men died while the number of Malek Ayāz's men was six hundred. Ayāz informed Sultān Maḥmud about this victory. The Sultān thanked God and proceeded to the port of Bassi (Bassein). He halted there. Malek Ayāz came to him and anchored his boats there. When Ayāz and Amir Ḥusain got down on the shore, Sultān Maḥmud advanced to receive them because they had returned successful from jihād. He brought both of them to his pavilion and ennobled them by his favours. He particularly looked with † favour at Amir Ḥusain and expressed his joy by asking him to stay in Hindu-

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* Original Text, p. 37. † Original Text, p. 38.

stân in which case he would be pleased to appoint him as the governor of Māhim. Amir Ḥusain excused himself by stating that he was sent by the Sultān of Egypt to repel the Firangis as far as the port of Hormuz. He would come when he would be free from that campaign. The Sultān showed him many favours and permitted him to go to Hormuz. He gave him everything that he wanted. This event took place in 913 (1507). As the account of Amir Ḥusain is already stated here, the account of Amir Salmān will also follow. I connect here the account of the captain Muḥammed 'Anasi. He was a follower of Salmān. Ḥāfiz Wajihuddin 'Abdur Raḥmān ad-Daiba' writes in his history that Amir Ḥusain and Amir Salmān had met together at Tahāma. Hence I deem it proper to include his account at Yaman which will show that Salmān was with Amir Ḥusain at the conquest of Yaman. The events which took place during the time of Ghori and after him are stated below in some couplets of a poem :—

It is not possible to refer to the History of Daiba' every time
Particularly for events of Amir Ḥusain which happened in Hind.
They are few which I heard orally from people and
Narrated here in short for benefit.
The fact is that people should know when the Turks
Entered Yaman, how they came and went and how they became rulers.
The first among the Turks who entered Yaman was Salmān
After his perfidious death by a coward enemy in India
His sister's son Mustafa came. Similarly Ṣafar who
Belonged to his army alighted at Yaman.
Mustafā had dignity but Ṣafar announced for construction of a building at Surat port.
May God shower the rain of pleasure over their tombs.

## CHAPTER IV

*Arrival of the Egyptian Amir Husain at Aden and his return from Div to Yaman*

The substance of what the above-mentioned historian Ḥafiz Wajihuddin writes in his history is: In 912 ( 1506 ), the Firongis ( Portuguese ) had become strong in the Indian Ocean. When they caused great harm to Muslims at * Hormuz port, Malek Tāfer Ṣalāhuddin 'Āmar bin Malek Manṣur 'Abdul Wahhāb bin Dāwood bin Tāhir ordered to lead an army against them from 'Aden. Great men such as Shaikh Uthmān al- 'Amudi joined this army with an intention for jihād ( religious war ). This army started from 'Aden on Thursday, 27th Shawwāl, 912. In the month of Muḥarram, 913, a party with two ships and three boats left Turkey sor the fort of Jiddah. They came to Jāzān, then Kāmrān, then Matina, then Makhā, then 'Aden, then the shore of Abain. Wherever they went, the residents fled away through fear. In the month of Rabi 'II of the same year, Amir Ḥusain the Egyptian followed them from Jiddah with two ships and three boats and passed by Bābul Mandab. When they approached 'Aden, they sent an envoy in a small boat to its Amir ( ruler ) Mirjān al-Zāfari to seek permission from him to move about in some of its bazārs. Amir Mirjān permitted them for movement. They entered into the city. They neither threw naphtha ( burning sulphur ) over any one nor did they cause trouble to any one. Mirjān sent 'Abdul Kādir an-Nakib ibn-e-Faraj an-Najāshi and Nakib Jābar al-Badāni to him. He received them with respect and said, " Inform your Amir that if Sultān Kānṣu had not laid this condition on me that I should not enter into 'Aden, I would have surely seen your 'Amir. Amir Ḥusain then sought his permission for obtaining water and fuel from 'Aden. The Amir permitted him to do so and entertained them as befitted them. He also adorned his companions with robes of honour. One day Amir Mirjān Zāfari came out with war equipment. Amir Ḥusain was greatly surprised at this step on his part. Amir Husain sent costly presents to him and started for Div to fight with the Portuguese who had become powerful there. In 913 ( 1507 ), the Firangis had occupied the port of Hormuz and opened the route of safety and security for passers-by.

In the month of Shawwāl of 917 ( 1511 ), the king's elephant named Marzuk got stuck in the ground in the village of Rakz. This village was situated near Yafras in the district which belonged to Shaikh Shihābuddin al-Kutb Ahmed bin 'Alwān. May God benefit me through him. The cause of his

* Original Text, p. 39.

getting stuck was that the elephant-driver took that elephant into the house of some of the fakirs of the Shaikh and made certain demands on them which they were not in a position to fulfil. The elephant then and then sank into the ground. The sinking elephant screamed and died. May God show no mercy to* his driver. It was a lesson to spectators. No man had strength to extricate the elephant from the ground.

In 919 (1513), the residents of 'Aden learnt that the Firangis had despatched eighteen ships completely equipped with soldiers and war-materials. Malek Ẓāfar despatched his army to the fort of 'Aden for defence and issued an order that prayers should be performed in all chief masjids for the victory of Muslims. This (Portuguese) army anchored at the port of 'Aden on 17th Muharram, 919. At dawn, boatmen and portmen saw this army. Amir Mirjān also saw it. He ordered that the gates of the fort of Aden should be tightly closed, and it should be pretended that they do not know about the arrival of the Portuguese. The Portuguese carried away some goods from ships anchored at the port without any let or hindrance from anyone. They got emboldened thereby and alighted with forty ladders on the sea-shore with an intention to occupy 'Aden as they found none there for its defence. They placed ladders on one side of the city-rampart of 'Aden, climbed up the fort and looked inside of it. Some of them entered the city also. At this moment, Amir Mirjān made his appearance. He ordered the resident of 'Aden to issue forth from Bāb-i-Maksur to attack the Firangis. Immediately, all of them went out of the fortification. They seized ladders of the Firangis. They killed many Firangis. Four of them were captured. Those Firangis who could, tried to run towards the sea. They swam the sea, sat on wood-planks and reached their ships. Before they left, they burnt all the boats belonging to the residents of 'Aden. The boats were approximately more than forty in number. They burnt them so that the people of 'Aden might not pursue them. They fled as sar as Bāb, then to Makhā, then to Buka'and Matina. They were prevented from entry wherever they wished to enter. Ultimately, they reached Hudaida where also they could not alight. They then proceeded to Kāmrān where on seizing an opportunity, they plundered whatever wealth and property they could lay hand on. Captured Firangis were killed. This event happened in the beginning of their voyage. When they failed to stay on at Kāmrān, they laid waste the city. On Friday 14th Jamādi I of the said year, they reached 'Aden and anchored there. They despatched two ships from Kāmrān to Zaila'and burnt whatever number of boats they could get hold of in the harbour. They then joined their army at 'Aden. Their companions rejoiced at their arrival. They prepared (cast) their cannons and hoisted their banners. Before the arrival of these two ships, they intended to attack 'Aden but that was not possible. When these

* Original Text, p. 40.

two ships arrived, they again prepared themselves for attack. They burnt whatever boats they could get hold of. They then alighted on the shore by sailing in small boats at night. The sea then was smooth. People of Jabal-i-Ṣaira * saw them alighting on the shore. They informed about it to the residents of 'Aden. The Arabs armed themselves with weapons and got ready for war. The Firangis got down on land on supposition that the Muslims must be in sound slumber. But the Muslims assaulted them from every side, the moment they alighted on land from boats. They discharged cannons from the city as well as ships. It was a great tumult and a strong encounter. God helped the Muslims. The admiral of the Firangis and many of their great men were killed. Countless persons were wounded. Those who could abscond, fled away in boats. The Muslims did not pursue them through fear of a tide in the sea in which case it would not be possible for them to reach the shore. Next day, the commander of their army ordered soldiers to alight on shores but they did not alight. They got disappointed to occupy the city, nay, they even did not like to face the Muslim ships. They wanted to burn the ships but they failed to get anything except small vessels. Cannons at the port sank two or four ships of the Firangis every day. At last, they left 'Aden with losses and disappointment and gave up the idea of proceeding to Hindustān.

In Zilhajj of 921 (1515), Hudaida got desolated because the Egyptians first entered Kāmrān and then Hudaida and carried away house-materials and other timber pieces in their boats. They then went to Kāmrān and then to Jiddah. The Egyptians constructed fortifications at Kāmrān as well as an Idgāh and said their Duha 'Id prayers in it. The theologian Abkar bin Makbul Zailai', the collector of Laiha helped the Egyptians in person and wealth and recited the Khutba in the name of the king of Egypt. After then, supplies from Kāmrān were stopped because Malek al-Ẓāfar prevented ships to reach there. The Egyptians got distressed. They sent envoys to Muḥammed bin Nuḥ who was Defender of Hudaida on behalf of al-Ẓāfar. Three ships which were sent from their side from Zaila' got missed. Amir Ḥusain sent an envoy to him with a message that if he did not allow ships to come and go as usual, he would desolate the port of Hudaida. Yet Muḥammed bin Nuḥ did not permit him for that. He had with him the cavalry of Malek al-Ẓāfar. The Egyptians despatched cannons by sea and razed Hudaida to the ground. This was the cause of the conflict between them and the king. When the theologian Abkar Zailai' learnt about it, he went to Amir Ḥusain and advised him not to get † himself involved in trouble and that the road would be opened for him from the port of Laiha as well as help would be given to him. They sent a ship from Laiha wherein there were one hundred slaves. It proceeded to the direction of Mor. Muḥammed ibn-i-Saliman bin Ḥaiyyāsh al-Suhaili was the Amir of Mor on

* Original Text, p. 41.

† Original Text, p. 42.

behalf of al-Ẓāfar. The slaves had guns with bows which were not seen in Yaman. Amir Husain started with those slaves and made them targets of guns. Muḥammed bin Saliman was killed along with his companions. They occupied Mor. A party of Zaidis arrived at Hudaida and reached Amir Ḥusain at Kāmrān. They all took an oath of fealty to him and requested him to send an army of two hundred slaves with them. They also took responsibility of their boarding and lodging. Amir Ḥusain sent slaves with them. The Zaidis reached the village of Ḍuha with slaves. 'Isā bin 'Ali al-Ḥajri lived in that village as Amir on behalf of al-Ẓāfar with an army. An encounter took place between them. Amir 'Isā was defeated in the encounter and many of his soldiers were killed. The Egyptians and the Zaidis subjected the village of Ḍuhā to loot and plunder and burnt it when Malek al-Ẓāfar learnt about this incident, he sent his brother Shaikh 'Abdul Malek bin al-Malek al-Manṣur towards Tahāna to solve this tangle of difficulties. Al-Ẓāfar that day was in Mikrana. 'Abdul Malek Zubaid entered it on Sunday, 11th Rabi'I, 922 (1516). After a stay of certain days, he proceeded on Friday evening, 7th Rabi' II of the year towards Shāmiya till he reached Marjaf. When Amir Ḥusain learnt about his arrival, he advanced from Kāmrān towards Zaidiyah with an army of one thousand soldiers, the followers of Amir Salmān most of whom were Rumis, expert in gunnery against him. No other army could stand against it. When 'Abdul Malek halted at Marjaf village, the son of the ruler of Jāzān Sharif 'Izzuddin bin Ahmad bin Darib confronted him with Turks, Rumis and Firangis. This 'Izzuddin was a man of great status in the sight of al-Ẓāfar. But Malek al-Ẓāfar did not hold him in esteem and did not care for him. When both the armies faced each other in the battle-field, 'Abdul Malek fought a bloody war. His army consisted of infantry and cavalry. A part of the Turkish army was killed. Heads of fourteen Turks were cut off. Three horse-men of 'Abdul Malek were killed in the battle-field on that day. These persons then got divided into certain parts. Four commanders of their army were killed in action. 'Abdul Malek remained victor like his brother al-Ẓāfar. 'Abdul Malek then marched off to Zubaid with heads of the killed ones. He reached it on Tuesday, 10th Jamādi I 922 (1516) in the afternoon. The Arabs then got * disunited and they got inclined towards Amir Ḥusain. They prevailed upon Amir Ḥusain to invade Zubaid. He started with a large army and encamped at the valley of Nakhl which is situated at a distance of three days' march from Zubaid. He stayed there waiting for the army of Amir Salmān Turkoman which was at the sea-shore. When the army of Amir Salmān joined him, Amir Ḥusain proceeded towards Zubaid. This event took place on the morning of Friday 19th Jamādi I 922 (1516) when he neared the city in the afternoon he found that the gates were closed. They encamped with a large army outside

* Original Text, p. 43.

the gate of Nakhl. This army consisted of Turks, Turcomans, Firangis, Syrians, Jazānis, Zaidias etc. Sharif 'Izzuddin and Fakih Abkar bin Makbul Zailai' were also with him. Shaikh 'Abdul Malek and his nephew Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhāb bin Malek Ẓāfar issued forth to face them. A severe battle was fought between them. Both the armies continued to fight with bravery and gave justice to valour. Ultimately, their own armies made them low and humble. Both of them fled towards the city. 'Abdul Wahhāb had a gun in his hands. He had reached the palace before his uncle. When his uncle reached the palace-gate, he shouted out. He came out of the palace and took him towards the gate of Shabāraq. When he reached it, he found a number of Egyptian and 'Arab horsemen waiting to capture him. In the meanwhile, the Egyptians captured his nephew. 'Abdul Malek attacked the Egyptians and killed many of them. He then proceeded to the city of Taeezz along with his followers. He had with him Fakih 'Ali bin Muhammed al-Nazzāri and al-Sharaf al-Mawzai', the administrators of Zubaid. This Sharaf Mawzai' is the root cause for the decline of the Ẓāharia Dynasty; because when he was appointed as the administrator of Zubaid, he apparently showed to 'Abdul Malek that he was the guardian of government treasury, but in reality he was sowing the seeds of enmity and animosity among pious men, learned men and general public. He thus, at last uprooted the Ẓāharia Dynasty. 'Abdul Wahhāb died on Wednesday, 14th Jamādi II, 922 (1516), a few days after 'Abdul Malek's entry into Taeezz. He was buried near the tomb of Shaikh Aḥmed bin Muḥammed Jabarti. After 'Abdul Malek's departure from Zubaid, Amir Ḥusain's army entered it in the * afternoon of Friday. They resorted to loot and plunder. They committed many unlawful deeds and flowed rivers of blood. They humiliated the residents of Zubaid to the last degree. That very day Amir Ḥusain entered the city of Zubaid later in the afternoon. When Amir Husain occupied the city completely, he wanted to ensure security but the soldiers did not listen to him and continued to plunder the city for the whole day. Citizens were forcibly removed from their houses and the soldiers lived in them. They made their wives and children captive and turned the city into an abode of war. Amir Ḥusain then seized the wealth of merchants and rich men and put shackles round their necks. The city Kāzi, Kāzi Safiuddin Ahmad bin Umar al-Muzajjad was captured and put in chains. Poor man bore it with patience. He was freed from captivity after three days. There lived two Egyptians in those days in Zubaid. They carried tales to Amir Ḥusain. One of them was called Jamil and the other Doghān. Under this pretext, they sought an access to Amir Ḥusain. On their report, Fakih Sāleh Sharafuddin Ismāil bin Ibrāhim bin Jaghmān was summoned from the family of Fakih bin 'Ujail and demanded the wealth of Sharif 'Afif bin Safin. It was baseless. Fakih Sharafuddin declined. He was

* Original Text, p. 44.

beaten in their presence on Friday, 5th Jamādā II and sent him to prison. Due to severe beating, the Fakih died after two, three days, *i.e.* on Sunday, 7th Jamādi II. Next day, he was buried in the afternoon near the gate of Sahām. People visit his tomb even today to get blessings. After this, Amir Ḥusain, investigated the condition of resident of Zubaid through the two tell-tales, Jamil and Doghān. Inspite of the fact that the city was burnt to ashes, he exacted more than ten thousand ashrafis from them. Amir Ḥusain had promised his soldiers that he would give a present of one hundred ashrafis to each one of them after the conquest of Zubaid, but when the Amir entered Zubaid, he found that the soldiers had left nothing, yet they approached Amir Ḥusain demanding from him the fulfilment of his promise. When Amir Ḥusain made dilly-dallying, the soldiers intended to put him to death. He said to them that he would get them money from somewhere. So saying, he went to Amir Salmān, get into his ship and thus he saved himself from their clutches. Amir Ḥusain had appointed a slave named Bur Sabāi as well as a prince of Jādān as his deputies at Zubaid. Amir Ḥusain and Salmān both of them proceeded towards the port of Zaila'. They reached there at the close of Jamādi II, 922. They repaired their ships then and filled them with supplies and sailed for 'Aden. Amir Mirjān Ẓāfari was then at 'Aden. On the 1st of Rajab, they * took members of Yafe' family into their service and reached 'Aden with them along with twenty-one ships, two boats and nineteen vessels on Tuesday, 13th Rajab. At 'Aden they learnt that some ships had reached Hindustan and that they conquered some forts there. On hearing this report, Amir Salmān pursued them and caught the ship Hashimi Sultāni and made the captain and coastman get down from the ship and appointed another man as captain and coastman from his side. He sent a letter with him to the ruler of Hind to the effect that the city was occupied by him and that he had despatched the ships to him. He returned to 'Aden after making this arrangement. He halted below the fortress of Khizra on the shore of Abin. A party of his companions also alighted on land to get water from a pond. He killed certain persons on alighting and then he returned to the port. Before this, his sister's son had fought with people of 'Aden and had come out a victor. He had left some ships there. Amir Salmān and his companions proceeded towards the port in small boats on 18th Rajab and fired bullets at them on the port. The army of Sultān Ẓāfar opposed them with cannons so that they fled away from the port. Amir Salmān's sister's son was killed in this encounter. Many of his companions too were killed. On account of this incident, the Egyptians again made an attack. Ẓāfar's army could not resist them so they took refuge in the fort of Ṣaira situated on a small mountain. The Egyptians raised cannon-balls on Ṣaira and pulled down its turrets. Sultān Ẓāfar's army which had encamped as 'Aden,

* Original Text, p. 45.

its soldiers collected together and encountered the Egyptians from a gate near the mountain of Nawba. It was an ebb-tide in the sea. Sultān Ẓāfar's army, therefore, made a severe assault on the Egyptians who were on the skirt of Ṣaira. The Egyptians suffered in the battle. Many of them were killed. Residents of Ṣaira also poured a rain of stones on the Egyptian army. Consequently, many Egyptians were killed. The rest fled to ships and took refuge. When Amir Salmān learnt about the killing of his sister's son, his self-respect was hurt and so he alighted on the shore with his followers. When residents of Ṣaira learnt about Egyptian's landing on the shore, they too started from the fort towards the shore. When the Egyptians were convinced that Sultān Ẓāfar's soldiers had Ṣaira, they entered the fort with discharge of cannons, and proceeded towards the turret opposite to Bāb-i-Sa'āda which they pulled down. They assaulted the port on Wednesday, 19th Rajab at night time. Citizens* rushed out for war. War continued on Wednesday during day-time. The Egyptians were about to gain a victory over the city by hoisting a flag on the dilapidated turret. On seeing this, the citizens got perturbed but Malek Ẓāfar made a fatal attack. God helped him. Countless Egyptians were killed. Their flags were seized. Amir Salmān fled with his life with great difficulty. Those who escaped, got into ships with cannons. This is an incident of 20th Rajab. It was their good fortune that they saved their lives. Shaikh 'Abdul Malek also arrived and entered 'Aden on Friday. When the Egyptians became sure of his arrival, they left that place on Saturday, 19th Rajab. They had no resources with them including water to drink. Under this state, they reached Dabāk. A party of them got down to get water. Some persons were in ambush there for Amir Mirjān. They came out of their hiding place. The Egyptians killed forty of them while the rest got wounded. The rest of the Egyptian army which had encamped at Zubaid, made Bur Sabāi as their commander after Amir Husain's departure to Matina port. Saturday and Sunday were spent in joy. This Amir ( Bur Sabāi ) established order in the cities. He then proceeded to Hees. It was Sunday, 17th Rajab. He had carried with him small and big cannons and occupied most of those places which were snatched by the Arabs. He then reached Hees where he learnt that Fakih Makbul al-Zailai' was killed by two preachers—Abul Kasam bin Jahdham and Maḥjub. This event took place in the village of Ra'ad—where a party of Turks lived. When broken pieces of wood reached Matina by floating on sea-water, they surmised that Bur Sabāi had attacked Yamani ports. They reached Makha by sea and saw Bur Sabāi. They held counsel among themselves and the ships sailed towards Jiddah. But Sabāi proceeded towards Maza' and entered it. The ruler of it Shaikh 'Abdullah bin Salāmā concluded peace with him by payment of money. When he found that the people had left the city by depositing their wealth in

* Original Text, p. 46.

the house of 'Abdullāh, he broke his promise and killed that sea captain who was with him. He then felt his own life in danger and so he went to Zubaid. It was Sunday, 8th Ramzān. Malek Ẓāfar then learnt about the murder of his brother and sons, he went to Zubaid. The Egyptians corresponded with him for peace. Kāzi Safiuddin Aḥmad al-Muzajjad was a mediator. Ẓāfar was about to conclude peace but some of his amirs did not allow him to do so. The Kāzi was much perturbed and so he went to the village of Tariba. It was Wednesday, 9th Shawwāl. The Egyptian army proceeded towards that * direction. A hard battle was fought. An Egyptian party was killed. At last, these people reached Zubaid again the next day. Again a hot contest took place. Sultān Ẓāfar took part in it. His son Aḥmad, his maternal cousin Shaikh 'Āmer and his slave Marjān also took part. Some persons deserted them from the battle-field. That day, they displayed wonderful feats of valour but they were put to shame on account of soldiers deserting them. Ẓāfar wielded his sword for the whole day. When he turned towards Mahaṭṭa, he found that it was occupied by the Egyptians. He therefore went towards Taeezz. It was 16th Shawwāl. The Egyptian army stayed at Zubaid till Tuesday, 29th Zik'ad and then reached the fortress of Sharif but they found nothing there. On the contrary, many Turks were killed there. They then returned to Zubaid. It was 6th Zilhajj. Ẓāfar stayed at Taeez till the Egyptian army turned towards him. It was the last day of Muḥarram of 923 (1517). The Egyptian army reached Taeezz on Friday, 6th Ṣafar. When both the armies arrayed themselves, Ẓāfar proceeded towards Ib without fighting. Amir Bur Sabāi nominated some one as his successor in Taeezz and went to Mukrāna. Ẓāfar then went to Hilfa from Ib with his women and wealth. When Bur Sabāi entered Mukrāna, he plundered it and then he intended to proceed to the cities of Āl-e-Ammār. He killed nearly two hundred men of those places. The Turks removed Bur Sabāi from Amirship and appointed another person named Sikander. He remained at Mukrāna when he found Fakih'Umar al-Jabarti who was one of the special amirs of Ẓāfar. He pointed out much wealth to Sikander who plundered it and distributed it among his soldiers. He then strangled Jabarti to death. He intended to go to San'ā from here. An encounter took place between him and Ẓāfar al Ghafrah. Many Turks were killed in this encounter along with people of Jāzān. When the soldiers of Ẓāfar learnt about the arrival of the Turkish army, a hard battle was fought between the Arabs and the Turks before they could unload their baggage. Sultān Ẓāfar was martyred on Friday, 23rd Rabi'II 923. His brother 'Abdul Malek too was martyred on a previous day in this battle. Ẓāfar's son Abu Bakr, his nephew 'Āmer bin 'Abdul Malek, about whom a poet has sung †

* Original Text, p. 47. † Original Text, p. 48.

Oh my friends, religion lost its glare by the death of Āmer and his brother,
They were noted for justice among people
From the time, people have lost them
I swear by God, we are despaired of bounties like Manna and Salwā.

also got martyred.

*Early life of Malek Ẓāfar 'Āmer*

It is narrated by Wajih Daiba' in his history that Malek Ẓāfar Ṣalāḥuddin 'Āmer bin Malek Manṣur ' Abdul Wahhāb bin Dāwood bin Tahir was born in the month of Ramzān, 866 (1461). He went to Taeezz in 894 (1489). He then went to Junan to pay a sick visit to his father. His father then was in travail of death. He had rheumatic pain in legs. It troubled him every now and then. Malek Ẓāfar remained with his father till his death. His father died on Tuesday, 7th Jamādi I 866 (1461). After his death, his subjects took an oath of fealty for his son Malek Ẓāfar. It was also the will of his father. In 896 (1491) he encamped at Ṣafrā below the fort of Ẓafar on 1st Zilhajj. His maternal uncle Shaikh Muḥammed bin 'Āmer was also present there. During these days, Shihāb Aḥmad bin Kaiṣar arrived with a letter, a robe of honour, a sword, a ring and a fan from Egytian regions. It was stated at the outset of the letter that it is being sent to Amir-ul-Muminin from Khalifa Mutawakkil 'Alallāh 'Izzuddin Abil 'Izz 'Abdul 'Aziz bin Ya'kub bin Mutawakkil 'Alallāh al-Abbāsi. Malek Ẓāfar treated Shihāb with great respect and wrote a letter in reply. Malek Ẓāfar purchased a curtain for the Holy Ka'ba from Harun Wakil on Monday, 15th Rabi 'II 899 (1494) and dedicated it for the holy place of Mekka. He ordered that it should be suspended on the gate of the Arch of the Holy Jāme'. This gate was built in the city of Zubaid. He had also ordered that the birth of the Holy Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him should be celebrated. It was celebrated on Friday night 19th Rabi'II 899 (1494). A reservoir was filled with syrup near the Zamzam. It was mixed with musk and rose-water. The water-carriers of the Ḥaram moved in the Ḥaram giving this syrup to all to drink. Malek Ẓāfar was also present in the Ḥaram that night. He listened to the lecture on the Prophet's birth. Such a blessed gathering was never heard of later on. May God accept it from him'. When a son was born to Malek Ẓāfar, he was named Tājuddin 'Abdul Wahhāb. It was on Tuesday 23rd Jamādi I, 900 (1494-95). His wife was the daughter of his uncle Shaikh Muḥammad bin Dāwood bin Ẓāhar. A poet composed two couplets *

We are pleased for the birth of a son in the family of Ẓāfar
Especially when he belongs to the lineage of 'Āmir
Oh God! bless the child and look anon after him.
He prove a good heir and helper to his father.

* Original Text, p. 49.

Wajih has stated that the Egyptians occupied Ṣaina' after the death of Ẓāhar. They returned to Zubaid after appointing a Deputy there.

*An account of Yaman's historian Hāfiz ibn-i-Daiba'* Wajih 'Abdur Reḥmān bin 'Ali bin Muḥammed bin 'Umar bin Muḥammed bin 'Umar bin 'Ali bin Yusuf bin Aḥmad bin 'Umar al-Shaibāni Zubaidi Shāfai' better known as Ibn-i-Daiba'—the title of his great grand-father 'Ali bin Yusuf—was born on Thursday 4th Muḥarram 866 (1461) in the afternoon in Zubaid. He was brought up there. He acquired his learning from Imams. He performed pilgrimage several times. He had gone for Hajj in 896 (1491) also. Hāfiz Sakhāwi writes in his history Ḍaw-ul-Lāme' an account of eminent persons of the 9th century. He recited his couplets before me. I have noted them down.

1. Undobtedly, a person who sells his ākherat (next world) in exchange for wickedness committed by him, is of course in difficulty.
2. A person who attaches his heart to the world and its worthless comforts, in exchange for matchless paradise, is of course, at a loss.
3. A person, who professes himself to be wise, entertains ideas which keep him away from God, such a person is mad.

The following two couplets are also by him.

1. Oh friends! if you are involved in some matter of the ordering self, it is better to exercise patience.
2. If you wish to abandon us and become our enemies, it does not matter. God is sufficient for us and the best trustee.

The following two verses are also his.

1. The adviser said, "Aren't you afraid of the Day of Resurrection? People will be assembled on that day and bad deeds will be presented before God.
2. I said, "Oh brother! listen to my talk. God is generous and generosity alone is expected from the Generous One.

Similarly, the following verses are his.*

1. I am very fond of the science of tradition. I am a mujtahid in it as well as a narrator.
2. I hope to be an Imām in the art of tradition and narrate it after the fashion of Sakhāwi.

Shaikh Jār-ul-lāh bin Fahad al-Mekki wrote after selection of the above verses that Wajih 'Abdur Rehmān bin 'Ali was unrivalled in the science of tradition and history in his city. His works are "Kashful Karba" on explana-

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* Original Text, p. 50.

tion of Duā-i-Abi Harba and "Baghiyat-ul-Mustafid fi Akhbār'-i-Zubaid." The second book was written by him for Sultān Ẓāfar 'Āmer. He epitomized it and named it "al-'Akd-ul-Bāher fi Tārikh-i-Dawlat-i-Bani Ẓāfar." He went with this book to the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān respected him much. He gave him a costly robe of honour and a jagir in the shape of date-palm and a piece of land for cultivation. He also appointed him as a teacher of hadis (tradition) in the Jāme' (masjid) of Zubaid. Many persons narrated hadis from him. I also saw some compositions myself. He spent his life in reading and teaching and in writing books. His eye-sight became weak in old age. He attained to the age of eighty years. He remained in retirement in his house and died on Monday, 17th Rajab, 944 (1537). His funeral namāz was said after the 'Aṣr prayer. He was buried in the grave-yard of his maternal grand-father's family of Mubāriz. It is situated near Bāb-i-Sahām. When we learnt about his death in Holy Mekka, we too said funeral prayers for him in the Holy Ḥaram. All sections of people grieved for his death because he was the last remnant of noted traditionists. He was mostly busy in the house of his maternal uncle Abin Najā Muḥammed Tayyeb Farḍi Zubaid.

*Warning*: Know that this historical topic slightly became long but it is not outside history. This historical portion proves this much that Amir Talmān was with Amir Ḥusain. Further it is known as to when the Turks had become dominant over Yaman as well as the fall of Bani Zāhar Dynasty. Such events will be remined in this fashion. They are uttered concisely before the wise but they are significant with warning. It also contains a portion on which Sharfuddin Muzai' acted and he said against his own nature though today he lies sleeping in his grave. It was he who induced Ẓāhar and it was he who laid the basis of enmity in the hearts of the present and the absent. Hence elevated persons should learn lessons from their kings and those who try to follow in his foot-steps should seek help from Sharfuddin, because a fortunate person is one who learnt a lesson from others and doers of good deeds are those who practise goodness conniving at their evil deeds.

# CHAPTER V

## *Mahmud Continued*

In the month of Rajab 914 (1508), Sultān Maḥmud elevated the status* of his sister's son 'Ālam Khān bin Aḥsan Khān and made him the ruler of Burhānpur and Asir. Amir Husāmuddin Mughli and Malek Lādan Khilji had become very powerful in these kingdoms. He snatched them from them and gave them to his sister's son, making Mughli and Malek subservient to him. The Khutba was recited in the name of Sultān Maḥmud in these kingdoms and coins of his name's impression became current. This state of affairs continued, even after his death, among his successors. It is proper here to give a short account of the Khāns of this place as they were related to the Sultāns of Gujarāt. From this account it will be precisely known as to which Khāns, first of all, became powerful in Gujarāt and ruled over it. The condition of the world as a poet has stated is: When the world begins to come, even a single hair drags it; when it begins to go, it goes away breaking the chains.

If some one says that the account of this place is contrary to arrangement which I had planned, that is to say, having completed the account of previous kings, I should write the account of the king till his death. The answer is: I have given an account of the Khāni Dynasty till their saltanat lasted and lived till the regime of Jalāluddin Akbar and who are alive under the sovereignty of that emperor. Hence I deemed it proper that I should begin the account of the Khāni Dynasty from their grand-father. During their regime, their power extended over Hind as far as possible. I hope, the critics will look at it with indulgence on their part. It is obvious that an author becomes a target of criticism.

* Original Text, p. 51.

## CHAPTER VI

*(History of Asir, Burhanpur 1381-1600)*

*An account of Rulership of A'zam-i- Humayun over Asir and Burhānpur. Details of rulers from beginning to end, and how they got the title of Rājā*

The historian Husām Khān has stated in his history, the substance of which is: when Alāuddin Bahman Shāh of the Deccan became an absolute master of salṭanat in 748 (1346-47), the grand-father of Asir's kings was Muḥammed. 'Alāuddin Bahman Shah and Muḥammed were very friendly. It was because of this friendship that Bahman Shāh gave his sister in marriage to Muḥammed and appointed him as his Wazir and bestowed on him the title of Khwaja Jahān. Muḥammad got a son whom he named Aḥmad. When 'Alāuddin's son sat on the throne, he continued Khwaja Jahān as Wazir till death. After him, he nominated his son Aḥmad to ministership. Due to back-biting of certain persons, disaffection arose between the two. Aḥmed, therefore, gave up ministership and went to Dawlatābād. At Dawlatābād, there lived Imām-us-Sālekin, Shaikh-ul-'Ārifin, Minār-ut-Tarika, Madār-ul-Ḥakikat, Ghiyāsud Duniyā wad Din Mawlānā-al-'Ālim, al-Āmil-ur-Rabbāni Shāh Zainuddin, may his grave be sacntified,* when Aḥmad went to him, he said to him, " welcome, Rāja Ahmad. Rāja means a king. He regarded this word from the mouth of this holy man as a good augury. He prefixed it to his name. He went to Delhi. The ruler of Delhi then was Muḥammed Shāh bin Firoz Shāh. He remained in attendance on him for some time. One day, the king went out for hunting. When he returned from hunting, he ate something of his choice out of the game, and lay down. He then demanded water. The cup-bearer gave him water. As the water was not cold, he laid it aside and remained thirsty. Afterwards, Aḥmad gave him water out of his water-bag. He felt the water cold and drank it and shouted aloud, al-hamd-o-lillāh (Praise be to God). He then said to Aḥmad, " What do you want ?" He replied that a village named Karond in Thālner should be granted to him as a favour. The king granted him that village with pleasure.

In connection with cold water, I am reminded of a story of 'Abdullāh Māmun 'Abbāsi. Once he drank cold water and uttered " Praise be to God, Who is Holy, " and remarked that drinking of cold water makes the heart to render sincere thanks to God. Others say that cold water is very palatable. Others responded that undoubtedly that was worthy of drinking.

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* Original Text, p. 52.

Aḥmad then sought permission of the king and set out for his village. This event took place in 784 (1381-82). Two sons were born to him. One was Naṣir Khān who became known as Jahāngir while the other was Ḥasan Khān. Rāja Aḥmad died on Friday 2nd Sha'bān, 801 (1398). He lived in his jāgir for seventeen years. He was buried in Thālner. A dome was built over his tomb which still exists. There is also a building of his name near it. His son Jahāngir Naṣir Khān succeeded Aḥmad. He conquered Thālner, Lalnak, Āsir, Pipaldol, Sanghir and Dalkot etc. He had two sons—'Ādil Khān and Aḥmad Khān. Naṣir Khān off and on made night-attacks on the frontiers of Gujarāt. Once Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammed, son of Muzaffar laid siege to Āsir so he concluded peace with Aḥmad Shāh on terms of subserviency. It was also stipulated that his brother Ḥasan Khān should remain as a hostage with Aḥmad Shāh. Thus relations improved between them. Aḥmad Shāh then joined Ḥasan Khān in wedlock with a daughter of one of his relatives. A son was born through this marriage. He was named Ghazni Khān. When Ghazni Khān attained to the age of discretion, Aḥmad Shāh gave his daughter in marriage to him. A son was born as a result of this marriage and named as Kaiṣar Khān. When Kaiṣar Khān attained to maturity, Sultān Aḥmad got him married with a daughter of the Sultān of Sind. A son was born to them and named Aḥsan Khān. When Aḥsan Khān became young, Sultān Maḥmud got him married with the sister's son of Muzaffar. 'Ālam Khān was born through them. Naṣir Khān died on 19th Rabi 'I 841 (1438). He was buried by the side of his father's tomb. 'Ādil Khān succeeded him to the throne. He too died on 12th* Zilhajj 844 (1440-41). After him, his son Mubārak Khān became the ruler. His title was Chokhanda. He died in Jamādi II 861 (1457) and was buried near his father. He was succeeded by his son 'Ādil Khān. He was called 'Ain Khān before he became a ruler. Hence he was titled 'Ainā. 'Ain Khān and Sultān Maḥmud Khalji were intimate friends. At the close of his life, 'Ainā Khān once visited Chāmpāner. Both of them were engaged in conversation when 'Ālam Khān arrived. Now we want to give a detailed account of him in chain of our description. 'Ālam Khān came to Maḥmud when he was a child. On seeing him, 'Ādil Khān remarked, "Would to God, this child knew that I was his relative. He then continued to observe him minutely and went close to him. 'Ādil Khān embraced the child several times, kissed him on the forehead, placed him in his lap and said good prayers on his behalf. 'Ādil Khān had no heir, so he said to Maḥmud, "I wish this child to be my successor." 'Ādil Khān and the noted saint Kutb Mawlānā Shāh Bhikāri, may his grave be sanctified, had close relation. I learnt about it at Songhir. At that time, I was in attendance upon the great amir 'Abdul Karim Fawlād Khān bin Fawlād Khān along with the famous Amir-i-Ghāzi Amin Khān bin 'Aziz Khān bin

* Original Text, p. 53.

Jhujhār Khān. Ghāzi Amin Khān was very much advanced in age among the people of Burhānpur. He had seen both of them. They both used to assemble at Āsir. Thrones of both of them were kept close together. At the approach of his death, he expressed a desire to him that he should immediately come on hearing about his death. He replied, "I have so offered prayer to God that I should not hear the news of his death. Then what to say about coming at death and seeing it!" He said prayers on behalf of 'Ādil Khān and went to his house at Burhānpur getting down from the fort of Āsir. He then died at Burhānpur. Ādil Khān also died on the next day of his death. This event took place on 15th Rabi 'I, 907 (1501). Kutb-ul-Ma'ārif Mawlānā al-Shaikh Sharfuddin Aṭarshadi may his grave be sanctified and may we be benefited through him, was present. At the outset of his government, Ādil Khān had ordered death sentence for Syed Kamāluddin. He had committed such a heinous crime on account of which he was to be punished with death. Syed* Kamāluddin and his brother Jalāluddin were in the service of 'Ādil Khān. Jalāluddin ran away to Mandu to Sultān Maḥmud with a complaint. Maḥmud Khilji listened to his complaint and invaded Āsir. 'Ādil Khān sent Shaikh-uz-Zamān Dāwood from his side to Shaikh Farid Ganj-Shakar, a great saint, to acquaint Maḥmud Khilji about the real state of affairs and decide that in which lay safety and security. Ādil Khān acted according to the saint's advice. It was a good course. It was this that the night he (Mahmud Khilji) had alighted at the foot of mountain of Āsir, he opened his eyes at dawn and looked at the fort raising his head when he found a lamp burning on its turret. Mahmud Khilji thought that it was a morning star and so he began to perform ablutions for the morning prayers. He then learnt that it was not a morning star but a burning lamp in the turret. He lowered his head in shame. He then raised his head and remarked, "Such a fort whose lamps are bright like stars is difficult to conquer and occupy." Some one has stated that the hand of man cannot reach the Pleiades. *This event happened in 866 (1461). 'Ādil Khān was buried in Dawlat Maidan in the district of Burhānpur. There exists a dome over his tomb. On his death, there prevailed chaos in the state so much so* A'zam-i-Humāyaun 'Ādil Khān occupied the throne. The real cause of it is that when 'Ādil Khān died, Amir Yār 'Āli Mughli, Sa'eed Aḥmad Ashraf, Farhang Khān, Malek Tughān, Malek Lādan al-Khilji, Malek Khānu and Mian Firl seated Ghazni Khān bin Dāwood Khān bin Mubārak Khān unanimously on the throne. But a month later, Malek Yār 'Ali Mughli dethroned him and nominated his father Dāwood to the throne as King. Farhang Khān and Malek Lādan were in accord with him; but other citizens were against this move. One day, he attacked the opponents. They dispersed hither and thither. He pursued some of them and returned to Maḥmudpur. One day, he encamped

* Original Text, p. 54.

in a corner of Bāgh-i-Arzulah and was intoxicated with joy of his good fortune. He slept being overpowered by negligence. Suddenly, one of his slaves put him to death. This event took place in the month of Zika'd of 866 (1461). After his murder, his brother Husāmuddin seized the reins of government.

A gang of rebels assembled together. Malek Khānu joined them. They all acknowledged Khān Jahān bin Dāwood Khān as Sulṭan. He arrayed the army in the plain of 'Idgāh while Lādan Khilji protected the capital on behalf of Dāwood. It became difficult to defend the capital due to a large number of the enemy. At last, they had to conclude peace. One of the stipulated* terms of peace was that the royal umbrella and all elephants be sent to Khān Jahān. Lādan came out of the capital at night and met Dāwood in the fort of Āsir. He took refuge there. Khān Jahān occupied the capital Burhanpur. During these days, Ghazni Khān bin Dāwood Khān died suddenly. It is said that Ghazni Khān was poisoned to death by his father's sister at the instigation of Husāmuddin bin Mubārak Khān. They then proceeded towards Āsir. Malek Lādan arrayed an army against them and defeated them. Husāmuddin fled away, leaving his son killed in the battle-field. Khānu, Farhang and his companions too were killed. Khān Jahān was captured and blinded. Thus Malek Lādan reached Burhanpur with Dāwood Khān, and occupied the capital. Husāmuddin then took help of Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri as well as of 'Ālam Khān son of Ahsan Khān who was a relative of Dāwood Khān. They nominated 'Ālam Khān as the Sultān. By taking him and Nizām-ul-Mulk with him, he invaded Burhānpur. Malek Lādan, therefore, went to the fort Āsir with Dāwood and closed the fort-gates. At last, the kingdom was looted. They, then made peace on these terms that Dāwood Khān should be nominated as Sultān while 'Ālam Khan should be made his deputy. On making this arrangement, Nizām-ul-Mulk went away. A few days later Malek Lādan broke terms of peace and proceeded to Burhānpur with Dāwood whereon Dāwood Khān fled away. Dāwood died after ruling for four years and a few months and was buried in the Dawlat Maidān. After Dāwood Khān's death, Husāmuddin once again sought Nizām-ul-Mulk's help. He reached Burhānpur with 'Ālam Khān. Lādan Khan, therefore, took refuge in a fort situated at the foot of Āsir mountain. It was known as Māli. He appointed Ḥasan Khān bin Mubārak Khān in the saltanat. The superintendent of the Āsir fort Yusuf did not allow any one to enter the fort including Malek Lādan. Nizām-ul-Mulk, therefore, went back to his place. Ḥusām-ud-din remained with 'Ālam Khān in the city. During these days of disaffection, 'Ālam Khān requested his mother who was the daughter of Maḥmud to get him back his paternal kingdom. The mother acceded to the request of her son. Sultān Maḥmud

* Original Text, p. 55.

marched from Chămpăner to Thălner in the month of Sha'băn of 914 (1508). In those days, 'Ălam Shăh was the Governor of Thălner on behalf of the Sultăn of Burhănpur. When he received a report that Sultăn Maḥmud had advanced with an army upto the river Biăs, he went to 'Ăziz-ul-Mulk Shaikhan Sultăni, the Governor of Sultănpur. He approached Sultăn Maḥmud through him. Sultăn Maḥmud showed favour towards him and asked him to accompany him to Thălner. He surrendered the fort to him. The Sultăn halted in it. This event took place on 16th Shawwăl, 914 (1508). This fort is situated on river Tăpti. In former days, it was the capital of the Khăns of Ăsir. During these days, Nizăm-ul-Mulk Bahri was at Burhănpur. When he learnt about Sultăn Maḥmud's arrival, he went away leaving Rumi Khăn in his place. But Rumi Khăn too joined Nizăm-ul-Mulk a few days later. Ḥusămuddin was in a * perturbed state after the departure of both of them. He sent his munshi Farḥat-ul-Mulk with worthy presents to Sulṭan Maḥmud so that he might look with favour at the people of Burhănpur. Yusuf and Lădan corresponded with Sulṭăn Maḥmud stating that he should send some one to whom they would surrender the fort of Ăsir and the fortress of Măli and then they themselves would come to wait upon the Sultăn. The Sultăn sent two robes of honour for them through their envoy and sent his amirs Syed Ăsif Khăn and 'Aziz-ul-Mulk Sultăni to take charge of forts. When Ḥusămuddin learnt about it, he kept his companian unawares and reached Sulṭăn Maḥmud without the knowledge of Syed Ăsif and 'Aziz-ul-Mulk. He was fortunate enough to kiss the threshold of the Sulṭăn's darbăr at Thălner. The Sulṭăn elevated him by his favour and kindness. Afterwards, Malek Lădan and Yusuf with his companions saw the Sulṭăn. The Sulṭăn exalted them all with royal favour and won over their hearts by kindness. Amir Ḥusămuddin had a son who had met the Sulṭăn on the bank of Biăs. Ḥusămuddin put the fort in charge of his son. He then fled from Thălner to the famous town of Ămalnirah. The mother of that boy and his wife, were, in those days, under the guardianship of Hăji Muḥammed, the ruler of Păl. During the absence of the boy, Hăji Muḥammed entered into his house and went away to Ămalnirah. Sulṭăn Maḥmud got its report. He ordered Mawdud-ul-Mulk Saḥtah Sindhi to look after those helpless women freeing them from the hands of Hăji Muḥammed. On getting this order Mawdu-ul-Mulk immediately prepared for march and surrounded Hăji Muḥammed on the way. When he made inquiries about those two women he replied that he had no knowledge about them. On this lie, Mawdud-ul-Mulk killed him instantaneously on the spot. Thus God saved those women from the hands of Hăji Muḥammed. Mawdud-ul-Mulk reached Ămalnirah that very night and conquered its fort the next day. On 10th Zilhajj, the 'Id of sacrifice, the Sultăn went for 'Id prayer to 'Idgăh. After the prayer, many princes and amirs had

* Original Text, p. 56.

assembled in the Diwān of the Sultān. He summoned 'Ālam Khān who presented himself before him. The Sultān called him near himself and conversed with him in connection with government and said that this kingdom which once belonged to his ancestors is today bestowed upon him and thus the true claimant obtained the right of claim. Hence thanks are due to God for His bounty. After that, the Sultān titled him as A'zam-i-Humāyun 'Ādil Khān. He then offered him one out of his special robes of honour, suspended a sword and fixed a flag for him. He favoured him with one hundred elephants and one thousand horses. 'Ādil Khān kissed the royal carpet and stood on the right side of the Sultān. Sultān Maḥmud then looked at Husāmuddin and bestowed upon him the title of Shaharyār. He then turned to Malek Lādan and bestowed upon him the title of Khān-i-Jahān. He favoured Muḥammed Bākhā bin 'Imād-ul-Mulk with the title of Ghāzi Khān. Mātkirāsir, whose name was Hāfiz was titled Kuṭb Khān while his brother Yusuf was titled Yusuf Khān. Malek Lādan's son was titled Mujāhid Khān and 'Ālam Shāh Thālneri with 'Ālam-ul-Mulk. He gave all of them robes of honour and dresses. He made peace between them all and* assembled them for allegiance to 'Ādil Khān. He gave them more states than they owned. The Sultān then permitted 'Ādil Khān and the amirs of his kingdom to retire to their respective camps. 'Ādil Khān paid obeisance. On his coming out from the royal darbār, he had all the paraphernalia in front of him such as a flag, a drum etc. It was a memorable moment.

'Ādil Khān started for his kingdom on 11th Zilhajj 914 (1508) Sultān Maḥmud Khilji went to a certain distance to see him off. The Sultān then ordered Nuṣrat-ul-Mulk and Mujāhid-ul-Mulk to accompany 'Ādil Khān and stay with him till the complete occupation of the fort of Āsir and arrangement for its administration. Sultān Maḥmud gave certain instructions to 'Ādil Khān which were essential for the amirs to act upon. He entrusted him with prayer to the care of God and returned to his kingdom.

This very year, on 12th Zilhajj, Sultān Maḥmud set out for Chāmpāner. Husāmuddin Shaharyār accompanied the stirrup of the Sultān till the Sultān encamped on the bank of the river Bias. He counselled him, 'Ādil Khān and permitted him and Ghāzi Khān to return. Both of them started for Āmalnirah.

*Arrival of A'zam-i-Humāyun at Burhānpur*

'Ādil Khān reached Burhānpur on 17th Zilhajj 914 (1508) and alighted in the royal palace. Khān-i-Jahān and his companions intended to go back to Āsir. They demanded permission for it. 'Ādil Khān permitted them to go. But Shaharyār and his companions halted at Āmalnirah. 'Ādil Khān summoned Shaharyār often and often but he delayed to come. He wrote to 'Ādil Khān that he should not formulate any great policy for the kingdom without

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* Original Text, p. 57.

his arrival. At last, Shaharyār Khān came after certain days. Ghāzi Khān also accompanied him with an army of three thousand horse and four thousand foot. It was his intention to play some tricky game with 'Ādil Khān on getting some favourable opportunity. When 'Ādil Khān learnt about Shaharyār Khān's arrival, he came out for his reception and welcomed him with gentleness. He permitted him to stay going to his camp. When Shaharyār Khān left him, 'Ādil Khān continued to think in respect of him. In the evening, he summoned Nuṣrat-ul-Mulk and Mujāhid-ul-Mulk in privacy and said to them that Shaharyār Khān's interior and exterior are not similar. It is a famous maxim that one who does not advance inspite of getting an opportunity is a coward and that there are many dangers in delay. He then summoned his salāhdār (arms bearer) named Daryā Shāh and told him, "When Shaharyār comes to me tomorrow to meet in privacy, you should strike him with a sword which is in my hand when I recline against a pillow." He said to Nuṣrat-ul-Mulk and Mujāhid-ul-Mulk, "Enter the house after Shaharyār comes to me. Bring with * you as many men as he has with him. When you find me turning my face from Shaharyār, you kill all his companions." How well Abi al-Tayyeb Aḥmed Mutanabbi has said,

> Exalted nobility is not spared from hardship
> So long as blood is not spilled around it.

After this arrangement when Shaharyār came to him the next day with his amirs, Ādil Khān was sitting in a corner in the darbār. After sitting, Shaharyār neared 'Ādil Khān for consultation when 'Ādil Khān turned his face towards the pillow. Instantly, Daryā Shāh finished him to death by his sword. Similarly, Nuṣrat-ul-Mulk and Mujāhid-ul-Mulk subjected Shaharyār's companions to blows of swords. The world instantaneously became pure of all impurities and was free from fear and peril. The condition of Shaharyār when he came to 'Ādil Khān was similar to what Amir Jayyāsh bin Mutaghallib said to Najjāḥ Ḥabshi in Zubaid.

> When clemency and forbearing are helpful to an enemy in his deed,
>
> Ignorance is better than such forbearing and affords him more comfort and ease.
>
> There is weakness and imbecility in forgiving a fault.
>
> There is strength and power in punishment in case of forgiving an ungrateful person.

The afore-said Jayyāsh was the ruler of Tahāma in Zilhajj of 498 (1104). The condition of Bani Najjāh is also wonderful. What vicissitudes were brought about by time among his descendents! After narration of his detailed life we

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* Original Text, p. 58.

shall also describe the ancedotes, reading of which will give you solace and consolation from troubles of this world.

Khān-i-Jahān entertained desires to get the kingdom after Shaharyār. He sent Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri for establishment of Ālam Khān. Nizām-ul-Mulk was with Khān-i-Jahān these days. Nizām-ul-Mulk gave his accord to him and proceeded towards Burhānpur with him. 'Adil Khan received report about it in 'Āsir fort where he then was. He sent detailed information from Āsir to Mahmud who was greatly agitated at this news and remarked, "May God confound him in his personal squabbles. He then despatched the amirs Dilāwar Khān, Ṣadr Khān and Kadr Khān to help 'Ādil Shāh. He also sent to him a large sum of money from the treasury with them. It is reported that Maḥmud's son Muzaffar had requested him to send him money from the treasury. On camping at Nazarbār, they learnt about the death of Nizām-ul-Mulk. They conveyed this news to the Sultān and marched further. Khān-i-Jahān wept much at the death of Nizām-ul-Mulk. He was disappointed of the fort. He sought recommendation from Mujāhid-ul-Mulk and surrendered the fort to him. He and Amir Yusuf Khan proceeded to Kāwil. 'Ādil Khān entered the fort and became an absolute ruler. This was an event of 916 (1510). He then began to live in the fort as well as his heirs till the last days of Bahādur Kadr * Khān bin 'Āli 'Ādil Shāh. Their account will follow later on. 'Ādil Khān then intended to go to Kālna. The name of its ruler was Rāi Lakdhar. When he encamped at Kālna, its ruler made peace with him on condition of remaining subservient to 'Ādil Khān and payment of tribute to him. 'Adil Khān gave back his territory to him. Some Gujarati amirs remained with him. 'Adil Khān returned to Burhānpur. He went to that direction sometimes and conquered small forts and strong villages. He died on Friday afternoon, 10th Ramzān 926 (1519). A certain Persian poet composed some chronogram verse from the last hemistich of which the date of his death is found out.

Shāh 'Ādil Shāh was cypress of the garden and shadow of God
His face was fresh like a flower of garden of the world.
In the month of Ramzān, 10th date Friday afternoon
He departed on receipt of tidings of mercy from God
He accepted the call of the crier of God and went to paradise.
May mercy of God be ever over the king's soul
Because the king was a flower of the world of paradise.
'Ādil Shāh was a flower of paradise in reality—'Ādil Shāh

He was buried in the heart of the city of Burhānpur. A strong dome is built over his tomb. There is a big Jāme 'Masjid in front of it

* Original Text, p. 59.

His son Muḥammed Khān bin 'Ādil Khān succeeded him to the throne. He lived in the fort of Biyāwal. Descendants of Fāruki Khāns as well as the sons of Gujarāt kings lived in it. Muḥammed Khān enjoyed such elevated position during the saltanat of Bahādur bin Muzaffar that he sat with Bahādur bin Muzaffar on the throne. His royal dignity increased due to the event of 'Imād-ul-Mulk Kāveli. The title of Sultān was prefixed to his name, that is to* say, he came to be designated as Sultān Muḥammed Shāh. After the death of Bahādur bin Muzaffar, all the princes of Gujarāt unanimously acknowledged him as their Sultān. He was invited at Burhānpur but he died on the way to Burhānpur. His corpse was carried to Burhānpur and buried under the dome near the tomb of his father. This event took place in 944 (1537).. He was succeeded by his son Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammed Shāh. He was a child. Malek Piyāru was his Wazir. He then intended to blind his uncle. All the amirs concurred with this opinion of the minister. They brought him from Biyāwal to the capital Burhānpur. The blinders arrived. It was noon. He feared that he would die through heat. He was given respite till it grew cold. He had some members of the Arab Bani Jāfa' family. The head of this family knew astrology. He found Mubārak Khān thin and lean. He said to him, "Do not fear, the moment of difficulty has passed from you. God willing. What will you give me when you become the Sultān?" Mubārak Khān replied, "I will give you what you will desire." The Yāfai' astrologer took a promise from him and gave him a saw to cut off the chains on his feet. Mubārak cut off a chain of one of his feet and rolled it up on the other. He entered the house of the haram (seraglio) where he found Aḥmad in the hands of a wet-nurse. He took the child from her hands and giving him to the guardians said that as an uncle he was responsible for rearing of the child. The party of guardians accepted his statement whereupon all the Yāfai's joined them. Mubārak sat on turrets of the gates with the child. There was a strong parapet around the gates. He ordered to close city-gates. This news spread in no time. Amirs of the city came to the compound of the house with the Wazir. There they heard an announcer proclaiming loudly that those who were obedient to Mubārak should remain in the house while the rest should quit it. The amirs said to the Wazir, "What is your order? If we attack Mubārak all of a sudden the king's son Aḥmad Shāh will be immediately killed. If Aḥmad Shāh is killed, who is there among us whose order we have to carry out and acknowledge him as king." The minister fell athinking. The amirs turned their faces from the Wazir and they assembled around Mubārak one after the other and acknowledged him as their ruler. They then returned to their respective houses in safety and honour. But the wazir did not acknowledge Mubārak as ruler ultimately he got killed while fighting. The son of the wazir Malek Piyāru called Malek Maḥmud fled

* Original Text, p. 60.

to the kings of Gujarat. In future, he became a man of accomplishment due to his personal qualities. He became proficient in several branches of knowledge. His word was accepted by learned scholars. He carried felicity and fortune with him wherever he went. Aḥmad Shāh, the son of Muḥammed Shāh died in the lap of his uncle in the evening. Mubārak Shāh ascended the throne of Burhānpur. He then conquered Hāndia and Bijanagar. Slowly and slowly, * he annexed many villages to his kingdom. In the early part of his reign, 'Imād-ul-Mulk Malek Jīv deserted Sultān Maḥmud and came to Mubārak Shāh. Sultān Maḥmud pursued him and a battle was fought in the famous plain of Dāngari. In the beginning Mubārak Shāh had an upper hand but ultimate victory was of Maḥmud. As there were ties of relationship between the two, Maḥmud returned to Gujarat. During the sultanat of Aḥmad, he sought help from Masnad-i-'Āli I'timād Khān. In exchange for these services, I'timād Khān received Nazarbār and Sultānpur (as jāgir) which he continued to hold till the Muzaffari regime. During his reign, Sandal, an Abysinian slave freed by a merchant-prince of Khanbhāyat Khwāja 'Abdun Nabi Maghribi, came to Burhānpur. He there met Jhujhār Khān Abysinian, a freed slave of Khwāja 'Abdun Nabi's father. He was then the Governor of Burhānpur and had settled there. Abysinian slave Ṣandal was rising in status by remaining with him to such an extent that he had become his Deputy in government. Fame of his good administration for establisdment of safety and security had reached distant places. When Jhujhār Khān became an absolute governor of Sultānpur and Nazarbār, he too continued to live and settle in the capital. He issued regulations among the people. He fixed punishment for mischief-mongers. Malcontents and rebels had become powerful in those days. He broke their power and subdued them by the force of sword. His administration had become free from fear and danger. Mubārak Shāh attended to him with favour and geanted him a village of Jāmud and made him a commander of one thousand horse. He bestowed upon him the title of Fawlād Khān. He favoured him with a flag, a drum and elephants. His rank and glory continued till end of life. He was a great soldier-politician. He uprooted mischief-mongers. Riffraffs of the city were afraid of him. He died in 977 (1569) and was buried in his village of Jāmud. His son Abdul Karim bin Fawlād Khān built a great dome over his grave. Many persons visit his tomb for blessings from distant places. Muslims and non-Muslims have faith in his miraculous powers. May God treat him with kindness and make verdant his tomb by rains of mercy.

After his death, his son 'Abdul Karim whose account is given above, became the governor of this region. During these days, Mubārak Shāh's son Muḥammed Shāh was the ruler. Sayyid Zainuddin was his wazir. There was some disagreement between 'Abdul Karim and Sultān Muḥammed Shāh. His

* Original Text, p. 61.

army, therefore, intended to take him to Masnad-i-'Āli Tafa'ul Khān who was the minister in those days in the kingdom of Berār. Once a war ensued between Murtuzā Nizām Shāh and Tafā'ul Khān for fixation of frontiers. A river inter-* vened between them which was to be crossed on horseback. Faulād Khān crossed it. Before Tafā'ul Khān's army could come to his succour, a battle took place between the armies of Khudāwand Khān, the commander of Nizām Shāh and Fawlād Khān. Both the armies attacked each other. Amir Khudāwand Khān, the commander of Nizām Shāh's army fled from battle-field, while Fawlād Khān stood firm. I heard about this incident from him when I attended upon him in 1008 (1599-1600) at Songhir. He further stated "If I had left him, even though he had already fled, yet I had no difficulty but the keeper of my horse said that he had fled becoming helpless against me. How can a man like Khudāwand Khān be captured by you? You would have become famous. I was impressed by his talk. I then pursued him. He turned back. He had a mace in his hand. He struck it with great rapidity on my helmet. The helmet was slightly narrow. It came down upon my head and reached my eye brows. My sight did not work well. My flag-bearer attacked him. Whereupon Khudāwand Khān struck his sword so forcibly on his right hand that it cut it and it fell at a distance with a war-weapon. He took the flag in the left hand. He cut his left hand also. He placed the banner on his heart. He gave a third blow on his neck whereupon he fell upon the ground. He fled with the flag. Tafā'ul Khān approached to meet me. Even though I gained a victory yet due to the helmet descending on my head, there was such a great swelling that it became difficult to take out the helmet from head. Tafa'ul Khān took out a bottle of some kind of oil from his store and said to me that it removed the swelling when massaged. The helmet was removed with difficulty from the head. My head then got relief. It was the first battle which was personally fought during the days of amirship." When Fawlād Khān also went over to the amirs of Nizām Shāh, he turned his face when he faced Khudāwand Khān. Khudāwand Khān treated him with affection. Once both of them faced each other. Whenever Khudāwand Khān wished that he should become Fawlād Khān's flag-bearer, he rejected his offer with honour and self-respect. Nizām Shāh came to know about their disaffection. When Fawlād Khān and Khudāwand Khān came to his darbār, he summoned both of them to himself and brought about their reconciliation. He said to Fawlād Khān that Khudāwand Khān would be his standard-bearer. Khudāwand Khān approved of it. He remained his standard-bearer till his death. Fawlād Khān returned to Burhānpur. His capital was Hākātla situated at a distance of seven miles from Āsir. One day he was in his fort when he heard that Gitā jiv had come round about its plain with one thousand horse and some elephants. Gitā jiv was reckoned as

* Original Text, p. 62.

one of the rebels of the ruler. Fawlād Khān rushed upon him with only forty horse. Gitā jiv was killed at the hands of Fawlād Khān. Fawlād Khān seized* his elephants, drum and standard. Gitā Jiv's army took to its heels. News of this encounter spread far and wide. Fawlād Khān's region was snatched away from him for sometime during the regime of 'Ādil Shāh bin Mubārak Shāh but later on it was given back to him. His region was seized in 998 (1585). He then stayed in a fort on a mountain till the death of 'Ādil Shāh. Bahādur Shāh succeeded him. During the regime of Bahādur Shāh, he became a fortunate ruler. He was also granted Songhir. That famous event also took place during the time of Fawlād Khān. This event took place between the infidel wrestler Ravi Rāi Dahunia. Fawlād Khān killed him also and seized his elephants and flag. Akbar Pādshāh came to Burhānpur. Fawlād Khān fortified himself in Āsir. Fawlād Khān turned to Akbar and became his partisan and passed his life under his protection. His capital continued to be Songhir. There lived with him an expert horseman Nāṣiruddin Muḥammed Amin Khān, son of 'Aziz Khān son of Jhujhār Khān Habshi. His account is given before. Fawlād Khān had brought him up. His father's sister had married Fawlād Khān. Both of them were summoned by 'Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khānān and sent to Akbar at Delhi. Amin Khān died at Hirāpur on the way. He remained ill for a day and night and died on 7th Rabi II. Afterwards, Fawlād Khān died in the Deccan region at Pul Thānpa on 9th Jamādi II. The year of death of both of them is 1014 (1605). His coffin was taken to Jāmud after forty days where he was buried near the grave of his father. Amin Khān's coffin was first brought to Songhir and then it was taken to Jāmud where he was buried. I was present at the time of his burial. May God purify graves of both of them and assign a place in paradise. On oath of my life I state that if a man can get his dearest thing by weeping, I am prepared to weep so much as to make a stone soft. Fawlād† Khān was born in 958 (1551) while Amin Khān in 987 or 988 (1579-80). Their place of residence was Burhānpur. I passed my life in great ease and comfort under them. Fire of separation is blazing forth in my heart due to death of both of them. My soul is in torment. I find the verses of famous secretary Jamāluddin Abid Dur Yākut al-Musta'zami appropriate to my state.

> How sweet and pleasant were those days which I passed in your company. After departure of those days, there remained only a wish for such days).

There remained no desire in heart after their death. All sweet tables have become bitter. I complain of time in the manner of the verses of the poet Salmān. I address the sky and say that my head is empty of desires. It is not possible in future to make me more sad than this.

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* Original Text, p. 63. † Original Text, p. 64.

Translation of Persian verses.

Oh sphere! I am free from joy
How can you make me sad?
I have no hope and fear from thee
Even if you show love or vengeance.
I am not a bee that I should gird up loins before thee
So that you may sweeten my palate.
I am not a narcissus that I should lower my head before thee
So that you may gild my crown.
If you, like your own palace
Decorate it with bricks of gold and silver
If you place four thrones of the full moon
Or make a saddle for me with the shape of a crescent.
I will not lower my neck before thee
Even if you wear me a necklace of Pleiades
I am not worthy of these bounties
For at last you will make a brick my pillow.

From among the experiences of Mubārak Shāh one is this: When there was a civil war among the kings of Gujarāt, Mubārak Shāh was despaired of help to them. Akbari Mughals invaded Bijāpur. During these days, 'Izzat Khān al-Yāfi' famous as Kāzi lived in Bijāpur. He made utmost efforts to defend this fort-but the peaks of mountain did not save him from onslaught of large armies. It is a special feature of war that like a bucket of water, it satiates one and sometimes another. He thought it advisable to make peace with Akbar's army. He wrote to him for submission as well as gave his daughter in marriage to him on demand. He made his daughter enter the ḥaram of the king. He gave Hāndia village of Bijāpur saltanat in dowry on condition that Akbar would help in case of difficulty to his children in future and that he would look after them. Akbar accepted these terms of his. He sent I'timād Tawāsi to him. Mubārak Shāh sent his daughter with I'timād Khan. This event took place in 971 (1563). After that, Mubārak Shāh remained without fear from the side of the Mughals till his death in 974 (1566). He was buried near the tomb of his brother. His son Muḥammed Shāh succeeded him to the throne. He was a man of fortitude and generosity. He distributed money on getting it. There are memorable deeds in this respect. His government was conducted by his Wazir Syed Zain-nuddin. He was a king in name only.*

In 981 (1573), Nizām Shāh Deccani invaded the fort of Āsir. The cause of his invasion was that his wazir Changhiz Khān 'Azami persuaded him to invade it after the conquest of Elichpur, the capital of Berār so that later on the kingdom of Telingana might be conquered. Nizām Shāh accepted his advice.

* Original Text, p. 65.

He turned towards Telingana, the capital of Telingana. On the way, he received a report that Syed Zainuddin intended to invade Elichpur. Nizām Shāh, therefore, came back to Elichpur. Zainuddin took to his heels. Nizām Shāh pursued him and was about to over-take him when Zainuddin's son, Syed Mustafā came to his father's succour with an army. He continued to fight with Nizām Shāh till he was killed in action. From among those who were martyred in this battle was Amir-i-Faris Haibat Khān Behlim. Chaos and confusion prevailed in the army on the death of these two persons. The cause of Zainuddin's invasion of Elichpur was this that the wazir Rāmdev of Berār saltanat had informed him about a large treasure in Elichpur. When Nizām Shāh was proceeding towards Telingana, Zainuddin became covetous to seize that treasure and so he marched towards it. In the meanwhile, Nizām Shāh and Zainuddin encountered at the foot of the fort. One of the terms of peace was for the payment of three lakhs of Muzaffari rupees by Zainuddin to Nizām Shāh. After Nizām Shāh's return to his capital Ahmadnagar, he ordered to poison Changhiz Khān to death. The cause of it was that when he snatched the region of Kāvil from Tafāul Khān, the ruler of Berār and brought him in presence of Syed Nizam Shāh. Nizām Shāh showed great respect towards Tafā'ul Khān. There existed friendship between them some time in the past. Nizām Shāh still continued to treat Tafāul Khān with kindness. It had so happened that when Syed Nizām Shāh had fled from Bijāpur, its famous Hindu Rāja Dāmrāj had pursued him as far as his capital and laid waste the city. He burnt houses and trees where possible. On this occasion, Tafāul Khān had helped him with his full army and had alighted him in the frontiers of his Berār kingdom. He looked after Nizām Shāh till his perturbation was over. Nizām Shāh, therefore, ordered Changhiz Khān to reach Tafāul Khān to Ahmadnagar. He acted in accordance with his order. But Tafāul Khān administered poison to him. When Syed Nizām Shāh learnt about it, he got Tafāul Khān killed at the hands of his Egyptian physician Bibras. It chanced wonderfully that when Tafāul Khān's coffin was being taken to Berār from his place of burial, they reached a cross-road from which Changhiz Khān's coffin was being taken to Ahmadnagar. Thus they met even after death. They then were confined to their respective graves. Very soon, they received punishment for their misdeeds. A poet has truly said : Death comes suddenly and man goes to rest in his grave which is the abode of his deeds.

Muhammed Shāh died in 984 ( 1575-76 ). He was burried near the tomb of his spiritual guide Shaikh Taki Naki Burhānuddin Ibrāhim famous as Miyāyā. May God make the earth of his grave verdant with the rains of * mercy. A big dome was built over the grave of Muhammad Shāh. His foster-brother Rāja 'Ali Khān was present at the time of his death. His uncle hesi-

* Original Text, p. 66.

tated to nurture his nephew, Hasan Khān. In the meanwhile, Lād Muḥammed Bakhshi arrived. Rāja 'Ali Khān held consultation with him. Lād Bakhshi remarked that a weak person is one who does not seize the opportunity. Rāja 'Ali Khān firmly decided to take his nephew Ḥasan Khān under his protection. He then sat with him in that turret of the fort from which place the gate of the fort could be seen. He ordered the gate to be closed. When the wazir Zainuddin learnt about the death of Muḥammed Shāh, he rode his horse. All the amirs of the kingdom were with him to inquire about the condition of the heir-apparent in the capital. When they reached the capital, they got surprised and wonderstruck and they failed to understand what to do. The wazir then returned to his house. The amirs also parted from the wazir with permission to go to their respective houses. The work of taking oath of allegiance to Ḥasan Shāh was over. Next his uncle Rāja 'Ali Khān went to the house of the wazir Zainuddin and conversed with him in privacy. He brought him to the fort and continued to pay him sufficient salary. He also satisfied him by an assurance that he would not be disgraced by imprisonment etc. during his life. Ḥasan Shāh was the ruler while Rāja 'Ali Khān was the viceroy. The king's maternal uncle strove for the murder of Rāja 'Ali Khān. He intended to accomplish it by winning over most of the amirs to his side. He wished the Yāfai' amir 'Arab Khān to be in his party. He met him and talked to him about his plan. He agreed with him. He requested him to come to him the next day at a particular hour. When he departed from him, 'Arab Khān rode out to meet Rāja 'Ali Khān in privacy. He requested him to send a confidential person to him at a particular time. He concealed what he had with him. When he appeared at the appointed time, he took him to a private place and closed its doors. 'Arab Khān sat towards the door waiting for 'Ali Khān. He sought his permission which was granted to him. Both of them sat near the door and talked about the plot. The messenger came out from privacy. 'Arab Khān said to him to convey him what he had heard personally. It was his duty to convey the report to him. He acted accordingly. Rāja 'Ali Khān assembled the amirs and disclosed the plot to them and ordered those amirs who sided with 'Ali Khān to be put to death such as the above-mentioned 'Ali Khān, Raihān, the Kotwal, the Governor of Burhānpur and the commander of the Āsir fort, Khān Jahān Purabiya. He dethroned Ḥasan Shāh but pardoned his mother who had no confidence in his claim. It happened in 985 (1576-77). The above-mentioned Bakhshi was favoured with wizārat and titled Āṣaf Khān.* He was efficient in administration. Besides he was a scholar with ability for composition. He built a cupola in honour of the blessing for Muslims, leader of the pious, our lord Shaikh Fariduddin famous as Ganj-e-Shakar may his grave be sanctified, at Burhānpur near the tomb of Mawlānā Shaikh Hāji Ahmad.

* Original Text, p. 67.

Adjacent to it in the south is a spacious compound wherein is a platform, a reservoir, a jāme 'masjid in front of the cupola and behind its arches are rooms for sufis. He appointed his brother, the pious Mawlānā Ruknuddin Shaikh as its supervisor. Shaikhs of the place, its sufis and large crowds gather together on 'Urs ( anniversary ) days. There is singing, dancing ecstasy and rejoicing, tearing of clothes. There is humility within doors, pouring out of blood, very often on the point of death. I saw what was wonderful and heard what was pleasing. He continued to be the wazir till his sudden death in the fort on the morning of the night of 14th Shawwāl, 997 ( 1589 ). Ministry was void without him. Verily, Time is a miser. He was buried with a raised ground near the gate of the aforesaid cupola prevailing over lofty knots. May God treat him with kindness!

In the year 987 ( 1579 ), an event took place in connection with Shāh 'Abdul Latif son of Amir of Mandu, Shāh Budāgh Khān. Its account in short is: During the regime of Mubārak Shāh and his son Muḥammad Shāh, the amir of Mandu owed a certain sum of money for which a demand was made every year. When 'Adil Shāh was firmly established as sulṭān, he demanded it from him as usual. He replied, " you have stored treasures while I have collected an army." On this reply to his demand, Shāh 'Abdul Muttalib raided the territory adjoining Mandu frontiers belonging to the kingdom of Burhānpur. 'Adil learnt about this attack. He fully equipped the army and saw it to be perfect. When he arrived at the river Narbada, he found it difficult to cross it except by diving into it for running to Mandu. He was about to be drowned when he was saved. He left behind his elephant, banner, drum; the army returned with him to Āsir. It was a clear victory. Shāh Budāgh Khān heard a report of his flight. He said, " why did you dispute his just demand of money? Verily, the enemy does not look back in battle. I had forbidden 'Abdul Muttalib to invade and he* should pay his demand. This was what happened. It would be connected with me. By God, I cannot see his face." He died through grief in the evening or as it is said, he poisoned himself to death. In the year 994 ( 1586 ), an event took place in regard to Shams-ul-Atka, Khān-i-A'zam 'Aziz Muḥammed Kuka. Its short account is this: He corresponded with 'Adil Shāh for his entry into the Deccan by way of Burhānpur. He replied that his territory would suffer ruin by such crossing. It was proper for him to enter from the side of Kirlah. He did not agree with him in what he saw for that was an important course for him. Externally he was with him but internally he was with the people of the Deccan. He sought help from Nizām Shāh and the absolute deputy of that day Shāh Kuli Ṣalābat Khān. The deputy got his brother Bahzād-ul-Mulk, Aḥd-ul-Mamālik-al-Turk for Nizām Shah with elephants and cannons in addition the army of Elichpur, capital of Berār. Its amir that day was Mirza Muḥammed

* Original Text, p. 68.

Taki and with him were the appointed clients for devotion to 'Adil Shāh. It so happened on their arrival at a village Sirpud situated at a distance of seven farsakhs from Burhānpur, when 'Azadud Dawlah Shāh Fathullāh Shirāzi came to Āsir with a letter from Khān-i-A'zam requesting him not to take that step. But on his coming to Hāndia or with his passing by Burhānpur, 'Ādil Shāh consulted his wazir Āsaf Khān in regard to a reply to the letter brought by 'Azaduddawlah. He then summoned his amir Ikhtiār Khān Rumi. He belonged to a village. A meeting was called. People assembled and thought over his reception and treatment with kindness. They sought for a maxim of Abi Tayyab al-Mutnabbi:

An opinion before bravery of the brave
Is first, then assignment of second place.

In this respect, there is a command of God to our Prophet may peace and benediction of God be upon him, the first in universe, "Hold consultation for an affair." The substance of their consultation was that they smacked of mischief in the letter brought by 'Azaduddawlah. The matter had reached its climax. I do not see anything except what has been said by the true eloquent Imām of poets of the people Abu Tamām.

The sword informs more truly than the books

About sharpness of punishment between effort and sport.

The amir approved of what he saw and applauded it. He said, "When you are determined, put trust in God." He replied, "I resolved and put trust in God."

Lofty nobility is not safe from hardship*
Till blood flows around him.

In the meantime, he sent a messenger to the Deccan army to advise them to advance to Āsir and camp at the foot of mountain. Āsaf Khān sent a messenger 'Azaduddawlah to inform him about designs of the Deccan army urging him to seek safety from them by going back to Hāndia in all speed. He rode at that very hour without caring for anything. He was with one thousand horse followed by Āsaf Khān at a distance of farsakhs. He returned to the camp of his ruler in a direction from the foot waiting for arrival of the Deccan army. He then supervised the army at the foot of mountain, met and moved with them to the side of water and ordered to encamp there. He parted from them and accompanied the royal chamberlain. He ascended the fort with permission of the commander of the fort along with him. He met 'Adil Shāh and handed to him the letter of his ruler Nizām Shāh. He had stated therein the need of the hour on the advice of the deputy Ṣalābat Khān. 'Ādil Shāh applauded it and praised him thereon. He ordered with largesse the camping of Nizāmshāhi

* Original Text, p. 69.

amirs at the foot of mountain to relax all fort-cannons and those in the tents. Such was the case with drums as usual in hours of rejoicing. He ordered a royal feast where sheep, cows, fowls, goals, rice, flour, roast, sugar, candy and cut-pieces of meat were served among all the amirs, chiefs of the army and servants separately. He ordered a public feast for the next day in the pitched pavilion for him in the army. The chamberlain received permission to get down from the fort to proceed to the tent pitched for him in the neighbourhood of Āsaf Khān's tent. Next day, Ādil Shāh descended from the fort to proceed to the pavilion. He advanced a few steps to the side of the Deccan army. All of them rode on their horses to go to him, assembled with him and moved to go to his pavilion. It was an assemblage worth seeing. Then he went for meals. All persons occupied their seats according to their rank. As far as possible, none was left out in the army. In the afternoon, all kinds of syrups and fruits—fresh and dry, were administered. Delightful tunes and pleasant songs were sung from beginning of the assembly to its end. Afterwards, a council for consultation was held. All unanimously agreed that sword obliterates* grief. It was the third day of their camping at the foot of the mountain. They arrayed the army in rows and continued march to Hāndia. The army consisted of forty thousand horse out of whom eight thousand belonged to Ādil Shāh who marched under his standard, one hundred elephants and one hundred cannons. Four thousand horsemen were left behind on the frontiers to the side of Nazarbār and Sultānpur as reserves. They were firmly fortified. When 'Azad returned to Khān-i-'Azam Kokaltāsh with a report of the march of the Deccan army with designs to attack towards Hāndia, Kokaltāsh held consultation with Amirs of the Saltanat. There was none in their wings to compare in valour with the Deccan army. They had come near them. They said that it was not easy to encounter such a large army of great strength. There was no way to march back to Mandu. The army of Berār had to be collected. The foot of Āsir was not nearby. They decided to leave the tents in their position at Hāndia and cross by the side of Kiria to Berār. It was not easy to extricate themselves to go to Nazarbār. When they got an opportunity, they subjected the region to plunder. They would be safe so far as their needs were concerned. They all agreed on this course. They made night-attacks. The enemy was at Hāndia in the morning. They plundered it, burnt it and buried themselves to think for sometime about tents whether there were men in them or not. When they learnt that they were left behind for free movement. They ordered the bazar to set fire to and speedily marched in the wake for defence of Berār to save it from plunder. 'Adil Shāh did not alone march with them. Whenever their armies approached each other, they stopped and forbade to encounter. If most of the Deccan

* Original Text, p. 70.

army had not lagged behind in rapid movement from the amirs, the cannons, for lifting, would have remained in valleys and narrow passages. Hence they had to stop. The distance did not vanish between the armies. Farasakhs neither increased beyond seven nor decrease from four till they extricated themselves from the Deccan boundary and arrived at Nazarbār. Whenever Khān-i-A'zam's elephant become helpless to walk, he ordered his trunk to be cut off or its total destruction so that the enemy might not be benefited. In this way, a number of state elephants as well as those of the amirs were killed. He rebuked the amirs also. 'Adil Shāh then pitched his tent in his frontiers to know about his arrival at Nazarbār. In the meantime, he conferred with the amirs of the Deccan and thanked them for their efforts. He favoured them and ennobled them with robes of honour. It was done by the other parties also. He then sent two chamberlains to him with chamberlain of the state and wrote* to him about the state of affairs and about what he did and left according to exigencies of time. He thought over the future course of action. He permitted the amirs to depart and returned to Āsir. His diligent efforts in those days were about the stability of Burhān Nizām Shāh in the saltanat. It was in the year 1000 ( 1592 ). Its short account is this : In the early part of Ismāil Nizām Shāh and the Deputyship of Jamāl Khān Habshi, Syed Abil Fath of the Afghāns was the chamberlain (privy counsellor). He was paid in accordance with his expectation. He was succeeded by Risāldar Syed Muḥammad. He surpassed him to a certain extent. This was the cause which inflamed them with rage and they exchanged words which parted them. He then arrived with Saif-ul-Muluk and Jamāl Khān and said that Abil Fath at the time of departure before the coming of 'Adil Shāh that the kingdom of Berār belonged to him in wealth and men belonged to him in times of Murtuzā Nizām Shāh and Ṣalābat Khān. He was one of those slaves who presented himself before him in hour of need. He then went in all haste and alighted at the foot of Āsir mountain with horses and his sultān for not engaging with the Mughals. At the statement of the chamberlain, he sent word, " If you do not give up bias for Burhān-ul-Mulk, I will come to you and destroy your kingdom with army of the Deccan. " In the meantime, he agreed with Saif-ul-Muluk for his order to Jamāl Khān to come out from the capital Ahmadnagar for proceeding to Elichpur. He assaulted it in concord with Ādil Shāh. Ismā'il Azad Khān came from Jewal to Burhānpur. Thus their number swelled. Ādil Shāh then wrote to Ibrāhim 'Adil Shāh, ruler of Bijāpur and Dilāwar Khān Habshi, his deputy. He resolved upon the order of the Sultān of Hind Jalāluddin Akbar Bādshāh in regard to stability of Burhān in the kingdom. He replied to him about it. They decided unanimously that Dilāwar Khān should go with his sultān towards Ahmadnagar. Jamāl Khān issued forth for war. 'Adil Shāh joined Burhān-ul-Mulk for going to

* Original Text, p. 71.

Berār where he would join Saiful Muluk and Syed Amjad, the commander of Berār army with whom the amirs and eminent men such as Abnak Khān Habshi Nizāmshāhi, Jahāngir Khān Habshi, the ruler of Kerala and Nur Khān Deccani* to join. Jamāl Khān went to him. Dilāwar Khān followed him on horse-back and thus Dilāwar Khān came out. Jamāl Khān heard about it and so he came out with the Sultān for encounter. When he approached tents, breaking, running and beating took place between vanguards. For some time, they remained equal in fight. Then continual reports poured in from the ruler of Burhānpur that he entered Berār with Burhān-ul-Mulk and that Saif-ul-Muluk and Syed Amjad joined him with all the army of Berār. Asad Khān had become the wazir. Thus the wishes of the companions of Jamāl Khān as well as of Abnak Khān Habshi were frustrated. When he issued forth in time with the vanguard and made an assault on the opposite forces, he rent them asunder, entered into them and came out from ranks to Dilāwar Khān and took rest with him that day. In the evening they marched to Berār with seven thousand horses and forty elephants. In the meantime, Jamāl Khān said to Khudāwand Khān, "If you had abandoned me the proverb, a wise enemy is better than a foolish friend, I would have experienced." A meeting was held at night. All sincere persons attended it. After consultation, they agreed upon a night-attack on Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh. He took to flight along with those who were with him leaving cannons and elephants. It was a great victory. The Nāib (Deputy) Dilāwar Khān has encamped in front of him at a distance of some farsakhs. He rode out as usual that day and came near the camp, he found everything in himself and agitation. He made an inquiry. They said to him, "Jamāl Khān took to heels with his sultān and the soldiers resorted to plunder." Dilāwar Khān liked to prevent them from it. He took complete possession of the tent. In the meanwhile, a man came, followed by another man to give him the report of occurrence. He turned his reins towards his sultān when Jamāl Khān came to his pavilion. He did not find anything of the treasure and the store as well as horses in the stable. Similar was the case with the amirs who were with him. He consoled and satisfied himself with the victory, and said that God gave it in exchange for what had passed. He then arrayed the cannons and elephants and returned to Ahmadnagar. Azad Khan was heard saying after this great victory which facilitated preparation for war to advance to the fort of Devgir Dawlatābād. He preserved in memory the difficulties in store for him after suffering disappointment at his hand and so he neither got puffed up with victory nor comforted himself with ease. He stayed for a short time at the seat of the kingdom and then started for Berār. He went on disbanding soldiers at every† stage. When he arrived at the battle-field with soldiers who had remained with him, their number was three thousand. He turned to the stationing place of

* Original Text, p. 72. † Original Text, p. 73.

Burhān-ul-Mulk where he found a dense army as well as the place of 'Ādil Shāh. He said that he was a pivotal stone of the war. He made a mistake in coming and following him. He stood at the cannons and said to the amirs to fire cannons at him. 'Ādil Shāh had won him over as he had won over others. He paused, spurred his horse, left behind the cannons and advanced with men following them. It is said,

Every man of the world has a habit.

Habit of sword of the state is to strike the enemy.

'Ādil Shāh forbade Burhān-ul-Mulk to take part in war except when necessary. He arrayed his connons in front. The advance-guard was arranged in order. Amir 'Abdul Karim Fawlād Khān was in command of it. 'Ālam Khān Lori was in command of the vanguard and the wings were commanded by Jish-ul-Mulk Sultāni and Ravi Rāi Dhuniā. He posted himself in the centre. Kāmil-ul-Mulk was with the standard and the drum in the company. He rode an elephant looking at Jamāl Khān and his battalions. He saw him advancing in front like night and descending like a torrent of water. He turned to the advance-guard. It consisted of one thousand horses. He found it slow of movement. He got down from the elephant to occupy saddle of the horse, interned the spear, there was neighing of horses, the lance blazed and made an orderly attack, the cannons got inflamed, Jamāl Khān held erect his gun, he shot at insanely and dispersed his men—except Khudāwand Khān. He continued to fight till he joined his ruler. There were more than thirty wounds on him due to stabbing, thrusting and beating. God had so destined. Burhān-ul-Mulk left behind his battalions at their posts and joined 'Ādil Shāh and his amirs congratulating them on victory. 'Adil Shāh received him and blessed him with the kingdom and titled him Nizām Shāh. He then admonished the amirs and the amirs gave him advice. He returned to Burhānpur with cannons and elephants of Jamāl Khān.

In the year 1003 ( 1594-95 ), difference arose among his companions about succession on the death of Burhān Nizām Shāh. People of the Deccan hated his son for the death of his father. His Wazir famous as Jānabki sent an envoy to Pahāḍjiv Shāh Murād, son of Sultān of Hind Jalāluddin Akbar Bādshāh, may God prolong their shadow, for the necklace of saltanat. He was in* Gujarāt. He was invited for surrender of the capital to him. He started from Ahmedabad for Nazarbār. He summoned 'Adil Shāh to him. He wrote to the ruler of Bijāpur mentioning to him what was resolved upon by Jānabki. He sought his counsel due to pact of pledge and oath of fealty and that the Prince ( Murād ) had crossed the river Mahi with his vanguards while the amirs of Akbar had crossed the river Narbada from the direction of Mandu. He

* Original Text, p. 74.

replied expressing his disappointment for the step taken and his firmness (for opposition). In the meantime, he turned to his favourite amirs and men of judgment (as to what should be done in this matter). He narrated his grandfather, Amir-ul-Muminin 'Umar, may God be pleased with him, who had said that daring and cowardice were natural impulses and that God bestows them according to His wishes. A coward runs away from his own people, and his son, while a brave person fights one who does not allow him to climb up his camel-saddle. In a Hindi book it is stated that fate deprives of a lion of his strength so much so that he entertains fear of destruction. It makes a person weak on back of an elephant. It makes a snake-charmer dominate over a poisonous cobra who removes its teeth. It makes an unwise man prudent and a wise man helpless. It makes a rich man powerful over a stingy person and a stingy person over a generous man. It makes a coward brave and a brave man a coward. It does that in proportion to degress. There is a verse composed by Amme Salma, mother of the faithful, may God be pleased with her

If a person is free from sin
He will enjoy a rank over people.
It God had deprived men of their wisdom
Nothing would pass over their head.

He then said, "If yesterday, we made a pledge for practice of qualities as possessed by the virtuous, persons will prefer zeal for the state to destruction and today they will talk about it."

There is a period for everything, when passed
Its fondness, it appears as if it were not created.
What is the world except duration of two hours? It is a wonder
For what of it passed and you only think over what is left.

I noticed no nobility either in the father or the uncle of the ruler of Bijapur. The son, a loser, had become an heir to the throne. What was pointed (before) took place now. Prince Murād arrived from Gujarāt on entreaties while Khān-i-Khānān, the commander-in chief of the Mughal forces set out from Mandu.* The greatest man spoke. He was a man of judgment. They assembled and their meeting was essential to hastily and temporarily settle the dispute concerning affairs tending to disgrace. Nature could not bear it. Death summoned members of the family as well as the state either for martyrdom or felicity. Their debate was appropriate for approach to action. Time was fleeting and possibility was going around. It was a turnover but he wished for patience on our side. Perhaps the world would desolate by the move. They had assembled in the kingdom from all sides. He thought of a flight from fear through profanating the harem. It would be a fall with penitence. They sought for a

* Original Text, p. 75.

place of refuge to live and to construct a strong fort. They were disposed to plan for safety in their interest but they found it inconvenient to move. They were indecisive. It was a time of trial extending its cords and net. I was a witness to these events. I made them secure. I argued on their behalf. But now I saw no good or bad in regard to what happened. I emboldened them and came first in person to you.

It is my duty to remove the wrong but not death
which is with God. He does what He wishes.

It was in connection with execution of orders for submission and pleasing the Sultān of Hind as far as possible. He had known about it at the outset and he knows it now. Sermon (khutba) was to be recited in his name from pulpits. It was meant for those who desired to live under his shelter and for those who intended to live long under his obligation and for those who wanted to prosper with him, and for those who liked to belong to his party. He promised the fort of Asir to remain in the hands of governor. I am informing you as one who knows it. One of them will conduct its administration on behalf of the saltanat. It would be difficult to come out from it like precious stones which are mortgaged. In the end, coins are not wanted. It is like Majadud Dawlah bin Fakharud Dawlah, the foolish ruler of 'Irāk. He wrote a letter to Maḥmud Subuktagin, the Sultān of Ghazni complaining against his amirs and seeking his help. He promised him help and despatched an army. When the army reached Rai. He consulted silly persons and ignorant men. He came out to meet the general of the army to request him to go back. He humiliated him, imprisoned him and wrote about it to Maḥmud arrived in person and summoned Majadud Dawlah in an assembly. He said to him, "Have you read Firdawsi's Shāh-* nāmah? Have you perused the History of Tabari?" He replied, "yes." He asked him, "Have you played chess?" He replied, "yes." He said, "Have you seen in histories in connection with kingdoms of Sultāns? Did you see in the letter with glance of an eagle?" He replied, "No". He said, "Under these circumstances, allow the reins of authority to pass in the hands of one who is more powerful than you. This topic of conversation made today is for tomorrow." He then ordered to take him, his son and his wazir to Ghazni for imprisonment. He put his son Mas'ud in charge of the government of 'Irāk. Mahmud returned. I had resolved upon the safety of all and security of Burhānpur with the passage of time. It was an exit from saltanat contrary to this ordering self which leads to evil. I apologise for what happened. God is He "There is no god but He." He then prayed to God, thanked Him, dispersed the assembly and went to his mother. He was obedient to her. He sent for his wazir, Hasan Muḥammed and committed his son Kadar Khān to his charge. He

* Original Text, p. 76.

was hearing him. He then called him and settled the saltanat upon him. His uncle adorned him with a turban, suspended the sword of his grand-father, decorated him with garments of his father and showered blessings upon him for the kingdom. He said to the wazir, " Take him with the hand. He had ordered him for lifting the umbrella over his head. He came out with him to the army at the mountain and ordered soldiers to take an oath of allegiance to him for he was verily their sultān. He then requested his mother for prayer. He then bade farewell to all. He came out in pomp and grew up in command (charge) with them. All of them descended from the fort to meet the commander-in-chief of the armies. A report of the son succeeding to the throne was conveyed to him. He entered the Deccan frontiers from the direction of Kūlna in all speed. They both met him. They entirely approached the ruler of Asir. An assembly was summoned. He wanted to know the advice of his father, the Sultān of Hind. It was written to him to consult the ruler of Asir in all matters and to act accordingly. Both he and Khān-i-Khānān acted like one person. People were assured of goodness and security to cities. A veil which existed between him and the Sultān of Hind was raised to its extreme. It was ordered that goodness alone should exist. Nazarbār was added to his kingdom. The wazir for the son of the Sultān was Ṣādik Muhammed Khān. He was not sincere to him, nay, his slanders crept through. His slanders were about to bring about a conflict between him and the sultān. The cause of it was that he was disposed to the commander-in-chief and ultimately he became a means for meeting * the Sultān. Hence the son encamped at Aḥmadnagar to besiege its fort. It prolonged so much so that the soldiers within the fort were annoyed. A way to the fort was not found. He entered the camp of the ruler of Asir and took refuge there. He was forbidden to take shelter. He was rebuked one day for his action. There was a party with him. He replied that he did it because he saw goodness therein. The afore-said wazir consulted the Sultān for removing them from it, continuous correspondence continued to him. He entreated him for forbidding from them. The wazir took permission to send the army. They came to him in all fury. They conveyed the report to him. He ordered them to be equipped with arms and prepared for war. The inmates of the fort heard it. They assembled and rushed for invasion for victory but they saw no effect of it from the fort. The commander-in-chief of the army received the report. He did not understand as to what emboldened the wazir to take that step. He rode to the office of the saltanat wondering at this move. His amir Dawlat Khān Afghān came up to the ruler of Asir with most of his army and spread the report in the camp of the sultān. Thus the mischief was stirred up were it not for the commander-in-chief to make amends for it. He pacified it and forbade the wazir for similar action. An envoy of the Sultān came to the ruler of Asir

* Origir l T t p 77

apologizing for it saying that the past would not be repeated. Provisions were exhausted in the sultān's camp, roads were blockaded and many animals died of starvation. Many perished from what "when evil touches him, he becomes restless and when good touches him, he becomes invincible." In the meantime, the ruler of Asir strove for peace and was gratified with his order for descent from the fort and came down from it. The Prince then marched towards Elichpur the capital of Berār on a letter from its queen Chānd Bibi to the governor of the fort of Kāwil and Narnāla, Mas'ud Khān Habashi Nizām-Shāhi. He encamped there, granted security to fort-men and remained in attendance upon him in accordance with his name "happy and praised". The Prince turned with kindness to 'Imārat-ul-Mulk and conciliation of his men. He consulted the ruler of Asir and bestowed Amirship on Syed Murtaza. In the meanwhile, the revenue officers of the saltanat were engaged in organisation of state affairs and establishment of law and order for the general public. Continuous reports poured in for the assemblage of the ruler of Bijāpur 'Adil Shāh and Kutb Shāh, the ruler of Golconda for equipping Suhail Khān-al-Tawāshi Nizām Shāhi for war with* the Mughals. His invasion with large preparedness was noised abroad. Hence the amirs met the sultān Shāh Murād in assembly. They unanimously decided to be at Shāhpur. The commander-in-chief of the armies, Khān-i-Khānān issued forth for resistance. The ruler of Asir 'Adil Shāh was with him along with all the amirs with pomp and grandeur. A battle took place at end of the day. Khān-i-Khānān retired to meet 'Adil Shāh and his appointees along with Hindu confederates. Suhail Khān had arrayed thousands of fire-works. He had collected a large of naphtha. He stationed himself in the centre. He dispersed those who were in his front to charge those who advanced upon him with army of the centre. Khān-i-Khānān was in charge of the centre. When he withdrew from him and separated himself from the centre, 'Adil Shāh stepped forward. He was addressing in person what Mutanabbi had said

Oh Saila! if I do not lift you up on spears
I will not call myself son of the mother of glory and generosity.

He did like that and subjected a large number of generals to martyrdom and the amirs among whom was the great amir Kutbuddin Pir Muḥammed 'Ālam Khān, son of 'Ālam Khān, son of Pir Muḥammed, son of Pir Muḥammed, son of 'Ālam Khān Lodi. The wonder was that he died along with his slaves who had assembled around him out of devotion, valour and avoidance of doubtful food. When he came out in the army of his companions, he had no sufficient provisions, horse, syce and a special attendant. When he lost him, he exercised patience and looked carefully for joy from him who had fitted him. Among the dead was the amir Raihān Sultāni titled Habash Khān who was a centre in the circle of war. There was also Bahāul Mulk-al-Banbāni, a descendant of 'Abbās,

* Original Text, p. 78.

son of 'Abdul Muttalib, may God be pleased with him. He did not unsheathe a sword nor held erect a spear through fear of war himself and out of protection for his harem, wealth, property, reputation and land. I had seen him in oppressed state. He did not leave the battle-field out of faithfulness for his master. He had plunged into the difficulties of death. It was pre-ordained destiny. Among them was Mukarrib Khān. His name was Malik Jiv. He trusted him and relied upon him in his imprisonment and freedom. 'Adil Shāh spent his night on the battle-field. During daytime, his coffin was taken to his capital Burhānpur. When it neared the city, many persons of religion and world received it with grief and sorrow. Voices were raised in mercy, and prayers for him for the good deeds he sent in advance during his life. It was an hour like an hour (day of* judgment). They were taking the coffin to a dome erected in Dawlat Ma'dān for this day and buried him under it. May God make it good. He was a king of the age of 21 years, three months and eight days. Every one of his friends bore the coffin to his place of burial in the capital.

> Rotation of the sun forbade him life
> And its rise as far as possible did not see evening.

In the year (1003=1594-95), his son Kadar Khān who styled himself as Bahādur Shāh, son of 'Adil Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh, son of Ādil Khān, son of Aḥsan Khān, son of Kaiṣar Khān, son of Ghazni Khān, son of Ḥasan Khān, son of Rāja Aḥmad son of Muḥammed Khwāja Jahān al-Fāruki al-'Aduwi succeeded him. That which was with his deceased father such as the banner, the drum, the treasure, horses and elephants belonged to him. There was no reduction in baggage and arms. Hasan Muḥammed continued as wazir during his regime for a certain period. He was titled Afzal Khān. Prince Shāh Murād sent an envoy to Bihār (Berār) for condolence, consolation and congratulation for the kingdom. He increased for him more than what was with his father. He was sent for to visit the camp and repeat the visit. Bahādur always asked for a delay. He was apologizing for the amends lost in preparation till he was pleased with four thousand soldiers to be always in his service. That was out of regard for his daughter when Prince Shāh Murād had married. He did it and got them ready with the son of his uncle. He spent time as he did during days of his father till he acted as he wished and suffered what was bad. Its short account is this: He raised the rank of Sādāt Khān, son of the sufi Syed Jamāluddin Muḥammed al-Bukhāri al-Nādodi to amirship, a standard and a drum. Similarly, he elevated Mukarrib Khān, son of Malek Yākut Sultāni to the rank of nearness and confidence. Sādāt Khān did not like the above mentioned wazir to the post of wizārat even for a day. He kept himself aloof from him and excused himself for several days. He tolerated him for slander in regard to precedence in majlis, sharing in execution of duties and embezzlement of the

* Original Text, p. 79.

state-seal in his hand to nullify the orders of the wazir. He could not tolerate* this action on his part. If Bāhādur had ordered him in person to stop meddlesomeness in the affairs of the Wazir, which was according to the will of his father, it was different. Mukarrib Khān was young in age and deficient in understanding. The great amir 'Abdul Karim Fawlād Khān, son of Ṣandal Fawlād Khān tolerated him on abandonment of his fort. He had grown up under his tutelage. He liked Mukarrib Khān to advance as he belonged to his race. That was not all. He waited for an opportunity to humiliate his side. It so happened one day in his presence that Fawlād could not suffer his anger. In the meantime, Bahādur presented himself, conciliated him with kindness, turned him away with regard for him. He withdraw him from anger. He asked him to descend from the fort and to proceed to Songhir. It so happened. Death hastened to him in youth. Kingdom suffered a set-back with it. It passed in a disturbed state to one who was worthy of it. It was a good place of return. Shāh Murād and stay of his brother in the kingdom were propitious. Son of saltanat Shāh Daniyāl became heir through luck. He resolved to desolate Burhānpur stone by stone and to raze city's buildings to the ground at a distance of three farsakhs. He named it Bahādurpur. All people assembled and decided upon preservation of prosperity with existence of Burhānpur. It prospered at the suggestion of the Pole of the Gnostics Mawlānā Shaikh Burhānuddin. Therefore, it was named after his noble name. Bahādur did not approve of its desolation. He planned for its prosperity. He ordered for it and began with the fort with houses for residents. He erected its gates and built lofty palaces. When he was free from its construction, he assembled the syeds, leaders, amirs and nobles and similarly the poets, musicians, songsters and men of sports. He spread out long the table-cloth with a variety foods and drinks and fruits. It was a day worth seeing. I was one of those who were present along with those who were in attendance upon 'Abdul Karim Fawlād Khān. Architects and artisans were decorated with robes of honour and liberally rewarded. During his regime, base-born persons were elevated and the nobly-born were humiliated. Worthless persons in merit were promoted while men of merit were demoted. He dismissed all those persons of men collected by his ancestors and assembled mean and ignoble men as well as silly persons and vagabonds. He gave preference to wicked persons over virtuous men. Ministers of his father were inflamed with rage. They waited for safety and security from these hardships. With all this, Bahādur had laudable qualities tending to regular prayers. He asked for goodness. He showed sympathy to† needy persons. He was well inclined towards the shaikhs and the sufis, whom he requested for miracles. They performed miracles at his request as 'Allāma

* Original Text, p. 80.

† Original Text, p. 81.

Zamakhshari has narrated in his book "Rabi' ul-Abrār" in respect of those who put faith in them.

> A group despicable, mean
> Its desire (is) dancing and (eating) sweetmeat.

He had also a portion of trust in God in him. When he resolved upon anything, it was there "what God had wished." During his regime, Jalāluddin Akbar visited Burhānpur and alighted in the abode of the saltanat. When a report of his march from Fatehpur to Burhanpur got circulated, Bahādur convened a council of counsel. Those who attended the council were the wazir Afzal Khān and those who were with him, Amir-i-Umrāi-Mukaddama A'zam-i-Humāyun son of A'zam-i-Humāyun, son of Ulugh Khān, the Afghan, the Gujarati, Amir-ul-Kabir 'Abdul Karim Fawlād Khān son of Fawlād Khān al-Habshi. The wazir and his partisans were in favour of loyalty to Akbar and convey its report to him. They discussed whether he should be met in person out of union or he should be pleased by a treasure. Fawlād Khān agreed with the wazir. He further said that the sword was subservient to judgment and that what the judgment was. The wazir held the opinion for peace and that valour was weapon of swordsmen. It would be a part of madness to unsheathe the sword. It was possible to make amends by meeting in person such as the Sultān of Hind. He will be good with his own terms and he is pleased with those who meet him. He should be pacified with treasure. The fort is gold and jewels. It is possible to empty the treasure and the provisions under this condition. It should necessarily happen in time for pushing the matter, not *stopping according to desire and that* too with disgrace and we should not think with what to stop and with what honour. Under these circumstances, the ruler should be in the fort or his son and the wazir should be with him. The army should consist of old cavalry in addition to cannons. Daryā Khān Rumi, Akā Hasan Charkas, Mustafā Changhiz Khān alias Kokyān and the rest of the Rumis should be in the fort without any* ... else, male or female. In this way, the son should be in the fort. The ruler ... be within the fort with all the army, treasures and elephants. Cannons ... light to encamp between Kālna and the valley of Jār dor. The treasure ... be opened in addition to that which is with him. There are twelve ... sand horse-men which number can be increased by the Rajputs of the king-..., Kolis and riff-raffs who presented themselves in the Diwān. He permits ... and the brave horseman Ravi Rāi to advance to Nerbada for creating con-fusion in the army of the Mughals. We hope to stop them with us from coming to you and to desist them from designs against Burhānpur for a time in order that their abundance of bravery may not dominate and then come to face you. We shall keep them at a distance and cut off their extreme part. We shall blockade the path for receiving assistance and supply of provisions in case of

* Original Text, p. 82.

their advance to Burhānpur. If I failed in what I have decided and I reared the interval, I will leave the field and defend the valley of Jāndor, I will do it. If not, I will correspond with people of the Deccan to induce them to help in money which I need in this conflict. I see thus

Between wink of an eye and its perception
The world changes from one state to another.

Bahādur turned to Sādāt Khān and asked him what he saw in this respect. He replied that money alone would cover the distance between length and solicitation. The majlis ended in this manner. Fawlād Khān took leave for proceeding to Songir. Bahādur climbed up the fort with the wazir. It was his last pledge with Fawlād Khān. When Kabir Khān son of Āsaf Khān deserted to the Mughals, his three big elephants were left behind. He wrote to his amirs to take them and send them to him. Amir Fawlād Khān took them and did not send them. Mukarrib Khān made efforts for it. Bahādur wrote to him for the same urging him to send them. Mukarrib Khān stopped and took them with an assault. He was informed that he had joined the Mughal party. Bahādur felt very much and he wrote to the amirs for his sake. One of the amirs was Ravi Rāi. He was familiar with them. He owned his horse and elephants. It was wonderful on the part of Bahādur to write like this when the Sultān of Hind was only at a distance of one manzil from Burhānpur. Fawlād Khān learnt what the amir 'Ali Khān son of Malek Tāhir al-Yafai wrote on behalf of his master. He resolved to go out to the Deccan. It was said that perhaps, he wanted to* remain behind his sultān in strength and power. Time was short. There was a distance of ten farsakhs between him and the amirs. He determined to act according to the opinion of one who was adopted as son. He was dearer to him than his own sons. He was Saif-ud-din Muhammed Amin Khān son of 'Aziz Khān. He was in favour of going over to the Sultān of Hind. One night, he rode out along with members of his family and other things which he owned towards Thālner where he reached in the morning. He had disbanded most of his soldiers. There remained one hundred and seventy horsemen only out of one thousand and five hundred. Every horseman who arrived with him that night was victorious over five hundred to one thousand. The first who remained behind from him was his wazir 'Abdul Kadir al-Mughli born in Burhānpur. It was his self-respect and zeal for the kingdom and king which came in his way to accompany him. He said to his master, "It is not good for us. We are grown up in this kingdom from the time of our ancestors and that we should quit it now suspecting its decline. We shall not join the Mughals before we make efforts in defence against them till we have that forehead in our faces and that which is desired from our bodies and hands on what we have intended. Under such circumstances, we excuse friends and foes." The effect of this reply on him was

* Original Text, p. 83.

that he collected the army in all pomp and grandeur and decided to fight till his head was lost and carried elephants for pleasure of Bahādur. He would abandon them under compulsion as every thing that was in the hand was to be abandoned tomorrow. There would be no blame. He who escaped with his head, would gain. He so said untimely. I do not see except what has been said.

When God had desired departure of kingdom
Who would come round the nation whose plans are wrong.

In short, when he crossed the river and stood at a side from the fort, he beheld a contigent of the Mughals encamping at its walls. This Mughal party consisted of Mas'ud Beg the governor of Khanbhāyat with a ring of state elephants with him. There was a party of Afghāns on their side. They sent an envoy to the governor informing him that they were to the side of the saltanat and that a stubborn, severe infidel had gone in his search to the river. He intends what he intends. If you allow your men and baggage to go to the side of Mankam, you will be free to engage the infidel in war. Mas'ud Beg called him and equipped him with a contingent and passed. So did the Afghans. Syed Rāju son * of the great amir Syed Hāmid son of Syed Mirān son of Syed Mubārak al-Bukhāri was inside the fort. Al-Multāni was a difficult man for the kingdom. His daughter was married to Syed Rāju. He was with Aḥmad Khān son of the uncle of Bahādur in attendance upon Prince Dāniyāl. He had encamped at the fort of Aḥmadnagar and besieged it. Fawlād Khān sent word to Mas'ud Beg, the governor of Khanbhāyat conveying to him as to what would be the result of war. I am sufficient for you. I do not give you trouble except knowledge of it. He then plunged in war along with those who were with him. He was saying : " Paradise is under the shadow of swords. He urged his soldiers to strike them out of religious war. He made them a centre in the battle-field. Amin Khān, the commander marched with the vanguard. He was shouting. Even if spearman 'Antar were in person, do not remember him. Encounter the rows, strike the swords. He whose judgement is puffed up with abundance, turn his horses by turn. If the multitude is strong and the Muslims in advance are on noble feet to strike with edge of striking swords on the right forehead of the amir and the eye-lid of his left-eye and the eye-brow and arteries and make the eye bleed. He came out from the central position and soldiers of the vanguard followed him. He was followed by the vanguard of the Rāi and elephants. The battle-field became open between Rāi and Fawlād Khān. The Khān made an assault on him. They got intermingled. Rāi aimed an arrow at his forehead and struck the sword on elbow when he was near being unsaddled, but for the skin. He fell from the saddle and fell in agonies of death. His party-men put him right fearing death. They put garments over him and carried him on an elephant. He was a youth, fearless, brave, tall, full body, very equal to him.

* Original Text, p. 84.

They came out with him to go to his family. He had died. That which remained behind him also died. Fawlād stood under the banner of victory. The army gathered around him in pomp and grandeur congratulating him for his safety and noble bearing. He then moved to the pavilion and the body was in front of him. When they first came to his house, Amin Khān sat by the side of his son. He mourned his death for what hit his eye. Similar eyes were drawn out. It has been narrated in the tradition, "Did you bleed in fingers?" What he met with was in the path of God. There arrived an edict of the Sultān of Hind with greetings. His rank and honour were augmented. He was retained at his capital Songhir with respect. He suffered this fall due to misfortune of Bahādur.* There was no amir on earth who could equal him in swordsmanship because of his evil policy. In an hour of need, they deserted him and fortified themselves on the mountain with a party of amirs. He who was from them was not disposed to stay at Burhānpur as a follower of Amir Fawlād Khān. He joined the Mughals. Sultān-ul-Hind ordered for siege of the fort and the war continued for months. Sultān-ul-Hind wrote to Wazir Afzal Khān and trusted him but he out of loyalty to deceased 'Ādil Khān sat with his brothers at the gate adjacent to the fort named Māli defending it against the Mughals. He renewed war. Soldiers came out of the gate to fight with Mughals and returned. Guns were fired and cannons were discharged from turrets of the first, second, third forts continuously hitting the enemy. A large number of the Mughals who had encamped at the fort were killed. It included the great amir Mirzā Khurram son of the Khān-i-A'zam 'Aziz Kokaltāsh, son of Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka Khān. Besides, a facile contigent came up near the Mughals and blockaded the paths. Residents were the Rajputs and they were horsemen as well as the Kolis. They committed deeds of massacre and plunder. Many royal horsemen were killed including common folk, camp-followers and others who had accompanied them. They comprised a large number of all sections of people. These residents enriched themselves and owned horses, camels, clothes, house-hold goods and other chattels which made them live with dignity and chief-ship. Where there was a mountain inhabited by old cultivators such things happened because the number was more than one hundred thousand. The siege prolonged which resulted in filthy climate and spread of an epidemic. Due to this, many persons perished. This has been described by historians in connection with many besieged forts. They are asked to come down the fort at an opportune time with exception of soldiers. It was a policy for show. Men of experience did not practise it. It is not said that this one surpassed, only, nay, all who performed excellent deeds surpassed. He abandoned him. He summoned Afzal Khān. He was steadfast in defence of the fort as seen by the eye. He was dismissed from wizārat. He was embarrassed. His brother Khudāwand

* *Original Text, p. 85.*

Khān conveyed this news to him. He was like a brother in defence. He was despaired of reasonableness of Bahādur. He vacated the turrets of men of strength. After that, he wrote to Mirzā Khurram about evacuation of turrets. He ascended the fort with generals of the army who did not remain there. The Mughals opened the first fort. Then the retenues of the mountain assembled* at his order. They were Yāfai's. They mixed with them. Their amir was that man of the Yāfai's who was called Baljāj. He came with them to the capital of Saltanat. He said to Bahādur, "What did prevent you from meeting Sultān-ul-Hind? He was prepared to continue you in the kingdom. If you did not come down to him, we have come down with you to him". After a long talk, Sādāt Khān took leave to come down to him for introductory proceedings for pact. He demanded from him original conciliatory terms. He was permitted to go. He descended with a party of eminent men and those who were expert in this sort of work. They met the Sultān of Hind who took the pledge in person. He then made it from his party and gave him a full report of it. Mukarrab Khān then took leave and met him. He had learnt from Sādāt-Khān that it was a vial of his reason. Pay attention to it. He was elevated with favours and inquired about Bahādur with kindness towards him and promised to give back his kingdom to him on his arrival. Mukarrab Khān returned to the fort and carried Bahādur to him on his descent from the fort. He sent for Rāmdās Darbāri and he descended in company of all the wazirs and his soldiers. The honourable greatest Khān accosted him on his descent under orders of the Sultān and he entered with him. It so happened that handing of the charge of the mountain and the kingdom was delayed. When this news reached residents of the fort, they were bewildered. They blockaded the way of the city. Malek Yākut Sultāni was in charge of the city. He had reached maturity and had become blind. He presented himself in the capital and met the descendants of Mubārak Shāh and their descendants. He said to them "The fort was intact and the preparations were in order. Who from you will wield authority as Sultān and *preserve prestige of his ancestors? Who does not love one of them?*" He then said, "*Would to God you were women!* As women you can apologize. The fort was invincible after Bahādur had made his ascent. His son Mukarrab Khān came with an epistle from the saltanat. He did not meet him. He said to him on oath of God that he would not see his face. He relinquished his authority with Bahādur and saw him later on. He then descended and entreated him with an order to stab his belly with a dagger in the majlis of ul Fazl out of disgrace. He did not recover from it and died. When Malek Yākut Sultāni was disappointed of the descendants of Mubārak Shāh, he went to his house, gave an admonition, bathed himself, sent for his shroud and bade adieu to his family. He went to the masjid. He was old. He said extensive

* Original Text, p. 86.

prayers with all humility. He practised goodness. He got a grave dug in a place prepared for him. He then ate opium which he had carried with him out of zeal and died and was buried in it. They recited, I hope, the verse in the* Book of Allāh, the Great wherein it is said: "Oh my servants who are extravagant upon their selves, do not be despaired of the mercy of Allāh. Verily, Allāh forgives all sins. Verily, He is Forgiving and Merciful." God will forgive him and show His mercy to him. He then summoned men of the fort to descend as safety was granted to them. They responded to it as required. Shaikh Abul Fazl Dehalvi went to the mountain, sat on the famous platform with Tafāul Khān and called them to descend with their families and belongings. It so happened. The victory was inscribed in his name in 1009 (1600). The rule of the Fārukis began in Burhānpur in 784 (1381-82). They lost Burhānpur from the above-mentioned date. It was known as Khāndesh in Delhi sultanat records. After a reign of two hundred and twenty-five years, it was merged in the Delhi saltanat during the regime of Bahādur Shāh son of 'Ādil Shāh, as what was to be and the kingdom belongs to Allāh, the Holy. End.

* Original text, p. 87.

## CHAPTER VII

*Mahmud Continued*

In the sixteenth year of the saltanat of the master of auspicious biography an envoy of Sultān Sikander son of Bahlol, ruler of Delhi came to Maḥmud Shāh with a letter indicative of friendship and congratulations for the conquest of Burhānpur.

In the same year, Maḥmud marched to Naharwala Pattan and paid visits to religious leaders, alive and dead, in it. He convened a majlis specially for study and deliberation of commentary of the Holy Kurān and the Traditions of the Prophet dealing mostly permissible articles of faith, charitable deeds, litanies and requested for prayers. He returned from it to Sarkhej and stayed there for * a visit to the blessed tomb of its master, place of perambulation of saints, Ka'aba of the pure ones, blessing of both the worlds Shihāb-ud-din Mawlānā al-Shaikh Aḥmad may his grave be sanctified. He practised lavish charity. He erected a dome over the tomb adjacent to compound of the blessed mausoleum from the direction of his pure feet and looked after it from time to time. At this time, he opened the tomb and sat near it and said, "Oh God! This is the first manzil of the Ākherat (next world), make it easy for me and make it for me a garden of paradise. He filled it with silver and distributed it in charity. In the seventeenth year, he complained of weaknes. He ordered that his son Muzaffar should be brought into his presence. He was in Baroda. He ascribed a will to him advising him to bear hardships and difficulties on behalf of members of the family. Muzaffar then returned to Baroda. He again complained of weakness. In the meanwhile, Wajih-ul-Mulk reported to him about arrival of an envoy from" Sultān of Irān' Shāh Ismā'il the Sufi who had come near the boundary of kingdom. He ordered a letter to be written to the Amir at the frontiers to make proper arrangements for his reception out of regard for him. Similar letters were despatched to 'Āmils on the way till his arrival at the capital. He then ordered to summon Muzaffar but he quitted the world before his arrival at the heavenly hour. Muzaffar arrived at the second hour of the night of Tuesday. His coffin was carried to Sarkhej at dawn. His death took place in the afternoon of Monday, second of the month of Ramzān, 917 (1511). He reigned for fifty-five years. May God make his grave pleasant!

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* Original Text, p. 88.

## CHAPTER VIII

*Promised account with dictation from beneficial history about the descendants of Najjāḥ and Jayyāh and Ibn-i-Ziyād and the city of Zubaid.*

The first who laid plans for development was Zubaid Muḥammed, son of 'Abdullāh, son of Ziyād al-Amawi under the order of al-Māmun al-'Abbāsi on Monday, 4th Sha'bān 204. The first who built fences over it was al-Husain, son of Salāmat Wazir, son of Abil Jaish, son of Ziyād. It was an extremely hot region in ancient times and a place of infection. The sea was to its west at a distance of a half day's journey and the mountains were situated to its east. Abundant fruits grew in it. There was a distance of forty farsakhs between it and Ṣanaā. A spring flowed in it with plenty of water. It came from the east through a subterranean passage beneath the earth till it approached the city. Then it showed itself and watered all the gardens situated outside the city as well as within the city. The first person who made it flow and enter the city was the learned Kāzi Abul Husain Aḥmad, son of the Kāzi Abil Hasan Rashid 'Ali, son of Ibrāhim, son of Muḥammed, son of Ḥusain, son of Zubair al-Ghassāni, al-Kātib, the poet, al-Aswāni. He was unrivalled in engineering, religion and literature in his age. He made it flow by a device of engineering and balance. He died in Egypt in 563 (1163). Before its plan was laid out, it was a city with a thicket of tamarisks and pilu trees. There were palaces and villages round about the thicket. Ibn-i-Ziyād came to Yaman in 203. He conquered Tahāma, its plains and mountains. He made it a condition upon the people not to ride their horses on them. He had a client of the name of Ja'far. He had in him finesse and efficiency. It was said that Ibn-i-Ziyād, after conquest of Yaman, sent Ja'far to Māmun with presents of Yaman. He returned with one thousand horsemen,* among whom nine hundred were from a draft of Khurāsān. He thus became a king ruling over Yaman to Hila and was so styled and a sermon was read in his name. He died in 245. His son Ibrāhim bin Muḥammed ruled over this region till 289 when he died. He was succeeded by his son Ziyād bin Ibrāhim. His period did not prolong. After him, the king was Abul Jaish Isḥāk son of Ibrāhim for eighty years. He became weak enough to move and wage religious war. People of round-about places forbear or did not care for him while among the mountains, his name ceased to be cited in the Khutba. During his regime, there arrived in Yaman, 'Ali son of Fazl Kārmathian. He designed against Zubaid. Abul Jaish fled away from him. 'Ali attacked its residents and massacred them. He took away four thousand virgins from Zubaid as prisoners and ordered them to be butchered at a place called al-Mashahit. Abul Jaish

* Original Text. p. 89.

died in 371 (981-2). He was succeeded by a child whose name was Abdullāh who was also called Ziyād as well as Ibrāhim. His aunt Hind, sister of Abil Jaish was his trustee looking after him. His father's slave Rushaid Ustād Habshi was a co-trustee. Rushaid then died. Husain son of Salāmat a slave (lad) of Rashid of the tribe of Nubah tracing his lineage from the mother became the ruler. The state was thinned on all sides. Kings of mountains had become powerful in the forts. Husain fought with them. He regained what was lost of the kingdom. He was a man of lavish charity, a just ruler devoted to prosperity of the state. His territory comprised of miles, farsakhs and fringes on roads while in the centre, it consisted of places from Hadhramaut to Holy Macca. In regard to his praise, a man came to him. He said to him "verily, the Prophet of Allāh may benedictions and salutation of Allāh be on him, has sent me to you to give me one thousand dinārs". He said to him, "May be, the idea occurs to you." He said to him, "Verily, I know you as an amir. Nobody knows it except you and therefore, you do not sleep till you send benedictions to him every night a hundred times." Ḥusain wept and said to the man, "You are right. None has apprised me of it since twenty years except Allāh the Almighty." He gave him money. He died in 402 or 403 (1011-12). The authority passed on to a child of the family of Ziyād whose name was 'Abdullāh. His aunt as well as the slave Ustād whose name was Mirjān from the slave of Ḥusain bin Salāmat. Mirjān had two young Habshi slaves whom he had reared from childhood. He had entrusted great affairs to them. One of them was named Nafis. He was made Tadbir-ul-Hadhrat (He disposed of affairs concern-* ing presence of the king.) The other was named Najāhā, father of Markin, Sa'eed-ul-Aḥwal and Jaiyāsh. There arose rivalry between them for the wazirship of the presence. Nafis was unjust and dreadful while Nayāh was friendly, just and affectionate towards subjects. Their master was disposed towards Nafis. Nafis communicated to the aunt of Ibn-i-Ziyād to free Najāh as a slave on payment of money and be inclined towards him (Nafis). His master learnt about it. He ordered him to be captured, while 'Ali bin Ziyād captured both of them in 407 (1016). The dynasty of Bani Ziyād terminated with the death of this boy. It had lasted for two hundred and three years. Banu Ziyād were loyal to the 'Abbāsid Khalifas. When disturbance arose in their kingdom, round-about persons became independent with what was in their hands. Banu Ziyād got the better of what was in their possession from Yaman. They rode with an umbrella by continuing Khutba in the name of the 'Abbasids. When Najāh conveyed to his masters what was done by Nafis, the Arabs got startled; they invaded Zubaid. Afterwards wars took place and Nafis got killed ultimately but along with him five thousand of his party-men got killed. It was known as "Yawn-ul-'Arak" on the gate to the south. Najāh gained victory

* Original Text, p. 90.

over Zubaid in the month of Zik'ad, 413 ( 1022 ). He captured his master Mirjân and said to him, " What did your clients do and what did ours ? " He said, " They are behind those walls. Take them out, kill them, say prayers on their dead bodies in a large gathering and construct a mausoleum over them in 'Arak. " Mirjān and Nafis were fully done to death in their respective places by constructing walls over their bodies. They thus perished. He rode with an umbrella, struck coins in his name and wrote to Bani 'Abbās for submission. They wrote to him with approval, praised him for his help and titled him Naṣiruddin. 'Ali bin Muhammed al Salhi made his appearance in 429 ( 1037 ). Al-Mustansir al-'Ubaidi ; the ruler of Egypt permitted him to spread mission ( of Kārmathian faith ). He conqurred Sanā. He settled there fearful of Najāh. He always planned for his murder until he induced a beautiful concubine who carried poison with her. She administered it to him. Najāh died of poison in the city of Kadrā in 452 ( 1060 ). This city was founded by Ḥusain bin Salāmat. Ṣalihi encamped at Zubaid. Banu Najāh fled away. They were children, Sa'eed Jaiyyāsh, Ma'ārik, al-Zakhirah, and Manṣur. Ma'ārik was the eldest. He killed himself through fraud by a verse of Ṣalihi. He was one of the nobles of Yaman. He had sagacity of kings. He was an eloquent and elegant poet and a man of valour and generosity. His verse is *

I married the white woman of Hind ; nails are their spears
Their heads are offered as substitute for jewels and coins.
And so, marriage of the excellent is not permitted
Except where the ages are free ( different ).

His kingdom extended from Mekka to Hadhramaut with plains and mountains in 455 ( 1063 ). He resided at Sanā' ruling himself in person. He did not appoint officers for the city of Zubaid and the divisions of Tahāma unless one brought to him one hundred thousand dinārs. He then repented for his oath. He intended to appoint his brother-in-law As'ad son of Shihāb as officer. He was the brother of his wife Asmā, the mother of Mukarram. Asmā carried money from her brother. Ṣalihi said to her, " Are you owner of us ? Verily, I am your owner. " She said, " He is from God. Verily, God gives livelihood beyond enumeration to whomsoever He wishes. " He smiled and informed her about the treasure in his possession. He said that it was their property brought to them. Asmā said, " We pass it on to members of our family and we protect our brothers. " As'ad son of Shihāb entered the city of Zubaid in the year 456 ( 1064 ). He allowed the people of sunna to make their creed current. In Zik'ad of 473 ( 1080 ), 'Ali Ṣalihi marched to Holy Mekka accompanied by all the kings of Yaman. Residents of their kingdoms as well as those of Sanā' were afraid of their going out in his absence. He had with him the members of the Ṣalihi

* Original Text, p. 91.

family numbering one hundred and seventy persons. When alighted outside at Mahjam known as Bām-ud-Duhaim and Ber-i-Amm Ma'bad on 12th Zik'ad, people did not know till mid-day, till they were told that Ṣalihi was assassinated. The cause of it was that when Najāh was murdered, his sons fled to Abyssinia. Warriors were bent on murder of Aḥwal for the sake of Ṣalihi. He felt it. Aḥwal was thought of and studied in all his activities. Aḥwal got scent of it and he made all preparations for it. He received intelligence about him and so he set out for Hijāz and started from Abyssinia by sea with five thousand soldiers to fight with him. He cleared himself from the shore of Mahjam and rushed upon his camp at noon when people shouted for dispersion. He straightway stormed the pavilion of Ṣalihi and killed him and his brother 'Abdullāh. None escaped from the shore except al-Nādir. He had money with him. Men* of 'Ubidi, ruler of Egypt carried treasure for the missionaries who propagated the creed of Karmathians. Members of the Ṣalihi family thronged together. He killed all of them in a conflict. He carried off Asmā, daughter of Shihāb and wife of Ṣalihi. He made her ride in a litter and placed heads of Ṣalihi and his brother in front of the litter and entered Zubaid with them. He kept them in a house with watchmen to guard them. He fixed those two heads opposite to vault of the house in which Asmā was. Their poet al-'Ulhmāni spoke of it in a panegyric thus :

> Umbrella by turn was upon him but he was uneasy
> It should be good upon the angel of death.
> His face would not be bad under its shade
> His head would not become handsome in its return.
> Blackness of inscriptions resist lion of the forest
> Oh mercy for black serpents from their blackness.

Asmā was detained in captivity for a year. It was not possible for her to write a letter to her son al-Mukarram. She gently requested an eastern man and threw to him a letter hidden in a bread to send it to her son informing him about her captivity by Aḥwal. That was not to be mere a cat had not seen it. But self-exaltation desired preservation of the 'Arabs. When the letter reached him ; he assembled the chiefs of tribes and read the letter before them. They all dis-dained it and decided to take revenge for their protection. They started from 'Ṣanā' with three thousand horsemen besides footmen and addressed them on the way and informed them that they were advancing to death and therefore, he who desired to return to his house, should do so. He said,

> I have brought myself with sword in hand
> He who does not flog, does not preside over places.

This verse of Mutanabbi was cited. Some of them went back while the rest moved forward. Aḥwal received intelligence of it. He assembled all his men

* Original Text, p. 92.

and arrayed them in rows for march to resist them with twenty thousand warriors. The 'Arabs started the grinding-mill to crush them. Death came to most of them. Aḥwal had kept two horses ready in reserve at Bāb-ul-Nakhl. When people got routed, he rode out with his special attendants and members of the family till he reached the shore. The 'Arabs entered Zubaid in all fury. The first horseman who stood before vault of Asmā was her son Mukarram. He said to her, " Oh our lady! may God guard your honour for ever!" She said, " Welcome, oh 'Arab leader. She did not know him." She asked him as to who he was. I am related to you. He said, " Aḥmad son of 'Ali. " Aḥmad bin 'Ali talked with her in plentiful Arabic and cast her veil whereupon she recognized him. She said,. " Welcome to our lord, Mukarram. " She related * and said that she expected his arrival since long though late but sure. He suffered from paralysis on the face. He lived for two years after that. Chiefs of the tribes came to salute her. She showed her face as was her habit during the days of Ṣalihi as his wife. Mukarram then ordered to bring down the two heads and erected a mausolaum over them. It came to be known as the mausoleum of two heads. Mukarram appointed his maternal uncle As'ad son of Shihāb as governor of Zubaid and the divisions of Tahāma. He returned to Sana' with his mother and stayed with her till she died in 479 ( 1086 ) while Mukarram died in 484 ( 1091 ). The mission was ascribed to the son of his uncle Sultān Sabā son of Ahmad al-Muzaffar al-Ṣalihi. He was a man of vicious character. He was so indolent that he never rode a horse. He managed affairs of the kingdom. Al-Janadi said, " When the lady Asmā died and Mukarram had become weak due to paralysis, all state affairs were conducted by the daughter of Aḥmad. She did not excuse herself and asked him to live with her at the mountain with the residents. His health improved with the subjects. He assembled a large number of them. His loneliness was removed. She and Mukarram were asked to observe the state of affairs. They did not find anyone except leading a ram or carrying butter or wheat. She had done that at Sanoi'. She and Mukarram were ennobled by the subjects. They did not see any one except riding a horse, with a spear or men famous for swordsmanship or girding themselves with bows. She said to Mukarram to live with them, that is, living with subjects is better than living away from them. Mukarram agreed with her. Hence both of them lived at the mountain. It was a city situated between two rivers flowing with water in winter and summer.

The first who laid it out was 'Abdullāh, son of Muḥammed, son of 'Ali in 458 ( 1065 ). Aḥwal then came back to Zubaid and drove out the son of Shihāb from it. The lady sent message to the governor of the fort of Sa'ar ordering him to face Aḥwal on condition of surrender. He did that. Aḥwal wished for it. He left Zubaid with a large army. When he approached the fort, an army

* Original Text, p. 93.

made its appearance. His army had become weak. It killed Aḥwal and most of the soldiers who were with him in the year 482 (1089) and made his wife, * mother of Ma'ārik a captive. Head of Aḥwal was carried on a spear in front of the camel of his wife. They came with them to the lady, daughter of Aḥmad at the mountain. They left her in a house and hand of her husband in front of its vault. The lady said, "I wish, oh our lady Asmā, your eyes were there to see the head of Aḥwal in front of his wife, mother of Ma'ārik and she is a captive." Would to God I had known it at the time when Aḥwal was going out to the fort and I had written to the son of Shihāb at Sanā' on his arrival at Zubaid. He did it and found it vacant and occupied it. Jayyāsh, son of Najāh and his wazir Kasim-ul-Mulk Abu Sa'eed Khalaf, son of Abiz Zāhir al-Amwi from the son of Sulaimān, son of 'Abdul Malek, son of Marwān fled to the cities of Hind. Then both of them returned to Yaman after a lapse of six months of the year. Jayyāsh said, "I was wonder-struck at what I saw in Hind. Two men arrived from Sarandip. One did not leave anything except rejoicing. They held out falsely that they had knowledge of the future. We questioned them about our own condition. They rejoiced us with true things. I bought a Hindi boat which was with me in Hind. I entered Yaman in it. Now five months have elapsed. The son of the wazir came to Zubaid from Aden by sea. I ordered him for announcement of his death but Aḥwal discloses it. I climbed up to the mountain (Jabala) I found Mukarram indulged in pleasures, issued an order for his wife. I then came down to Zubaid and met Khalaf. I informed him about our friends and our cousins in Zubaid. There are many persons who are desirous of revolution with him. I followed a Hindi custom. I took hairs of my face, lengthened my nails and hair, screened my one eye with a black garment. I was almost near the capital. I heard 'Ali son of Alkam, the 'āmil (collector) of Mukarram saying, "If I had found two dogs from Najāh's family and taken them to the queen of Zubaid, I would see mischief between him and Ibn i-Shihāb. Then one day, his son, Husain bin 'Ali said to me at Zubaid, "Oh Hindi! Who plays chess?" It is good to play chess." I said, "Yes." We played it. I defeated him. He was about to become angry with me. His father 'Ali came in. He said, "Oh my father! I got a defeat in the game of chess." His father said to him, "What joy is to him who defeats you except he be Jayyāsh son of Najah. He died in Hind." Then 'Ali came out. He too similarly was of high status. I played with him. He too detested his defeat. Then came out Aldast with a preventive mood. He got exultant with me. He mingled with me of his own accord. Every day and night he used to† say, may God hasten you over us (as rulers) oh family of Najāh. I and the wazir Khalaf met one night. He acquainted me with the news he had. I served different persons in Abyssinia in different offices and I commanded them

* Ori[illegible] Text p 94. † Original Text, p. 95.

with efficiency. Their five thousand soldiers presented themselves and encamped within and outside the city. I then met the wazir one night. I said to him, " Mawlānā al-Kāid al-Husain bin Salāmat came to me in a dream and said to me that the office which I lost would come to me from the night I will come in this Hindi boat. Husain then took note of his rank. He said to the man who was with him, " Is it not like that, oh Amir-ul-Muminin ? " He replied in the affirmative. The office retained on the birth of this child for an epoch of time. Jayyāsh said, " One day, I had made mention of it when 'Ali bin Alkam returned from the capital to his house in an angry mood. He then lived in rage. " He said to me, " Oh Hindi ! I rose up till I talked in a playful manner with you. While we were talking in this manner, Ḥusain came to his house and beat 'Abdullāh with a flog. He was by my side but I was indifferent. I comforted him as was my wont uttering it in hour of trouble. I then said that I was Abu al-Ṭāmi. " The Shaikh said, " Oh Hindi ! What is your name ? " I said to him that my name was Basir. He then said, " Truly, it is Abā al-Tāmi. " I repented thereon. I and Ḥusain talked in a playful manner. There was none with us except his father on a chair. He was teaching his son. His father said to him that in case the Hindi became dominant or you come as an envoy to Mukarram and the Lady, it would be your duty to ward it off as 'Amil of Tahāma. I will vanquish him. Ḥusain rejoiced at it. 'Ali looked intently at him with his tongue. I tolerated him. He extended his hand to rag which was over my face. I arose in anger. I was affected thereby. I said " I am Jayyâsh son of Najāh as usual. Only the Shaikh heard me. He jumped behind me to welcome me by pulling mantle till I felt it. He made me sit, look out the Holy Book, took an oath of fealty for me and I took it for him. I then vacated the house of al-Aghar son of al-Ṣalihi and removed the Hindi boat with all other necessary things. He detained me for the night. He allowed me to go. I entered and found the boat which I had placed between sun-set and sight with Alfātak. At night 'Ali bin Alkam came to me and said, " Our information is that 'Ali As'ad son of Shihāb is not hidden. " I said, " I have five thousand soldiers in the city. " He said, " When you had become king, disclose your action. " I said, " Verily I detest murder of As'ad for he is to a certain extent a tyrant to our* people and race but it is good to pardon him. Ibn-i-Alkam said, "Do as you see him. " Jayyāsh beat drums and blew bugles when all the people of the city thronged around him for vengeance. There were five thousand habshis. They captured Ibn-i-Shihāb. He said, " Oh descendant of Najāh ! You are captain, we do not rely on you. Days are records. A person like me does not ask for pardon. " Jayyâsh said, " Oh father of Ḥassān ! a man like you does not deserve to be put to death. ' He then showed goodness towards him and favoured him with kindness and gave him more than what was with him. He

* Original Text, p. 96.

surrendered the House of Imārat (Secretariat of authority) on the morning of the birth of Alfātak. The dream which he saw proved true. A month had not passed when twenty thousand soldiers of 'Ubidah and Bani 'Amma (sons of his uncle) invaded it. His title was al-'Ādil (the just). He was a scholar. He composed clear verses. His correspondence was of superior quality. He wrote a usefnl book on the history of Zubaid. After occupation of Zubaid, al-Mukarram did not add to it in extension and prosperity but he resorted to plunder the offices of Zubaid. There was nothing in them. Mother of Mukarram died while Mukarram himself had become weak in physique. His wife conducted the state. Ibn-i-'Amm Sabā was authorized to carry on work of the Mission. A battle look place between Sabā and Family of Najāh (Āle Najāh). It was indecisive. At last, he descended upon Zubaid with three thousand horse and ten thousand foot. Besides he had habshis with him. They displayed lassitude in prudence and caution. When he saw lassitude in them, he regarded them weak. It was only a deceitful trick. They made night-attack on most of the nights. Most of them came to the landing-place. Sabā escaped walking on foot in the darkness of night until he was found by some one who gave him a ride on horse as the close of night. The 'Arabs did not return to Tahāma even after that. Mukarram died during the regime of Jayyāsh in the above year, that is, 484 (1091). Sabā died in the fort of al-Sah (?) in 492 (1099). Jayyāsh reigned over Tahāma from 482 to 498 (1089 to 1105). He then died in the month of Zilhajj of the year as I stated before. Learn a lesson oh experienced man, from what passed over him night and day. Therein is a lesson for those possessed of sight. After Jayyāsh, his son Fātak succeeded him. He died in the year 503 (1109). He was succeeded by his son Manṣur. After occurrence of certain affairs, he settled in Tahāma and 'Abid of his father. He was a man of powerful grandeur. The sons of Fātak were al-Umra and 'Ubida-ul-Wuzarā. After al-Umra, Manṣur became the ruler. He was succeeded by Fātak bin Manṣur. When he died, authority passed on to his cousin Fātak bin Muḥammed bin Manṣur bin Fātak son of Jayyāsh. He died in the year 531 (1136-37). 'Ubida killed him in the year 553 (1158). There was nothing for Āle Fātak except the Khutba after that of Bani 'Abbās, coins and riding under an umbrella. Prohibition and commands prevailed under 'Ubid Fātak son of Jayyāsh and 'Ubid and his son Manṣur. 'Amāra said that they were and remained habshis. They were not 'Arabs superior to them in lineage except in race. They had open generosity, manifest honour and famous in wars and noted in arts. Hurra, mother of Fatak died in 545 (1150). She was wise and excellent. She was a blessing to Muslims. She performed hajj many times. She practised lavish charity. She was a chief lady. Adminstrators and statesmen sought her advice in state affairs.

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## CHAPTER IX

*Saltanat of Abin Nasr Shamsuddin Muzaffer Shah b. Maḥmud Shah, may the mercy of Allah be on them.*

Abun Nasr Muzaffer Shah b. Maḥmud ascended the throne of sovereignty* at the third hour of the third night of Ramzān of the year 917 (1511). On Friday, he sat at the gate of the royal palace and assured security to the elite and the commoners. He raised the ranks of his amirs after the fashion of his forefathers and bestowed presents and gifts upon them. He behaved well with the Maleks.

In the month of Shawwāl, he went to Chāmpāner, met the emissary of Persia and ennobled him with favours.

The amir Khwaja Jahān al-Tawāshi came with his lord Muhammed b. Nāsiruddin al-Khalji. Some of the amirs received them. Muzaffer promised to help him and made suitable arrangements for his stay. It so happened that one day Muḥammed b. Nāsiruddin entered the house where the emissary of Persia was alighted. He was a handsome youth. The Persians quarrelled with him and his men sided with them. He could do nothing through bashfulness except to unsheathe his sword and gallop his horse. The Persians were 500 five hundred in strength. He brandished his sword and every one who was with him faced that handsome face with harshness. The commoners stoned him and† helped ibn-i-Nāsiruddin and killed many Persians. Had the Hākim (governor) not prevented them, they would have been killed. Muḥammed b. Nāsiruddin was overwhelmed with shame on account of this event. He went away to Mandu with Khwaja Jahān al-Tawāshi without permission of the Sultān. When self-honour and bashfulness constitute the character of people of a country, a handsome youth should be cautious against the eye otherwise there is every possibility of mischief from others. It is a warning to the face for preservation of respect from places of doubt and renouncement of decoration so much so as to avoid colouring lips with betel-leaves and applying antimony to eyes. In 991 (1583), I was in service of the great amir Sayf-ul-Muluk Miftāh Ulughkhāni. He had encamped at one of the forts, Chāndor in the Deccan to fight against Amir-ul-Umarā Beglarbeg Kuṭbuddin Muḥammed Khān Atka. One day, I met 'Āli Shān Shaikh Muḥammed 'Anbas 'Arab Khān al-Yāfai'. He was from the side of Asad Khān Ismā'il Charkas, Deputy of the Deccan Sultān Murtuzā Nizām Shāh. It so happened that he talked about the period of youth and continued conversation speaking about the laudable character of the people of Gujarāt.

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* Original Text, p. 97.

† Original Text, p. 98.

heard him saying " I was in Gujarāt with one of the amirs during the regime of the descendant of Muzaffar Shāh. I had seen a young boy giving service like all individuals looking after horses, moving with stirrup of the horse-man, carrying hay, fire-wood and water etc. Then I saw him one day riding a beautiful horse in the most precious dress. He had with him a cavalcade of men and well-decorated horses in front of him. I fell in doubt about his affairs and in my opinion, he did not detest it". I asked him about himself. He said to me that he was the son of the amir whom he served. I said to him, " What did you mind yesterday ? " You were in that dress and today in this." He said, " This is the character of people of the region. During the period of training, they serve their relatives and their sons till one becomes proficient. He enjoys all kinds of service. He becomes a man ( in its real meaning ). In the meantime his father or his uncle engages him with one of the relatives. He then changes his dress and rises in dignity and this is what you see of him." Last night, he entered into wedlock with the daughter of his uncle and in the morning he became as you see him. He then described me their character item by item. A lad does not apply antimony nor does he chew a betel-leaf. He abstains from redenning his lips. He does not live with foreigners. He is not arrogant with* elder in age. He does not employ women out of self-preservation and zeal for his reputation. In this way, he narrated to me the conventions of pious ancestors from their youth. But now this decorum has disappeared with departure of those persons. He recited to me the verses in support of what he said :

He who visited Gujarat, will find
In Hind, a place of retirement not equal to it
A mirror of paradise for that solace
As Adam had made it his first place of descent
Cool breeze, fragrant meadows and fruits as well
Birds and rivers with continuous flow
When I turned my gaze, I saw to house
Three going free from grief.
Their children like hur ( damsels of paradise ) strong places of return
Where is pleiades to take from hand.
They apply antimony, envy them as
They make cold mouth hot by betel-leaf.
They produce, they build, they then settle in their land
He who had not seen, let him see a married young man.
They apply antimony and chew betel leaf and cause trouble
Oh alas ! for a stranger like me to be in trouble.

In 918 ( 1512 ), the Sultān marched to Godhra on the way to Mandu to help its ruler, the Khalji against the unbelievers who had gained ascendancy

* Original Text, p. 99.

over him. He received news of the incursion of Rāy Bhim, son of Rāi Bhān, the ruler of Idar. He turned towards Modāsā and sent an army against him. The Rāy fled to Bijānagar. His villages were laid waste. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Fauladi issued forth from Naharwāla for Chāmpāner. On the way, he received intelligence about incursion of Rāy Bhim in neighbourhood of the river Sābar. He turned to him, encamped at the village Maharka in the neighbourhood of Idar, plundered the region, massacred residents and resorted to arson. Rāy Bhim advanced with a large army. 'Ain-ul-Mulk stood firm against him. Even though, his army was small, he fought with him. His brother 'Abdul Malek and his companions joined him with an idea of martyrdom and fought valiantly. Many of the unbelievers were killed at his hand. But " there is no death except at its stipulated time." The night intervented between them. The Rāy returned to Idar.

In 919 (1513), the Sultān rushed upon Idar, subjected it to arson and determined to bring about destruction of Rāy Bhim. The Rāy approached with humility and took upon himself to give as many elephants as were killed etc. His mind was obsessed to help the Khalji. He abandoned him, proceeded* towards Godhra and left his son Sikander Shāh in charge of Chāmpāner. He sent Qaisar Khān ahead of him to Dewla on the Mahi river. The Sultān marched after him. Ṣafdar Khān was left behind for protection and defence of the camp. The ruler of Dhār, Pirkhokāri heard about encampment of the Sultan on the river. He sent his son Khadr (Har) to him for submission. The Sultān raised his status by his favour and permitted him to go. He accompanied him with the amirs, Qiwām-ul-Mulk Sārang, Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk b. 'Imād-ul-Mulk Bahā Nekbakht and Qatlagh Khān. He then heard about Muḥammed b. Nāsiruddin and his march to Chanderi against Delhi army and war with Mahmud. The distance between Chanderi and Dewlah was of some days. He said to the amirs, " My object in this march was to help Maḥmud against unbelievers who have dominated over him and to patch up peace between the brothers as I had promised Muḥammed. He had stayed at Delhi. We have achieved our object. All the amirs who had travelled with Har (Khazr) returned. Muḥammed returned with him. He went alone with two thousand horse and one hundred elephants to visit the blessed saints Mawlānā al-Shaikh 'Abdullāh and Mawlānā al-Shaikh Kamāl al-Mālwi, may their graves be sanctified. He joined those who were left behind at the reservoir of Dhār. He alighted in a palace and took rest. He then rode and visited the saints and sought help from their holy souls and returned to the palace and lived in it. In the morning, he went to see the Deer House of the regime of Ghiyāsuddin al-Khalji. He was wonderstruck to see what was grown there and what new things were there. He returned to the camp on the third day and

* Original text, p. 100.

them to his capital. The historian Husām Khān writes thus in his Tarikh-i-Bahādur Shāhi. The Sultān and those who were with him at Dhār took rest at night. In the morning, he ordered Nizām-ul-Mulk Sultāni, Rafi-ul-Mulk, Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk, Malek Chaman Muhāfiz-ul-Mulk and Saif Khān to visit Dilāwara and the existing Deer House at Dhār to see buildings erected therein by the Khalji. There were few buildings similar to them in point of beauty and symmetry. There was perfection in everything that I saw. It was close of the day. They then determined to go to Dilāwara. The Sultān rode to Dhār and entered the Deer House. He was surrounded by learned men and returned. When their return was delayed, the Sultān went to Dilāwara in their wake; He did not find them. He made inquiries about them. Ulugh Khān replied that his brother Nizām-ul-Mulk was at Na'lcha, the ruler of which place was * Rāy Singh. Perhaps all of them must have gone for sight-seeing to Dilāwarah. The Sultān returned to his residence at Dhār. In the evening, he was informed about the victory of Nizām-ul-Mulk and his companions as well as about his arrival. When they presented themselves before the Sultān, he questioned them about the circumstances. Nizām-ul-Mulk represented that when he intended to go to Na'lcha, he came across an army of the fort. They pursued it and fought with it. He killed more than forty men of them. They then fled away. It was thus his victory. The Sultān rebuked him for his daring saying that a large army dominates over a small army. Verily a small army dominates over a large army by the permission of Allah. Do not act according to this maxim. I said, "God revealed to His Prophet, Muhammed, may peace and benedictions of God be on him, "For the present, God has lightened your ( task ), for He knoweth that there is a weak spot in you. But ( even so ), if there are a hundred of you, patient and persevering, they will conquer two hundred, and if a thousand, they will conquer two thousand, with the leave of God for God is with those who patiently persevere."

In 921 ( 1515 ), Rāy Bhim, son of Rāy Bhān died. He was succeeded by his son, Bhārmal b. Bhim. His cousin Rāimal b. Suraj invaded him with the support of Rānā Sanghā, the ruler of Chitor and Mewār. He was the father-in-law of Rāimal. The Sultān marched to Aḥmadnagar. Bhārmal saw him with Nizām-ul-Mulk Sultāni. The Sultān ordered him to help Bhārmal. The Sultān proceeded to Naharwāla alone and returned. He appointed Nizām-ul-Mulk as the Amir of Aḥmadnagar and entrusted the work of Bhārmal to him. He returned to Chāmpāner. Nizām-ul-Mulk invaded Rāimal and drove him out from the border. Bhārmal was reinstated at Idar. He lived there. He had an attack of paralysis. He wrote to the Sultān about his condition and requested him to say prayers on his behalf and to send an amir for his place. Nusrat-ul-Mulk Bahlim arrived at Aḥmadnagar and Nizam-ul-Mulk joined him. Zahirud-

* Original Text, p. 101.

din was left at Idar with one hundred horse. It so happened that Rāimal arrived with thousands of horse and foot. Zahiruddin advanced to meet him at Bijānagar. He fought steadily in the battle-field. Rāimal strove not to allow* his feet to slip but he failed to do so. Zahir continued fighting for the whole day. His uncle and twenty men were martyred. News of Rāimal's invasion reached Aḥmadnagar. Nusrat-ul-Mulk rode to him in all haste and reached Idar in the evening. Fate decided between Zahir and Rāimal. Zahir returned to Idar. Nizām-ul-Mulk was the son of Rānā Patāi, the ruler of Chāmpāner.

Sultān 'Alāuddin Maḥmud al-Khalji arrived at Bhagod in the district of Dahiwar, ten farsakhs from it flying due to domination of Medni Purabia. His offences are recounted in the account of Bahādur. In short, the amirs of Mandu compelled him to take this step. The cause of mischief was a quarrel between him and his brother Rukn. Maḥmud was on the side of Medni. In the beginning he did what he wished. The Rāy dominated over him till he expelled him and separated him from the Muslim army and the amirs. There was no alternative for Maḥmud but to go out for tour. He was afraid of him. He took into confidence an unbeliever who was his reliable man. His name was Kishna. He kept two horses ready for him to be brought when he desired. One day, he rode out for hunting. The Rāy's army was at Baglāna. He went to a great distance and did not come back to the tent except at night. When people slept, Kishna presented himself before him with the horses. He rode one horse, his wife another and Kishna, the guide was on the third. He went out for recreation until he came to Bhakor. He alighted there under the shade of a tree. He informed the 'Āmil of the village about his arrival. He then wrote to his master, Qaisar Khān who was at Chāmpāner. He presented himself in the service of the Khalji and removed him to a suitable residence. Qaisar Khān informed the Sultān about it. He ordered him to supply him with necessaries of life from the stores of the Sultān. He persuaded him to stay in residence. He did it accordingly. He ordered Peshrav Khān to go to Bhakor to welcome him. He pitched a pavilion for him and for the Khalji equally. He ordered the Wazir Majaduddin Muḥammed al-masnad-ul-Āli Khudawand Khān al-Iji to go to him and with him was the Amir steward with 1000 horses, 100 elephants, 100 camels, a canopy, a banner, a drum, cash money, textiles, copper utensils, crockery, arms, carts and other materials.

In 923 (1517), the Sultān marched from Chāmpāner and made no halt till he arrived at Bhakor. He rode out to meet the Khalji. The amirs of the† state were with him. They rode together till the Khalji's pavilion. Muzaffer alighted near him, thanked him for his arrival, wished him safety and pleased his mind. Food was served. After meals, he rode back to his pavilion. The

* Original Text, p. 102. † Original Text, p. 103.

amirs followed him in attendance. They met a second time. He determined to root out unbelief from the region of Mandu. They met a third time on horseback and started for Dewlah and then for Dhār. When Medni Rāy received news of Khalji's departure to Muzaffer, he said to his companions, "I was afraid of this. I left you to look after him fearing this day. I trusted you therein. Muzaffer had come now near us." They disagreed with him. He said to them to be within the fort while he would be in the battle-field. He then chose 12000 horse and started for the frontiers. When he learnt that Muzaffer had encamped at Dewlah, his determination was shaken, and so he returned to the city. The amirs gathered around him. He said to them that war was not possible without the help of Rānā Sangā, the ruler of Chitor and that they should defend the fort for forty days and that he should run to the Rānā to bring him for succour. The Sultān then marched from Dhār, encamped near the fort and began to lay siege to it. 'Imād-ul-Mulk Khushqadam stayed opposite to the gate. One day, there issued forth a regiment from the fort consisting of cowards who were not bold enough to fight with 'Imād-ul-Mulk. 'Imād-ul-Mulk charged them severely, killed many of them while the rest fled away leaving their swords. They relied upon fraud, sought for protection on condition of surrender of fort. They practised hesitancy for several days. They then sought protection along with their wealth. When these terms were accepted, they demanded respite till Friday. They asked for certain days to come out safely from the fort. When it was accepted, intelligence was received about the arrival of Medni Rāy with Rānā Sangā at Ujjain. He became angry, went up an elevated hillock and sat upon it. All the amirs were fully armed under his banner. They stood at the foot of the hillock. He summoned 'Ādil Khān, the ruler of Āsir and made him the commander of the army to fight with the ruler of Chitor. He gave him a khil'at, a sword, armour, a shield, nine horses, elephants, gave * him advice and bade him adieu. He then summoned Majlis-i-Girāmi Fath Khān and gave him similarly. In like manner, he gave to Qiwām Khān Sārang. He gave advice to all of them along with 'Ādil Khān and bade them adieu. He then permitted the army to depart with good promises particularly the commanders of the army. He treated all of them with betel-leaves as is the custom in Hind at the time of departure. He marched to the first manzil at the foot of the fort and made efforts for means of victory. It so happened the next day at the camp that a man appeared before Imād-ul-Mulk. He had alighted near the Dhār gate. He said to him that the victory will be gained easily from such and such a gate. The coming night will be the night of Holi. Men of the mountain will be busy playing it, because of the impregnability of the fort. Victory will be easily gained. There was no doubt about the man. He was Khizr, may peace be upon him! It was a war with the unbeliever. The eye

* Original Text, p. 104.

did not see him. What he reported was not of diligent search. It was far from it. 'Imād-ul-Mulk reported about it to the Sultān. He said, be pleased with the name of God. Such is the will of the Powerful Lord. When it was night, the Malek went to the pointed out gate in the light of spears. He climbed up the ladder by placing it against the gate and found the place empty as they were playing Holi. He turned to the ladder, moved the rope, as a signal of leisure. One hundred persons rose up to the level of the gate and got down. 'Imād-ul-Mulk stood outside. They broke the lock, opened the gate, and rose up with the help of the rope. 'Imād-ul-Mulk rode the horse, blew the trumpet and went to the city-gate and the king and conveyed the news to the Sultān. The whole army rushed to the fort. They joined him, lighted torches and the fort was illumined as during the day. They brandished swords. Shādi Khān Purabiya came to fight but it has been said, " He ran away when he saw the defects." Similarly, Prithvi Rāy and Agarsen fled away. The sword was working amongst them. They were in hardships. At last, they entered their houses, closed the doors, lighted fire, burnt themselves and their families till it was dawn. The Sultān was in the pavilion. Similarly, Maḥmud and others were moving slowly and slowly within the fort. Blood flowed, like a running stream through holes of the fort in all directions like the exit of water from it. It was reported that the number of the killed unbelievers was 19000 besides * those who died within doors, burnt themselves and their servants. Muzaffar then entered the Khalji's capital, paid regard to him, congratulated him for victory, blessed him for re-capture of the kingdom, pointed out with his hand towards the door and said to him, " In the name of Allāh, enter it safely and securely. He then came out from the fort and went to his pavilion. The Khalji entered his palace, collected his children and wife and made prostrations of thanks to God, the Holy. Husām Khān, the historian narrates that none was safe inside the fort except Hemkaran Purabia and Badan. They had prepared a well. There was a rope reaching the top of the fort. Through despair, they clung themselves to the rope and got down to the bottom and travelled to Ujjain. They met Medni Rāy. Badan completed his report and fell down dead through dread of the report. Hemkaran lost his reason. Medni Rāy raised a shout and fell in a swoon. Rāy Sāngā heard about the arrival of 'Ādil Khān near Ujjain. He got confused. He said to Medni Rāy, " Why this shout ? The matter has ended. Now decide to join your companions. 'Ādil Khān is coming. " " He hears his trumpet. Otherwise you will see him in person." He then placed him on an elephant and went out of Ujjain to his frontiers in a frightful manner in all haste. 'Ādil Khān pursued him as far as Dipalpur. He halted there till he disappeared. The Khalji searched for his lost treasures and arranged a feast. He came down to Muzaffer and requested

* Original Text, p. 105.

him to visit his palace in the morning. He accepted his invitation. When he was free from meals he went out to see buildings which were the monuments of his forefathers. Muzaffer was amazed at seeing them and prayed to God for His mercy on them. They both sat together on one side. The Khalji thanked him and said, " God be praised Who made you so liberal. I saw with my own eyes how you treated my enemies. There did not remain need of anything for me in this world. The Sultān is better for my kingdom than myself. There was nothing for him for he is for me. I request you to accept that from me. The Sultān should stay for as much time as he wished." The Sultān showed regards to him and told him, "The first step is that I placed you in your kingdom. It was for the sake of God. Secondly, it is help to you as you wished. May God be blessed to you and help you therein." The Khalji said, "The kingdom will be poor of men. I am afraid of its land." Muzaffer replied, "It is acceptable that Sayyed Āṣaf Khān will be with you with * 12000 horse till you collect your men." The Khalji then requested that his son Tāj Khān should remain with him and entreated for him. He agreed to this proposal and promised him help on all occasions. He said to Āṣaf Khān, " There is sufficient for you and your companions about your salary and jagir with me. It will be expanded in time." He ordered the Khalji in regard to his treasure. He bade him adieu and came down the fort. He then went to his place of residence. The Khalji came down the fort and with him were Tāj Khān and Āṣaf Khān. They followed him to his frontier. He requested him for prayer and returned. The Sultān permitted 'Ādil Khān to go. He started for Āsir. The Sultān arrived at Chāmpāner with victory and praise. On the day of entry, it was witnessed that a large number of God's creatures said prayers on his behalf. The victory of Mandu took place on 12th Safar, 924 ( 1518 ). Some Persians have chronograms.

Muzaffer Shāh, world-conquering Sultān
Placed foundation of religion and faith anew.
He captured the fort of Māndu within six days
Opened such a strong talisman.
This is sufficient for its date that I say
" Conquered kingdom of Māndu, gave back."
Muzaffer Shāh, world-conquering Sultān, his sword
Laid waste the foundation of unbelief and revised that of religion and faith.

When through auspicious fortune, he conquered the fort of Māndu
" Date of year is that auspicious one conquered Māndu."

In 925 ( 1519 ), the Khalji was wounded in a battle. Rāy Hemkaran Purabiya had occupied Karkarun. The Khalji invaded him and killed him in

* Original Text, p. 106.

battle-field. The army of Rānā Sānghā was with him. He had encamped in a mountaneous region on the day of the conquest of the fort. Maḥmud routed his army, pursued him and expelled him from his frontiers. It so happened that Rānā Sānghā made his appearance from a side with 40000 horse. The* Khalji fought valiantly with 1000 horse. They fought with lances and brandished swords with flashes of lightning, attacked the centre boldly, the strong lost courage. He determined firmly, rode an Arab horse, wielded a Yamani sword, rushed upon the centre and moved right and left. It was a hard fought battle. He overpowered every horse, turned away every sword, such was his condition in that multitude. He was between the enemy and victory. He fell down from horseback and came down to the ground wounded. Rāy Sāngā saw him, defended him, came near him and saluted him with respect. He was old in age and carried a heavy spear. Every young man was surprised at it. He ( Rana ) apologized and treated his wound. He lifted him up in a pālki, carried him to Māndu and followed him in his stirrup. When he reached his palace, he bade him adieu. The Khalji gave him precious objects, pardoned him for what had happened and permitted him to go. Rānā Sāngā requested him for the spear which he gave him. The weight of his spear was thirty ratals. Its rod was similar. He was surprised. As the poet had said that more wonderful was the hand that bore it. The Khalji was intrepid, daring and zealous. When Sultān Muzaffer received intelligence about this event of the Khalji, he wrote to Rānā Sāngā to abstain from such things. It is narrated of Maḥmud Khalji that when he was at Bhakor sitting under the shade of a tree keeping awake from midnight till sunrise, his horse was unable to move. He stayed under the tree. In the morning, the information was conveyed to the 'Āmil of Dohad. There was a distance of ten farsakhs from Bhakor to Dohad. He immediately rode to him and met him with due decorum and stood in his service. He erected a pavilion for him with all things that he needed. He pitched a tent by his side. He sent a messenger on a camel to the Sultān. The Sultān prepared himself that very day to go to him and sent him kingly pavilions, horses, elephants, servants, maid-servants, cash etc. He sent him some amirs for company. He ordered them to remain around him. When the Khalji heard about the approach, he rode out to receive them. They dismounted from their horses, kissed his stirrup and went in attendance upon him as far as his pavilion. He alighted there. They did not separate from him. When Sultān † Muzaffer arrived at Godhra, he heard news about the death of Sultān Sikander of Delhi, he performed funeral rites for him. He marched to Dewlah where he met Maḥmud Khalji. He felt worried about the event. He went with him to Māndu. Medni Rāy had garrisoned the fort. He went to Rānā Sānga, the ruler of Chitor for help. Muzaffer encamped near the fort. Inmates of the fort re-

* Original Text, p. 107.

† Original Text, p. 108.

quested for cessation of war and respite to come out of the fort. They waited for Medni Rāy to come with help. The Sultān heard about the arrival of the Rānā Sāngā at Sārangpur, in the district of Māndu. It was at a distance of fifty farsakhs from it. Ādil Khān, the ruler of Āsir and Qiwām-ul-Mulk etc. prepared themselves for war with the Rānā and laid siege to the fort. They were greatly exasperated till they conquered it the next day after encampment. It was in 924 (1518). This chronogram is found from " Our Sultān had conquered Māndu ".

It is narrated from the account of Munawwar-ul-Mulk Syed Jalāl Bukhāri —and Malek Maḥmud Pyārā and others who corroborate it as well as those who were present on the day of victory—I was one of those who entered the fort after victory. We wanted to gather knowledge from residents. We entered their houses. We waited at a house whose door was closed. We thought that there might be living beings in it. We broke open the door and entered it. There lay fifty dead bodies in it. Their bodies were lying on one side and hands at the other side. There was one who was about to breathe last. We approached him and questioned him about his condition. He said, " We feared being murdered, so we entered this house till we hid ourselves from eyes of searchers. A hand emerged with a sword. We did not see the owner of the hand; then we are as you see us and died because of it. Malek Maḥmud narrated from the informer named Taghāi that invisible persons were present in the battle-field. Their effect is what you see. The amirs of Sultān Muzaffer narrated similarly. After victory, they turned to Khalji for permission to come down. He said, " Invisible beings guard the fort-gate. They will not allow anyone to come in after going out till you mention my name stating that you are my men. " The Khalji requested them to wait for some days. After three days, the Khalji gave a feast. The door in the buildings, the like of which are not heard of in India, was connected with the building whose door was closed. It was opened. He entered into it and went to a room. Tawāshi ordered it to* be opened and inquired as to who was inside it. There was a lane of women who were well adorned and decorated, the like of whom were not seen by the eye. They all belonged to the Khalji. Their number was 2000. Among the Khalji Sultāns, Ghiyāsuddin's name had become proverbial on account of luxurious life. There was none like him. His courtiers were afraid to break sad news to him. When necessary, such news were given to him by (suggestions). It is said that he never heard sad news in his life. His son-in-law died. Its news was given to him by suggestions of his daughter wearing white dress as was the custom among Hindi women. She passed before his sight. He understood therefrom. He remarked that her husband had died. When Bahlol, the ruler of Delhi's army raided the frontiers of Chanderi within the territory of the

* Original Text. p, 109.

Khalji, the wazir deemed it necessary to give this news to him but he had no boldness to explain it. He then brought a group of Bharāyah (Bhānd) to imitate the raiders while dancing and singing. He ordered them to imitate in the Afghān dress attacking with swords the residents of Chanderi. They appeared in the Afghān dress stating that they were from Delhi and connected them to Chanderi. The former carried out predatory raids on the latter. Ghiyāsuddin saw that. He remarked, "Was the 'Āmil of Chanderi dead? in repelling the Afghāns from his jurisdiction?" In short, women came out from their rooms. They had trays of different jewels in their hands. They saluted and made an offering of them with their hands over the feet of the Sultān Muzaffer. He avoided his glance fearing that it was not lawful for him to look at strangers. The Khalji said, "All of them belong to me. I am owner and they slaves. Whatever belongs to me is my master's." Muzaffer prayed for blessings and returned to his pavilion. It is narrated about Medni Rāy that during the absence of the Khalji, he supplied them all the shining objects and their needs. He did not stop to give them every day what they received from the Khalji. He also conveyed prayers to them. He requested them to address him as slave. He tried to please them always. When the Sultān marched to his kingdom, the Khalji followed him as far as Dewlah. He left behind Sayyid Āṣaf Khān along with a party of Amirs by way of help to the Khalji. In 925 (1519), the Khalji marched to Kākiun. It was occupied by Hemkaran. He killed him in battle. Rānā Sāngā rushed to his succour. He had a large army while* the Khalji had a small army. The Khalji was captured. He was wounded. His army fled away. Many persons who witnessed this event remarked that he was separated from his saddle, the unbelievers surrounded him and informed the Rānā about it. He came to him, paid respects to him and placed him in a pālki, carried him to his capital, treated his wounds. He was sent to Māndu and accompanied him to several stages. When Muzaffer received this intelligence, he sent an army to Māndu for defence of the kingdom. The Rānā returned to Chitor.

Abul Qāsim b. Aḥmed b. Muḥammed b. Muḥammed b. Muḥammed b. Muhammed ibn-i-' Abdullāh b. Muḥammed b. Fahd-uṣh-Sharf Muḥammed b. al-Muḥibb abi Bakr b. al-Taqi al-Hashimi al-Makki al-Shāfai known as his ancestors as Ibn-i-Fahd died this year. He was born on Saturday night, 12th Rabi ' II, 846 (1442). He travelled to Qāherah, Damashq and returned with permission and invitation and travelled to Hind. He had Fath-ul-Bāsi with him in the hand-writing of his father and uncle. He approached several kings. After the death of Maḥmud Shāh Begara, he went to Māndu and died there. He was more than 80 in 925 (1519).

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* Original Text, p. 110.

It was in this year that the Sultān marched to Idar. He ordered construction of a building. He removed Nusrat-ul-Mulk and appointed Mubāriz-ul-Mulk Husain b-Khizr Bhatti and returned.

In the year 26 (926 = 1519), the event of Rānā Sāngā and Mubāriz-ul-Mulk took place. One day, a poet (bārot) appeared in the court of Mubāriz-ul-Mulk and sang his praise. In the meantime, he also praised Rānā Sāngā. Mubāriz-ul-Mulk remarked, "This is he who to me is such and such. He pointed out a dog tied in the ken. The poet conveyed this news to Sāngā. He said, "I will catch him by the nose. He came out to fight with him with an army of 40.000 consisting of the horse and the foot. The Malek was valiant and intrepid. No one could stand against him in battle except one who was of equal strength with him. But when the Rānā approached him, his companions gathered around him and said, " we are when compared to the blackness of the infidel like white spots in black clothes." They garrisoned themselves in the fort of Aḥmednagar expecting arrival of succour from the Sultān." It was more proper in keeping with the good of the saltanat. They look to you and to us for bravery to turn away the enemy who is much nearer. " He acted according to their opinion. He retired to the fort. Ṣafdar-ul-Mulk b. Shuja'-ul-Mulk* joined him. He heard news about Sāngā. He was at Ahmedabad. He came in all haste with the intention of jihād. When he arrived, he was reproached for having left his centre. He encamped in the fort. The infidel was valiant in war. He apologized his companions, came out of the fort to the battle-field. Three nights had passed when Saif Khān b. Saif Khān arrived on receipt of news. He alighted with them. In the morning, those who had encamped near Sāngā, gathered together and looked at their army. Its number was 1200 horse, and 1000 foot. They had left 500 horse and the rest foot. The space became narrow, the dust rose through movement of horses; the commander of the army shouted, " Oh horsemen of God! ride; seven hundred horsemen collected under the banner. They appeared like flaming fire; they were advised to be patient upon this severe action, they were asked to hasten to war and to remain firm on legs. Their mouths foamed, their sockets of eyes became red; wrong-doers run to your Lord today; attack collectively and be sincere in attack; remove the cover from off the advance-guard even if it were an elevated thick place. They rushed to right and left. They said when the enemy made a hard attack with its large number that God is sufficient for us. Then Sāngā advanced forth. He descended in the centre even though he had a large army, he delayed. The advanced-guard attacked him with all fury and also from the two wings. The party of God involved experienced men in difficulties. They tore open the (screen) of dust and with it the hollowness of darkness like foundering up of boats by sharp stones. It was a hard fought battle of deaths.

* Original Text, p. 111.

It was bad for cowards. It was severe hardship. Swords were broken and maces were pounded. Lances fulfilled wishes of souls. Infidels were lightened of long necks which had become heavy by loads of heads. Rows of heretics were broken. Ranks of Muslims were raised by martyrdom Hamid-ul-Mulk, the brother of Mubāriz-ul-Mulk, Ghāzi Khān, Rāwat Pir, Rāwat Ḥusām, Malek Pir Sultān Shāh and Qāzi Qutb Pir were martyrs. It was night. The above-mentioned amirs did not remain except forty. They retired to the fort to see if they could make amends of defeat by help. They did not find any one there. They crossed the river and slayed on the land (shore). Rāy Sāngā ordered the fort to be burnt. He sent his army to Prāntij with elephants. It was encoun-* tered by Asad Khān. b. Asad Khān with seven horses and three elephants. He faced them with firmness but was martyred with his associates and that was after killing many of them. Those who were spared by sword returned with elephants. Rāy Sāngā then proceeded to Badnagar (vadnagar). There were none but Brahmins. A party of them met him. They said, " your forefathers respected the residents of this village. Then how can you who are from them, destroy the village ". He left them and marched to Bisalnagar. Its 'Āmil was Malek Ḥātim Sultān Shāh. When he was informed about the Rānā's arriveal, he came out in the field and fought with him with a small force. He got martyred with them. In the meantime when the Rāy was encamped on the border, he received intelligence about the arrival of Fath Khān and 'Ain-ul-Mulk. They were at Naharwāla. He uprooted his tents and fled to his capital, Chitor so that what happened on the previous day with his companions might not happen with him. The historian Ḥusām Khān said, " I was in the village of Balād with the amir of frontiers, Qiwām-ul-Mulk b. Qiwām-ul-Mulk. When he heard about the safety of amirs and that they proceeded to a certain direction, he sent me to them. I went with them to him. He gave them a feast and promised them help. When his companions unarmed themselves, intelligence was received about the return of Sāngā. They departed on his return to Aḥmadnagar in his wake. 'Imād-ul-Mulk Khush Qadam and Qaisar Khān arrived with help from the Sultān. They met together, recited Fātiha for the martyrs at the battle-field and prayed for mercy of God on them. They praised the amirs with goodness and proceeded towards the fort and encamped in the maidān.

In this year, the Sultān marched from Chāmpāner with an intention to invade Chitor and came to Ahmadābād. He encamped at Harsol. He wrote to the amirs of all places to come for Jihād. They all hastened to him. The great amir, lion in majesty and valour, the old servant of his father, Janāb Malek Ayāz Turki was one of them. He started from his territory of Junāgadh with one lac horse and one hundred elephants. On every elephant, there was a box.

* Original Text, p. 112.

There were one hundred cannons, six thousand cannoncers, eight thousand musketeers and four thousand archers. On the day of his arrival, all the horsemen were fully armed. All the men wore uniforms of different colours. Several leather bags full of sweet drink were hastily moved in front of the army an-* nouncing may God show mercy to those who came near and drank. The Sultān then ordered the advance-guard to march towards Chitor. It was a strong fort situated on top of a mountain. It was the place of refuge of the Rānā. Ayāz kissed the carpet and said, " Sāngā and the conquest of Chitor. It is not necessary for the Sultān to march. His servants are sufficient for this task." His request was acceded to. He was accompained by Qiwām-ul-Mulk. He was made the commander-in-chief of 20,000 horsemen, 20 rings of elephants. (Husâm Khān narrates that the Sultān prepared him with 1,00,000 horses, 100 rings of elephants.)

In the year 927 (1520), Malek Ayāz marched under royal order. He first arrived in Nikāyah in the kingdom of Bāker and extended his hand in plunder at Kālyākot. He similarly behaved at Dungerpur and Sāgwarah and then Bānswārah. It was the place of residence of Rāy Udesingh, the ruler of Bāker. He lived there. He encamped there. One day, he went out for hunting with his three brothers—Majāhid Khān, Ashja'ul Mulk and Safdar Mulk—with one hundred horsemen. They were fully armed. They heard that Purabiya Agarsen was with Rāy Udeysingh encamping in a mountain pass intending to pour upon the army at any time during day or night. They said, " It is the day of our hunting." They turned their horses towards him. He then saw them from an elevated place. He emerged from the mountain-pass. It was a severe attack which was repulsed with the good fortune of Malek Ayāz. He killed a number of Udeysingh's soldiers and wounded them. He rushed from the battle-field to the mountain-pass. Ayāz halted at Ma'tarak. He joined the amirs and rebuked them for having displayed their valour at a wrong place. Udeysingh was a† noble of Rāy Sāngā's party. He praised them and prayed to God for His mercy upon the martyrs. Their eight persons were martyred while eighty unbelievers were killed. Ayāz then proceeded to Sarkob and encamped there. He climbed the valley of Kurjhhin and encamped at Dasor within the territory of Rāy Sāngā. This fort was built by Hoshang Ghori, ruler of Māndu. It is a stone-building between two rivers. Width of its walls is five gaz (of hand). This wall is a wall of bricks built with lime and gypsum measuring six gaz. It is pressed with mud. Its width was extended to 16 gaz. After Hoshang, it was made by the Khalji. At the time of Medni Rāy's domination on Māndu, it was made in accordance with the wish of the ruler of Chitor. He gave the Rāy the help that he needed. Ashok Purabiya was there on behalf of Rāy Sāngā. Ayāz began to lay siege to it and ordered a mine to be dug. He did not know

* Original Text, p. 113.

† Original Text, p. 114.

from what direction to enter into it. Rāy Sāngā marched from Chitor to Madsur (Mandsur) and encamped there. He sent an emissary to Malek Ayāz to make submission and pay tribute and requested Ayāz to accept his proposals. He delayed from day to day for completion of the mine. The unbelieving chiefs gathered around Sāngā. One of them was with wide hands, long fore-arms and long pace. The second one followed the maxim "I love peace more than battle." The Purabiya Salādi (Silhadi), the ruler of Raisingh (Raisin) was with them. He was a tributary of the Sultān. He had come to meet Malek Ayāz. Rāy Medni prevented him from so doing. He took him to Rāy Sāngā to request him to make peace through him. He showed modesty. He put up with Rāy Sāngā with 10,000 horse and like number of foot and one hundred elephants. 'Alauddin Khalji, the sultān of Mandu arrived on hearing news of the unbelievers' preparation of war with Ayāz. He marched from his kingdom and encamped with Malek Ayāz. The emissary of Sāngā was making* efforts for submission while Malek Ayāz was disappointing him. Qiwām-ul-Mulk strove as much as possible for conquest of the fort. He encamped there and was about to complete it. But Ayāz did not intend it from his side but only from his side and the conquest to be in his name. He, therefore, moved from the side of the fort to the side in the maidān. He was a great amir full of power and majesty and frightened him in speech. He met Khalji and told him that he would have become the conqueror of the fort. He saw its conquest before his eyes but Ayāz prevented him from so doing. He was in favour of peace. When he was disappointed of seizing the fort by force or with helplessness. He prevented him from making efforts and to fight. Necessarily Ayāz desired to begin war and take the credit of winning the fort. He was about to conquer the fort from his side but he refused to do it and removed to a side from him and became angry. He had come to inform him for he was determined for jihād. Now he wants to fight under his banner. The Khalji accepted him and ordered to give him a drum. He agreed on the movement of Qiwām-ul-Mulk. Ayāz received intelligence about it. He rode to the Khalji and gave him information about the mine. It will be completed within two or three days. He was not for peace but of that promised day. The Khalji thereupon praised him. He then met Qiwām-ul-Mulk, narrated the story to him, was pleased and returned to his tent. On the third day, Ayāz was ready. The Khalji and Qiwam-ul-Mulk were made to be present. He set fire to the mine. The stone-wall was raised up and on opening of ten gaz was made. Ayāz was emboldened to enter through it but did not find the way as the stone-wall remained in its original condition. He seized it by fraud. It was not possible to be destroyed. He lost his courage and accepted the terms of peace on payment of tribute. The Rānā had to send his son as a hostage to the Sultān.

* Original Text, p. 115.

Horses and elephants were also to be sent in the wake of his son. An order was to be executed. When peace was patched up between Ayāz and Sāngā, Qiwām-ul-Mulk met the Khalji. He said, " No submission to Ayāz in his sin ; no sin is worse than this peace. He has power over my destruction. We were appointed for war. Peace is a sin. Today, we belong to your party. I have * determined this upon the name of Allah. The Khalji said, " God be praised ; here I am at your service." He then removed the arms and ordered to give him a drum. Ayāz hastened to him and said, " I came to you for expedience of the Sultān. Now go to your region with this drum." Immediately, on receiving order of Ayāz, he rode with the drum along with his servants and chamberlains. When he presented himself in the assembly of the Sultān, he paid no attention to him and ordered him to go to Junāgadh. It is said that on his arrival at Ahmedabad, a letter full of rebukes was written to him and he was asked to pay attention to his territory.

In the year 928 ( 1521 ), the Sultān went from Chāmpāner to Ahmedabad with an intention to march to Chitor. He halted at the Kānkariya tank. In the meantime, the son of Rānā Sāngā arrived who had come before with Ayāz. The Sultān pardoned his father.

It was in this year that Malek Ayāz-i-Sultani died at Junagadh. He was removed to the village of Unna and buried by the side of his master who had attained to a high degree of certainty Ghiyās-ud-dunyā wad-Din Mawlānā-Qutb-ul-' Ārifin Shāh Shams-ud-din, may his grave be sanctified. When the Sultān * heard about his death, he said mildly that he lived happily. Had he exercised patience, he would have died a martyr. He prayed to God for His mercy on him. He felt aggrieved for his death. He had buildings, gardens and the shore under his charge as Jagir. The port of Div was never without merchants. He used to get a profitable share as his income. More than one hundred ships sailed from it throughout the year. The shore had more than one thousand importers and exporters. ( Travelling boats were more than one thousand ). Similarly, war-ships were more than two hundred. The shore or sea-coast of Gujarat was adjacent to Sind. Its termination was Konkan in the neighbourhood of the Deccan port of Chewal. The Portuguese plied this sea-coast. They were also at Dabool. Near it, there dwelt a great Portuguese Alvarandur. They were on the coast of Bijapur, the capital of Kanada. But Chewai is on the shore of Junair, the residents of which are known as Marathas. The authority of Malek Ayāz extended on the shore of Gujarat. He did not allow the Portuguese boats except for trade. He was the admiral ( lord of the sea ) in his times. He was very kind. He was so just on land that there was nothing unlawful in † his treasure and he never used it for his family. On sea, he did not permit a boat

* Original Text, p. 116.

† Original Text, p. 117.

to enter which was not perfect in preparation and moderately loaded. In the early part, there was perfect safety on sea, and business flourished with profit. They said many prayers on his behalf. He who came from the sea and reached the shore was found saying, " God gives beyond enumeration to whomsoever He wishes." He was very generous and charitable. Every one enjoyed his hospitality. He conciliated his servants by presents and bounties. There was none like him in this respect. Every needy person knew him by his generosity. He left two sons. Ishāq and Tughān. The Sultān gave everything to Ishāq what belonged to his father.

In 929 (1522), Malek-ul-Muhaddesin (king of Traditionists) Muḥammed bin Muḥammed bin 'Abdur Rahmān bin Ḥasan Jalāluddin al-Miṣri al-Maliki known like his ancestor Ibn-i-Suwaid, died at Aḥmedābad, the capital of Gujarat. He was born on 16th Sha'bān, 856 (1452-53). Ḥāfiz Sakhāwi reported to me that he had gone to Yaman. At Zaila, ' he taught and narrated traditions.' He then came to Khanbhāyat. Jār-ul-lāh, son of Fahad said that he approached Sultān Maḥmud Shāh who bestowed upon him the title of Malek-ul-Muhaddesin when he spoke to him about his knowledge of Hadis and eloquence. He was the first recipient of this title. He collected for him forty traditions from twenty Shaikhs and named this collection as " Fath-ul-Mubin-ul-Hāni " with the elevated authority of Malek-ul-Muhaddesin al-Kāḍi Jalāluddin al-Kanāni. He compiled it for me and a party of holy men from whom he saught prayers for himself. He composed prose and poetry and sent it to me. He was pleased with it. He discussed with him about their contents and applauded me for it. He continued to enjoy the favour of Sultān Maḥmud till the latter died. He was a tutor to his son Muzaffar Shāh. He stayed with him through the influence of his Wazir Muḥammed Majduddin, al-Masnad-al-Āli Khudāwand Khān al-Iji. He was granted allowance for his expenses. Mahmud had appointed him an officer in the department of Jaziya. Ultimately, he left service and died. He presented to Sayyid 'Ali Khān of Mandu with a copy of Fath-ul-Bāri on* explanation of Traditions compiled by al-Bukhāri. It was the first copy of Fath in Gujarāt. It was then presented to Muzaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmud Shāh. He thanked him for that obligation. He assigned to him the region of Broach in jāgir and made him an Amir.

The expert in grammar, lexicon and literature Jamāluddin Muḥammed, son of 'Umar, son of Mubārak, son of 'Abdullāh, son of 'Ali al-Humairi al-Haḍrami al-Shāfai' famous as Bahrak died on 20th Sha'bān 930 (1523). He was proficient in speech, understanding, prose and poetry. He was an author of many books. He composed a nice poem. (These lines are dropped as unimportant). He was born in Baḥrak at midnight in the month of Sha'bān, 869† (1464-65) in Haḍramut. He grew up there and received education from its

* Original Text, p. 118. † Original Text, p. 119.

learned man. He went to Zubaid where he studied hadis from its scholars especially from Zain-ud-Din Muhammed bin 'Abdul Latif al-Sharji. He learnt Usul from the theologian Jamāluddin Muḥammed bin Ali Bakr al-Saigh. He got the Khirka from Syed Ḥusain al-Ahdal. He associated himself with Glory of Religion, Pole of the Age, Sun of the suns, Shaikh Abā Bakr bin al-'Afif-al-'Idrus, may their graves be sanctified. He received benefits from them. He performed Haj in 894 (1489). He got a report of his haj from Shamsuddin al-Hāfiz al-Sakhāwi. He walked on the path of Ṣufism. It is said about him that he spent forty days in retirement in devotion to God at Zubaid. On completion of it, he said that parts of his body too were in remembrance of God. He was sincere in search of God, lavish in generosity and fond of doing charitable deeds. He gave up the post of a Kāzi and retired himself. He went to 'Aden where he received applause and position with its Amir Marjān al-Āmiri. He then came to Hind as an envoy to Sultān Muzaffar son of Mahmud Begara. He elevated him, kept him near him, promoted him, showed him extensive favour. He became very famous and wrote books for him. He was a man of learning and experience. He wrote Sirat-i-Aḥmadiya, Kitāb-ul-Hisām, Tartib-ul-Suluk, Matatul asmā' on Music, substance of Kitāb-ul-Amtā', Mawāhib-ul-Quddus in praise of Al-'Idrus, and substance of Ṣafadi's book Umiyāt-ul-'Ajam. He acquired his learning from the theologian Muḥammed bin Aḥmad at Hadramut and 'Abdullāh bin Ahmad at 'Aden.

In 931 (1524), Sultan Muzaffer proceeded to Modāsa for hunting animals. He spent several days in enjoyment and delighted himself with the hawk and the leopard. He did not kill birds, gazelles and wild cows that passed before him. His wife Bibi Rāni died on his return. She complained of weakness. She was the daughter of the king of Sind. She was the mother of Sikander. He felt aggrieved for her bereavement. He performed funeral rites and buried her by the side of his father at Luhāniyah Duhulohar. His children visited her tomb. He went to Chāmpāner.

In this year, some of the Delhi amirs wrote to 'Ālam Khān, son of Sultān Bahlol inviting him for the sultanat by dethroning Ibrāhim. He was in Gujarat.* The Sultān had assigned two villages of Jetalpur and Bārijah situated at distance of seven farsakhs from Ahmedabād. He prospered them and lived at Jetalpur due its climate, water-courses, abundant trees and games. When he received the letter, he represented to the Sultān and requested permission for departure. He asked him to abandon his desire. He did not accept invitation for sultanat. He then accepted it. The sultan gave him everything worthy of him and ordered all the Maleks to show regard to him. He was given two hundred horses, five elephants, one hundred camels, a banner, a drum, 40,000

* Original Text, p. 120

Muzaffari coins. 'Afifuddin 'Abdullāh al-Bangāli father of the wife of Siraj-udden 'Umar b. Zaid-ul-Du'ani went with him. I dined with him at Ahmedabad in 977 (1569). I have reported what I saw and not what I heard.

In 931 (1524), the Sultān marched from Chāmpāner to Ahmedabad and alighted at Kānkariya tank. His son Bahādur alighted at Maḥmudpur. He requested his father to increase his Jagir and make it equal with that of his brother Sikander. But his request was not granted. He decided to leave him. He then rode out as decided to Dungerpur. The ruler, Rāy Udeysingh heard about his arrival. He welcomed him and alighted him in the most wonderful mansion and treated him as he deserved. By chance, Samra appeared herself* before the son of Udeysingh. He brought her in the presence of Bahādur. In the meantime, that lady amazed them by her dance. Bahādur applauded her. He said to him, " Do you know her? " Bahādur said, " I do not know her." He said, " She is from the house of those in whom you put faith." He was seized with self-zeal. He took out his sword, and out of retaliation, struck it on his head. He came out from the assembly and went to his residence. Udeysingh heard about it. He decided to kill him. The mother of his son said to him, " Your son is at fault in what he said to him. He jested him. Muzaffer was at a distance of a pace from you." She came to Bahādur and said, " Be pleased with my son. He was severely perambulated with the tail of a horse. I did it. The tail was peeled off as deserved. We and the city are under your order. If you wish to stay, or if you decide upon travel, we wish you safety". Bahādur apologised her and bade adieu to Udeysingh. " He started for Ajmer to visit the shrine of Qutb-uz-Zamān Mawlānā al-Khwājah Mu'inuddin al-Sanjari for seeking his blessings. He travelled to Mewāt. When he was at its frontiers, its ruler al-Amir Aḥsan Khān Mewāti met him. He stayed with him in his palace as a guest. He was liberal enough to give him half of his kingdom. He proceeded to Delhi. Sultān Ibrāhim heard about him. He ordered to meet him. He arrived in his assembly. He received him with pleasure showing outward regard to him. When he was at Delhi, the news spread of Mughal depredations on the frontiers. The ruler of Kābul, Bābur Bādshāh caused grief to the ruler of Delhi apparently with the help of 'Alāuddin b. Bahlol. Those who were safe from captivity, found Delhi to be a place of refuge. He harassed the people at the gate. There was resentment in the hearts of residents. He ordered the youths to fight with the Mughals but none came forward through fear to close the door. Bahādur got ready and went to that side with his companions. Ibrāhim was informed about it but he did not follow him. The Mughals alighted to take away the spoils but they were discouraged on account of afternoon heat. Bahādur rushed upon them and snatched back with violence what was in their hands and thus they could not carry anything. He

* Original text, p. 121.

then returned to Delhi. Its residents loved him and felt disposed towards him. People of Jaunpur heard about it. Their sultān had died. They wrote to him to become their Sultān. In the meantime, Ibrāhim was much affected by his * praise and feared about people's disposition towards him. He changed his attitude towards him. Bahādur left him and went to Jaunpur. When he came there, an emissary of the people came to him. Coincident with his arrival a messenger came from Gujarat from the great Wazir Tāj Khān Narpāli. Bahādur's journey terminated with it. In short, when the Sultān received intelligence about Bahādur's going out when he had requested him for increase in his Jagir, as he loved Sikander more than his other children, he ordered Khudāwand Khān to inform him to come back as his request will be granted. He did so that he might not feel the smallness of Jagir.

It was in this year that the Sultān went out to Idgāh for prayer of rain. He practised charity and alms towards the needy of all sections and prayed to God. He then stepped forth for prayers. What he said in prayer was: "Oh God! I am your servant. I am not the owner of anything. (I have no power in me over anything). I am a sinner. Rain is ceased from your creatures. I seek it from your hands. Oh Most Merciful Lord! come to our help". He uttered these words, placed his forehead on the earth and continued in prostration repeatedly saying, "Oh Most Merciful Lord." He then raised his head. The wind blew, thick clouds grew up with lightning, thunder and it rained. He then prostrated out of thanks to God, returned from the place of prayer with prayers of the people. He does good right and left. It is narrated in a book "Rabi'-ul-Abrār" written by the great Imām Abil Kāsim Muḥammed bin 'Umar bin Muḥammed bin 'Umar al-Khuārazmi al-Zamakhshari, may God pardon him as related by Anas, may God be pleased with him, that the citizens of Madina were hit by famine during the life-time of the Messenger of Allāh, may peace and benedictions of God be on him. While he was addressing a sermon to us on Friday, a man got up and said, "Oh Messenger of Allāh! our animals such as goats, horses, sheep etc. perished. Pray to God to send rain for us." He raised his hands and prayed. Verily, the sky is like a glass bottle. The wind blew. The clouds formed themselves. They then gathered. The sky sent its clouds, we took out drops of water till it came to our houses. It continued to pour till next Friday. That very man stood up and said, "Oh Prophet of Allāh! It destroyed our houses. Pray to God to stop it. The Prophet of Allāh may peace and benedictions of God be on him, smiled. He then said, "Let the clouds be around us and not upon us. He then looked at the clouds. They split round about Madina. Verily, it was like a crown. It is related by 'Ā'ysha may God be pleased with her, that the Prophet went out when the sun had † begun to be veiled. He then sat upon the pulpit, glorified and praised God.

* Original Text, p. 122.

† Original Text, p. 123.

He then said, " You complain when it does not rain in your region. You wish for rain from scorpio of time. Allāh has ordered you to pray to Him and He has promised acceptance of your prayers. He then said, " Oh God! You are rich and we are poor. Pour down rain upon us and make what you pour down a source of strength and proclamation. God then poured down clouds. It thundered. Lightning shone forth aad then it rained by the command of Allāh. He did not come to the masjid till water began to flow in the shape of flood. When he saw their rapidity till they stammered, he burst into laughter and said, " I bear witness that Allāh is powerful over everything and that I am his servant and His Messenger. It is related by Rakika daughter of Abi Ṣaifi. She was of the same age as Abdul Muttalib son of Hāshim was approached and reported by her in a year of famine and scarcity, " I was asleep when I was inspired or disturbed. I wore rotten clothes. Angel Gabrail shouted out in a loud voice saying, " Oh assemblage of Kuraish! Verily, he is the Prophet made from amongst you." During his life-time, he would cast a shade over you. Come here with life and prosperity. See among you a man of medium height, large body, white colour, thick eye-brows and long eye-lashes, smooth cheeks, fragrant nostrils and silent dignified bearing. A year will not pass when he will free him and his son from sin by his guidance. Water will ooze out from his body. All people will be benefited by that water. They will touch it with pleasure and go round the House of God seven times. Water will be pure and pleasant in taste. He will satiate every one. All people will put faith in him. His message will help people in fulfilment of their wishes in life. God gave me this knowledge. My skin shrivelled through fright. I lost my reason. I related my dream. I went to the mountain passes of Makka, the Haram to meet every Makkan to report to him about my dream. He said, " This ". They kissed it and perambulate it. Then Abu Kabis went up. Slowly and slowly, people began to gather around him. Their efforts to get knowledge were delayed for a while till they ascended the peak of the mountain and assembled on sides. 'Abdul Muttalib stood up, raised up his grandson Muḥammed on his shoulder. He was then a lad on the way to adolescence. He said, " Oh God! blacken the sky with cloud and remove hardships of people. You are the Knower; you are the Giver not the restrainer. These are your servants and slaves with apologies in Your Holy Place imploring you in scarcity and famine. Listen to our prayers,* Oh God and pour down rain copiously and abundantly. It began to rain in cats and dogs and the valley was flooded with flowing water. I then heard the Kuraish chiefs expressing fear. Harab bin Umiya and Hishām bin al-Mughira saying to 'Abdul Muttalib, " Congratulations to you, Abā al-Bathā. It is said in that respect:

* Original Text, p. 124.

With the Praise, Allāḥ watered our city
We had lost life, Rain revived it
It did well with water. It is called flood
It flowed; animals and trees live with it.

Amir-ul-Muminin Abu Hafs ' Umar bin-ul-Khattāb, may God be pleased with him, came out to implore Allāh for rain. He was accompanied by 'Abbās, son of 'Abdul Muttalib, may God be pleased with him. He said, " Oh God! we approach you with the uncle of your Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him and his other relatives. They glorified God for whatever He said was nothing but truth. " But the wall belonged to minor orphans in the city. Beneath it, there was a treasure for them Their father was pious. You preserved it for them due to piety of their father. Oh God! preserve your Prophet in his uncle for he has guided us with him to you seeking intercession and forgiveness. He came before the people and said, " Your Lord has pardoned you. Verily, He is the Forgiving. The narrator said, " I saw 'Abbās. He was of advanced age. His eyes were moist. He moved his fore-finger over his heart and he said, " Oh God! You are the shepherd; do not neglect the misguided, do not permit broken-hearted persons to go to place of ruin. The small beseeched and the great implored. They raised their plaint, " you know the secret and the hidden! Oh Lord! help them for they seek your help before they get despaired and perish, for oh God! You do not disappoint but those who reject faith." Clouds began to be formed. People began to say, see, see. They assembled, became wet and moved in rain with blow of wind. They achieved their hearts' desire through Abbās. Their chief placed their faith in him and they addressed him with joy as " Sāki of Holy Places. " It was said, " O Helper! through Muḥammed and his descendants come to my help with your Mercy, oh the Most Merciful! Jahza wrote to Ibn-ul-Mu'atazz," I was on the way to the Amir when I followed passage of clouds. It gave me relief from hardship. He then wrote to him, in case joy departs one day from you, your words will not die with me. " Peace be on you. Ignorant men of the Dark Age, when overtaken by hardships and calamities due to severe searcity of water, collect as many cows as they can. They then tie them up at the extrem-* ity of valleys and mountain passes where there are thickets of trees. They climb up a rugged mountain and set fire to the place. They raise a clamour with prayer and humility. They do this for invocation of rain. Dāwood Tāi said,

Men not successful in their efforts
Try to get rain in time from bitter trees.
Do you make the herd of cows
A means between God and rain.

* Original Text, p. 125.

Muslims would be benefited if they came out with alms on the day of invocation for rain. Prayers will bring them nearer to God. It was a good deed. But I do not think they did it. May be, they may have gone out with penitence but with no avail. But like cow, they are with Islām. Those who approach with humility, implore God for rain by reciting the chapter on cow in the Holy Kurān. They are with the 'Cow' as in the Dark Age. It rains and the place prospers. Usually it does not rain in populous places. Rain also causes harm. Hence citizens detest rain with hatred. Mercy of Allāh is a cover for people otherwise they will be afflicted with punishment.

People whose land is not fertile is not happy
Rain brings fertility to the world.
Hearts leap with joy with news of rain
Like light in darkness and dryness in trouble.

May God be merciful to Zamakhshari. He collected many wonderful and rare verses in spring season. He was born in Zamakhshar on Wednesday, 17th Rajab, 467 (1074). After his return from the Holy Makka, he died on the night of 'Arfa, 538 (1144) in Khwārazm Georginia. Some one wrote an elegiac poem, one line of it is—

Tears flow down for the generous scholars of Makka
Grief for separation of Jār-ul-lāh Maḥmud.

Zamakhshari wrote in his book 'Kashshāf', a commentary of the Holy Kurān. He wrote the following couplets while explaining, "Verily, God disdains not to use the similitude of things lowest (such as a mosquito) and the highest."

He who sees a mosquito extending its wings
In darkness of the darkest night,
Sees distance of veins in its sacrifice
And brain in bones of a bee
Forgive the servant who repents in old age
For what he did in early life.

Ibn-i-Khallikān said in his history that some of the scholars of Aleppo com-* piled their works wherein it is stated that Zamakhshari wished to inscribe some verses on his tomb. Abā Mudhir says,

What are these pearls which
Dropped from your eyes in silence
I said that these pearls which
Abu Mudhir suspended in my ears fall from eyes.

Ibn-i-Khallikān said that it was like the statement of Kāḍi Nāsehuddin al-Arjāni. I do not know from what poem the following lines are taken. They were contemporaries.

* Original Text, p. 126.

Tale of their separation made me weep
When my old friend gave me this secret
He was that precious pearl which
Spread out in my ear from my eye.

Kādi Ābdur Rahim the scholar says:

I cast a second glance
First was sufficient and second enough
In my heart is a deposited talk for you
I did not abandon love which I deposited
Remove knots from my eye-lids
This is what I deposited in my ear.

Zamakhshari:

Every excellence has sublimity
I acquired learning from more brilliant person
I did not store anything other than knowledge
For knowledge is a treasure which does not perish.

Ibn-i-Khallikān said, "I heard from certain Shaikhs that Zamakhshari had one leg. Hence he walked with supports of a wooden stick. The cause of its loss is said to be his travels in Khwārazm in heavy snow-fall and intense cold. He had in his hand a memorandum by way of evidence of its loss. When one is not acquainted with fact, there is likelihood for him to conjecture something else for loss of a leg. I saw in some histories of later authors that when Zamakhshari entered Baghdād, he met a Hanafi theologian, al Dāmghāni. He questioned him about the cause of loss of leg. He replied, "Ill-prayers of the mother. I caught a sparrow in childhood and tied its legs. It fell down from my hand. I learnt about it. It entered into a hole. I pulled it out from the hole. Thus its leg got broken. My mother got pained for it and remarked, * "May God cut off your leg as you cut off the leg of this sparrow. When I attained to the age of acquisition of higher learning I went to Bukhārā for it. On the way, I fell off from the riding animal which severely fractured my leg. It had its reaction. Its amputation became essential. God knows the best about accuracy of this statement. Zamakhshari was of Mu'tazalite faith of which he made no secret. It is related about him that his friend came to see him and sought his permission for entry into house. It was said as to why he sought permission. Tell him Abul Kāsim Mu'tazali at the door. He is the author of: Al-Kashshāf, a commentary on the Holy Kurān; none wrote like it before him. His other books are: al-Fāik, a commentary on hadis, Asās-ul-Balāghat on lexicography, Asāmi-ul-Riwā, Sharh-i-Sibuyah, Proverbs of Arabia, Diwān-ut-Tamsil, Shakāik-un-Nu'mān fi Hakāik-ul Nu'man; Shāfi-ul-Ayy min Kalām-i-Shāfai',

* Original Text, p. 127.

al-Kistās fil ' Urudh ; Diwan-ur-Rasail and Diwan-ush-Sher. He travelled to Makka and lived there for some years. He was therefore called Jār-ul-lāh (neighbour of Allāh). This digression to the subject of imploring rain comes to an end. It figured in the account of Muzaffar. It should not cause surprise for one thing springs up from another. After satiation with water, sloth overpowered him a little. His stomach became weak and with its weakness, he complained of physical weakness. In the meantime, he convened a majlis of sayyids, chiefs, mashāikh of religion and Sufis of certainty. They talked about welfare in the next world. He also talked of traditions of the Prophet in regard to the Mercy of Allāh, the Holy, and His obligations upon him. He then began to describe the obligations and bounties of God bestowed on him. He acknowledged them with humble thanks. He cited the tradition he had heard from his teacher, Masnad-ul-'Ali Magducddin who had heard from his spiritual guides. He retained it in his memory as authentic and reliable from his early life to death. He had learnt by rote the meaning of the verce. " What obligations of God are on me, " its commentary and the cause of its revelation. He learnt the art of recitation (of the Qurān), theology as well as the meaning of the verse " What God intends by good deeds according to religion. " He also spent much time to know about its practice by the sufis. He occupied himself with putting into practice the rules of holy men for purification of souls. It has been said, " He who imitated a community, belongs to it. " He always wished for * their blessings. He had started reading " Ma'ālim-ut-Tanzil." He was about to complete it but then he hoped to finish it in paradise, God willing. He requested people not to forget him in prayers. His limbs had become weak. There was no remedy for them except the mercy of God. Those who were present, said prayers for length of his life.

(In 931 (1524), Bahādur requested his father to equal his allowance with that of his brother, Sikander because that was not sufficient for him. Muzaffer remained silent. Bahādur left for Dungerpur in the month of Rajab of that year. Its ruler was Rāwal Udeysingh. He then went to Chitor. His brother's son was (with the Rānā) as hostage. He was one of the captives of Ahmednagar when a war had taken place between the Rānā and Mubāriz-ul-Mulk. The mother of the Rānā learnt about gathering of companions of the killed in that battle to murder him. She had a dagger in hand. She said, " Call them " but none came forward, otherwise she would have killed some one of them. The Rānā came and suppressed those people. He then went to Mewāt and thence to Sultān Ibrāhim at Pānipat where he was at war with Bābur, the Mughal. He applauded his arrival. One day, it so happened that some Afghans were captured by the Mughals near the camp. They plundered the surrounding places and returned with the captives. They did not pursue them.

* Original Text, p. 128.

Bahādur pursued in their wake, found them and killed many of them. The rest fled away. He returned with the captives. None of them was killed. He became great in the hearts of the Afghans. They loved him and praised him. Ibrāhim was affected by disposition of the people towards him, felt jealousy. Bahādur understood it. He went towards Jaunpur. The amirs wanted to dethrone Ibrāhim. They heard about Bahādur in the army of Ibrāhim (of Delhi). They sent messengers to invite him for occupation of the throne. Their emissary Pāyandahkhān arrived at Bāghpattah on behalf of amirs of Jaunpur. He met Bahādur at that place and delivered the message. In the meantime, Bahādur went with him to Jaunpur when by chance, Haram Khān* came as an emissary from Gujarat giving him sad news about his father, Sultan Muzaffer's death. Amirs had differed among themselves about Sikander's succession to the throne. He acquainted himself about the condition in Gujarat. He apologised the emissary for what had happened in his country. He started for Gujarat. On his arrival at Chitor, 'Ali Shir b. Muinuddin the Afghan met him. He had come from Gujarat after the martyrdom of Sikander. On hearing this news, he became strong in determination. He left certain persons to bring his son Tājkhan. His colour had changed. His son Ibrāhim Khān was with him. When he reached Dungerpur, he was much affected by it.)

In the year 932, (1525) on his departure from Chāmpāner, he felt symtoms of bidding adieu for permanent separation from the world, its people and mostly from good deeds. He was on the way to Ahmedābād. He halted there and made many visits to blessed shrines and practised many good deeds. He had a very learned man of good character, and miraculous eloquence, pious, abstemious Khurram Khān. One day, he said to him, "I found what influenced me first was deserving charity. I was between excess of expenditure from the Public Treasury and deficiency in preventing people from it. I do not know what reply I will give when questioned. Now I am on departure from the world and entry into the next world. The best state, therein, is hope. Hence I hope that God the Holy will forgive me by His kindness and generosity. Arise, go to the Public Treasury and take from it whatever you can and distribute it among needy persons. Perhaps God will accept it. He is the Most Merciful among the Merciful. He then summoned his son Sikander, gave him advice, willed to be kind to his brothers, seven in number. He wept, embraced him, shed tears and prayed on his behalf. In the last days, it was Friday, he saw the animals in stables. He saw elephants and patted them. He stood at the place and then lay down till sunset. He sent for water, performed ablutions, said prayers, stood on the prayer-carpet towards the Holy House. Ladies gathered around him. They despaired, wept and lamented with grief on his separation. Afterwards they were not to meet him. He ordered them to exer-

* Original Text, p. 129.

cise patience which is an order for reward. He consoled them. He gave them* from the treasure without any distinction. He bade them adieu and prayed to God on their behalf. He came to his throne-chamber and refused to sit on it. He said to those who were present that he sat upon this ancestral throne at the time of allegiance to the Sultanat. I sat upon it at my turn. He called his son to sit upon it. It is blessed with the influence of his ancestors. Bring to me another bed. He slept over it. It was brought and he sat upon it for a while. Raja Muḥammed Husain titled Ashja' ul-Mulk approached him. He said to him, "God had raised your status in learning. This is your service to me. I desire you to be present at the time of my death, recite the chapter of Yāsin by my side, bathe me with your hands and make it easy for me. He obliged his men, redeemed him and said prayers on his behalf. He then heard the call to prayer. He said, "Is it in time?" Asad-ul-Mulk replied, "This is the call for preparation for Friday prayers. It is before time as usual." He said, "But Zuhr prayer it is. I am near you. At the time of 'Asr prayer, I will be with my Lord in paradise, God willing." He then permitted those who were present to join in Friday prayers. He sent for the prayer-carpet, said prayers, and performed invocations to God for His acceptance. His soul was repentent to Him. He prayed who was to leave the palace and to be placed in the grave. His last prayer was, "Oh Lord! You gave me a kingdom and taught me the interpretation of dreams; the Creator of skies and the earth! You are my Lord in the world and the next, die me as a Muslim and join me with the pious." He got up from the prayer-carpet. He said that God invited him and so he lay down on the cot. His senses got collected. His face was attentive towards the Qiblah and he said, "There is no God but Allāh, Muhammed is messenger of Allāh." His breath stopped. The priest invited him from the pulpit. This happened on 2nd of Jamādi II of the above year, 932 (1525). May God make this grave pure! He reigned for fourteen years and nine months. His coffin was carried to Sarkhej and buried by the side of his father under a dome. A canopy was erected over his grave as usual. He was a wise king, perfectly virtuous. He was just, learned and put into practice what he learnt. He was a rider and a syce. He was a valiant swordsman. He did everything for the sake of Allāh. He was humble and brave, clement and submissive, frightful and generous. He was steadfast in religion. It is reported that one day the bailiff of the Qāzi † came to summon him in Chāmpaner. Some one had complained against him in connection with purchase of horses. As soon as he received the intelligence, he responded to the bailiff in his private capacity. He went walking to the court of the Qāzi and sat along with his complainant. The merchant claimed the price of horses and he proved his claim. The merchant refused to leave the court without payment of price. The Qāzi ordered the payment. The Sultān

* Original Text, p. 130.

† Original Text, p. 131.

asked for some time to pay the price to the merchant. The Qāzi detained the Sultān in the court and saluted him. He did not move from the court till the payment was made to the litigant. He sat with him. The Sultān obeyed his order. When the price was paid to the merchant and the Qāzi questioned him, "Is anything of your claim left?" He said, "no." The Qāzi then got up in the court, saluted the Sultān as usual, bowed his head with apology. The Sultān arose from the court with his litigant. He caught hold of the Qāzi's hand, made him sit in the court as before and sat by his side and thanked him for not flattering him in doing a right thing. If you were not just in character out of regard for me, there would be no justice from you, and you would have descended to the rank of common people. I would have been disappointed of you in administration of justice to others. May God reward you with good from me with your knowledge of rights. A person like you deserves to be a Qāzi. The Qāzi praised the Sultān and said "You deserve to be a Sultān." He got a ship constructed and loaded it with costly cloth to be distributed among the residents of the holy cities out of charity. He despatched that ship to a Hijāz port, Jiddah. He made it and what was in it as a reward for them. He had built a caravanserai with a madrasa in it. The building and other things were religiously endowed. He had fixed religious endowment to be sent to Mecca in every season for the teachers, pupils, resident-students, servants, as well as those who were with them, besides the people of the holy cities. It was continuous in his days. His good relics in the holy cities are copies of the Qurān written in gold water with the pen in Sulus letters. The Hanafi Imām particularly is appointed for recitation. There are four-cornered houses in that locality. They are meant for reciters and others in the Holy cities. The reciter, the other recitor, the Shaikh of the house, distributors, Hāfiz, missionary etc., water-carriers, watchman, cleaners etc., all of them are paid by him. I have seen that. This is * continuous as an evidence of Sultān Maḥmud, may mercy of God be upon them and their forefathers.

* Original Text, p. 132.

## CHAPTER X

### *Saltanat of Badr-ul-Ma'āli Ziauddin Sikander Shāh b. Muzaffer Shāh.*

As stated in the account of his father before that he was made the heir-apparent and successor after him. He gave him advice. He said to him, "Oh son! this is my last meeting with you. At first, I aimed at giving you the benefit of improvement of your character. You disappointed me therein by being light. I asked aid from God, it annoyed you. Do not forget your share of the world. Do good as God has done good to you."

Oh man! place your feet on the lowest ground
Let head of ambition be over Pleiades.

It is narrated in tradition from the Prophet, may place and benediction of God be on him, that he said, "A mountain of good of the world will reach you in the next world when you leave it." It is narrated from 'Ali may God ennoble his face that the world is a field for the next world. Mahmud Warrāq says:

The world and its days do not satisfy you
It is a blame. Verily its circle will be ruptured
He whom the world ennobled and made superior
Verily, the next world will be restricted for him.

In your conduct be in it as said by Jesus, may peace and benedictions be upon him and upon our Prophet, that the world is a bridge, cross over it but do not inhabit it. The advice of Abul 'Abbās Muhammed b. Sabih al-Kufi al-Ma'ruf known as Ibn-i-Sammāk to the Khalifah Hārun al-Rashid al-Abbāsi when he visited him was that God the Holy had given the world to you with all its pleasures, purchase some of them for yourself but do not value it over your value. Do not praise it above your praise. This is and I expect you to be for me. Good deeds alone will remain. Do not forget me in prayers.

When Sikander Shāh intended to sit upon the throne, he caught hold of the hand of al-Yamani son of his aunt (father's sister) al-Majlis-i-Girami Fathe Khān son of Fateh Khān and of Bālisari al-Masnad-i-'Ali Majuddin Muḥammed Khudāwand Khān and sat upon the throne. The first who saluted him on his ascension were Majlis-i-'Āli and Masnad-i-'Āli. They were followed by 'Imād-ul-Mulk Khush Qadam Sultāni. The accesion took place on 2nd Jamādi II of* 932 (1525).

* Original Text. p. 133.

On the 5th of Jamādi II of the above year, he went to Ahmadābād from Chāmpāner. He passed by the blessed mausoleum of the saint of divine knowledge, godly revelation, of endless elevated prophetic clemency, Burhānuddin Qutb-i-'Ālam, may his grave be sanctified and shrine of beneficence-giver of mysteries, source of lights, lord of evidences, Shāh Shaikh Jiv, son of the above Qutb, may his grave be sanctified. Bahādur, son of Muzaffer was his disciple. He was bold in conversation. He had foretold that my brother Bahādur would succeed to the throne. His friend experienced grief at these words. He did not repent out of pride. He was in the cavalcade of his king. Those who were his servants at Chāmpāner before he became the Sultān sported with the tongue. He promised the small ones from among his servants and not the great ones to be raised to the rank of Maleks and to be titled. Some of them said from amongst them that experienced swordsmen laid aside their swords or put them in their sheaths. He said, "He is so and so." The party which was experienced in swordsmanship kept aside their swords. They unanimously decided to remove their swords. They differed with regard to his successor. One of those who were disposed towards Bahādur and had written to him was the great Wazir Tāj Khān Narpāli. He was one of those who managed and administered state affairs. One from among those who were inclined towards Latif Khān b. Muzaffer was the great Wazir Qaisar Khān. He similarly managed state affairs. But the Masnad-i-'Āli Khudāwand Khān was in favour of dethronement. 'Imād-ul-Mulk rushed upon Sikandar in his nap and made him to suffer a loss in both the worlds by killing him. He seated on the throne a small child of Muzaffer and sought allegiance to him. Only a few of his companions responded to him. This event took place on the last day of Jamādi II of the above year (932). His father loved him for the sake of his mother Bibi Rāni. He was very handsome. He was addressed as Second Yusuf. It was stated before in the account of Muzaffer about Bahādur's departure from Delhi to Jaunpur and just then* his meeting the emissary from the Wazir. Along with the emissary, there came a messenger of Jaunpur with the offer of kingship. But he expressed regret to him. Bahādur was influenced by chaos in Gujarāt after his father and martyrdom of his brother. He wanted to make amends for that. He was the heir. He responded to him. He departed from Jaunpur and started for Gujarāt after preparations for kingship for him at Jaunpur. This kingdom formed part of Delhi kingdom to the end of the reign of Maḥmud b. Muḥammed b. Firoz Shāh al-Khurāsāni. It then separated from it and became independent in the reign of Ibrāhim b. Sikander.

* Original Text, p. 134.

## CHAPTER XI

### *History of Jaunpur*

The historian Husām Khān narrated that Mahmud Shāh, son of Muḥammed Shāh, son of Firoz Shāh al-Khurāsani, ruler of Delhi invested Sultān of the East Khwāja Jahān Firoz al-Tawāshi al-Firozi with authority and power over Jaunpur in 796 (1393). The Khutba was recited in the name of Maḥmud till the death of Sultān of the East in 802 (1399). After him, Mubārak Karanfal established his authority. He was the adopted son of Khwāja Jahān. He rode with an umbrella, recited Khutba in his own name and titled himself as Mubārak Shāh. He was the first independent ruler with recitation of Khutba and coinage in his name from 802 to his death in 804 (1401). His brother Ibrāhim Shāh succeeded him. He was younger than he in age. He marched for conquest of Kanauj in 809 (1407-08). But Maḥmud son of Muḥammed repulsed him and so he returned. He made an assault on Delhi on the shore of Jamnā in 812 (1409-10). At this time, Abul Mujāhid Muzaffar Shāh, ruler of Gujarat was in the vicinity of Ajmer. He heard about his assault. He marched to his succour in consequence of a tribal pact with Firoz Shāh. Hence Ibrāhim had to retreat.

In 831 (1428), a war took place between him and Mubārak Shāh son of Khizr Khān, ruler of Delhi in the proximity of Biana. Both continued to fight for the whole day. Night separated them. In the morning, Ibrāhim moved to his kingdom.

In 837 (1433-34), Ibrāhim led an expedition on Kālpi. Its ruler Hoshang al-Ghori received report of his arrival and so he retreated.

Ibrāhim Shāh died at Jaunpur in 844 (1440-41). His son Maḥmud-bin-Ibrāhim succeeded him. He occupied Kālpi during his regime. Maḥmud * Khalji assaulted him. But they got reconciled for its ruler Khān Jahān happened to be Khalji and he had defected him. Maḥmud then got engaged in religious war. He conquered Jahātā but died at Awdah in 862 (1457-58). In this very year, his son Muḥammed-bin-Maḥmud succeeded him. He was dethroned the very year. His brother Husain-bin-Maḥmud ascended the throne under tutelage of his mother due to his young age. When he established himself independent, he conquered Tirhut and Khora of Rāi Bhil. He then occupied Bhakkar and Mosal etc. He attacked Udana with three hundred thousand horses and stretched his hand in plunder and returned. Again he came back but peace was concluded on payment of tribute.

* Original Text, p. 135.

In 869 (1464-65), he built the fort of Banāras and marched against Karālir (Gwalior). After a war, peace was made on payment of tribute.

In 878 (1473), his wife Maleka Jahān, daughter of Sultān 'Alauddin-bin-Muḥammed Shāh, ruler of Delhi ruled over his territory. He made an attack upon her and an encounter took place between them on the river Jamna with one hundred thousand and forty thousand horses and one thousand and four hundred elephants. Sultān Bahlol Lodi, its ruler displayed humility towards him and ceded to him the rest of territory contenting himself with the kingdom of Delhi only. Bahlol, one night, saw Shaikh-ush-Shuyukh of Delhi in a dream. He was a saint of wonders and miracles, the East of lights, Mawlānā Bakhtiyār, Kutb-i-Delhi may his grave be sanctified. He gave him good news of victory. He awoke with joy and determined upon war with him with great hope and easy heart. Surroundings of Delhi had been ruined during the regime of Muḥammed Shāh son of Tughlak Shāh. Ruin and desolation continued. An account of its causes will be mentioned in the second daftar of this history. It was difficult for the army of Husain to get fodder and provision except from a distance of two or three days' journey. Most of it was subjected to pillage and many of them came under the banner of Bahlol. A deep river prevented eighteen thousand horsemen to cross it without boats. A powerful malek got * disappointed after he heard good news of victory in dream; he crossed the river on his horse by swimming on unawareness of Husain and died. Most of his companions had gone out in search of fodder. Under such a state of affairs, Ḥusain fled to Jaunpur with his wife leaving behind him most of equipage. It is said that his wife was captured but Bahlol treated her with regard and due decorum and sent her to Jaunpur with her all appurtanances. Sultān Ḥusain made preparations, came to Delhi and Bahlol fought with him and routed him. Again he equipped his army, arrived but Bahlol defeated him. This time, he pursued him to Jaunpur, dominated over him. Ḥusain withdrew himself from his kingdom to an unknown place. Bahlol abandoned pursuit after him. He seated his son Bārbak Shāh-bin-Bahlol as Sultān at Jaunpur and returned to Delhi. Bārbak Shāh became suspicious of his brother Sikander-bin-Bahlol during the regime of his saltanat. He agreed with aforesaid Ḥusain to be with him for the conquest of Delhi when Jaunpur would be his. This news reached Sikander. He forestalled his brother and dominated himself at Jaunpur. Sultān Ḥusain was on his side. After a short time, Sultān Ḥusain died in the year 905 (1499).

Sikander seated his son Jalāluddin-bin-Sikander as Sultān of Jaunpur in 923 (1517).

Sikander, son of Bahlol died this year. He was succeeded by his son Ibrāhim. In the early part of his regime, he removed his brother Jalāluddin

* Original Text, p. 136.

from Jaunpur and appointed an 'Âmil (governor) from his side. When Ibrâhim was killed in battlefield most of the Afghāns fled from Bābur and assembled at Jaunpur. Bābur conquered it in 934 (1527).

In 935 (1528), the Afghāns gathered around Maḥmud, son of Sikander, son of Bahlol and made an attempt to recover Jaunpur from the Mughals. Bābur came and drove them away. Sixty thousand Afghan horsemen gathered together and recovered it from him.

In 939 (1532), Humāyun son of Bābur stormed Jaunpur and killed Sultān of the Afghāns in battlefield and regained it. Then Sher Shāh Sur recovered it during his regime. It remained under his son Salim Shāh bin Sher Shāh. But it was incorporated in Delhi Saltanat during the regime of Sultān Jalāluddin Akbar as it was. The kingdom belongs to God, the Holy, the * Almighty.

* Original Text, p. 137.

## CHAPTER XII

### *An Account of Conquest of Sind*

The historians relate that Sind, after its conquest by the Ṣahāba may God be pleased with them, remained in the hand of Bani Jamim, may God be pleased with him. The kingdom was then ruled by a tribe of local residents called Somargān, nearly for five hundred years. This tribe was followed by the tribe of Samkān for a certain period. During the regime of Jām Firoz, Khan-i-Khānān brother of Khizr Khān, ruler of Delhi ruled over it along with Multān. Local residents then recovered it. After the marriage of Bibi Rāni daughter of uncle of Jām Firoz with Sultān Mazaffar in the year 924 ( 1518 ), Jām Ṣalāḥuddin, a relative of Jām Firoz came to Chāmpāner and met Muzaffar, who favoured him with glory and grace and precious gifts. Similarly, Bibi Rāṇi gave him much wealth. She requested Muzaffar to give him an umbrella which was given to him by him. He returned to Sind this very year. Whenever a reference is made to the daughter of Sultān of Sind as well as the Sultāns of Gujarāt, Sind was under the Gujarāti Sultāns due to its marriage relation. Just as Sind was an appendage of Gujarāt, Multān waa sn appendage to Sind due to its Governor being under the ruler of Sind as over-lord. Its queen was the mother of Sultān Sikander son of Muzaffar and so I made mention of Sind and Multān in this book. The historian related that when Jām Ṣalāhuddin returned to Sind, Jām Firoz was there. Firoz went out to some side and Salāḥuddin entered it, Firoz was the rightful claimant. His exit from the kingdom was against support of Wazir who formerly was Wazir to his father. He became acquainted with this fact and so he returned to Sind. entered it and Jām Salāḥuddin came out to Gujarāt.

In 926 ( 1519 ), Jām Ṣalāḥuddin conquered Sind with the help of Sultān Muzaffar. Jām Firoz went to the Mughals, sought their help and returned to Sind. A war took place between him and Ṣalāhuddin. It was a fierce battle wherein Jām Ṣalāḥuddin was killed. The kingdom passed on to Firoz. He desired to be Sultān; passion subdued him, his self goaded him on for command and lust for power reached its climax as it is said * :

> One who seeks shelter with 'Umar in time of hardship
>
> Is like one who seeks asylum with fire from intense heat.

When the Mughals entered Sind, they coveted it. They beguiled the Wazir Daryā Khān. He was the life of it. They killed him in a perfidious manner. Jām Firoz became suspicious of them. He came to Gujarāt, met Muzaffar and

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* **Original Text, p. 138.**

requested him to obtain the kingdom for him from great kings. This happened in the year 929 (1522). After the death of Muzaffar, he returned to his land and established authority over it on a side of it. The Mughals assembled to fight with him. He returned to Gujarāt and obtained favour from its Sultān Bahādur son of Muzaffar. It was in the year of 935 (1528). He was passionately attached to Sind and one day he made mention of it in the majlis of Bahādur. Bahādur ordered to facilitate its occupation and promised him to recover Sind for him.

In 939 (1532), the daughter of Jām Firoz was married to Bahādur. On account of this union, there was a strong desire for Sind. In the meantime, Rumi Khān displayed ingratitude. Cities and their residents underwent a change. Face of the earth was covered with vicious dust. Jām Firoz was in despair, and went back. Sind passed off from his family to the Mughals till this day. The Mughals gathered together for establishment of strong authority from the time of Shāh Mir to that of Jāni Beg. They moved with the world as subjects of Sultān of Hind Jalāluddin Akbar. Everyone who desired the world, passed away. Allāh is Holy and His kingdom is permanent.

*Some account of Multān*

Husām Khān relates in his history Bahādur Shāhi that during the period of chaos at Delhi, Buddhan Khān was an Amir at Multān on behalf of the Sultān. He became an independent ruler in 841 (1438) and styled himself as Sultān Maḥmud. He continued Khutba and Sikka in his name till his death in 885 (1480). His son Kutbuddin succeeded him. During his regime the Khalji came to Multān. He made his appearance and then departed.

Kutbuddin died in 892 (1487) and was succeeded by his son Sultān Ḥusain who died in 894 (1489). He was succeeded by his son Muḥammed. During his regime, the Mughals made their appearance in the precincts of Multān. He overpowered them. He died in 931 (1524). He was succeeded by his brother Firoz-bin-Husain. He died in 932 (1525). Husain son of Firoz succeeded him. During his regime, Shāh Mir al-Mughli made his appearance. Wars took place. Husain was ultimately captured. He died a martyr. The Mughals dominated over Multān in 933 (1526).

## CHAPTER XIII

*Saltanat-ul-Muzaffer-ul-Ghāzi Ṣamṣām-ud-din Bahādur Shāh b. Muzaffer Shāh al-Sa'eed al-Shahid*

The historian of Sultān Bahādur has narrated that he turned his horse from Jaunpur to come to his ancestral kingdom, he neither stopped journeying * nor halted. He received representations and the soldiers began to collect around him until he came to the ancient capital of Naharwāla Patan. Tāj Khān Narpāli met him there with a canopy and all other regal paraphernalia. The other amirs joined him in his wake. Bahādur then paid visits to the tombs of the great Muzaffer, and Muhammed b. Muzaffer as well as the blessed shrines of the saints and sought help and blessings from them. He started for Aḥmedābād and halted at Sarkhej to seek blessings by a visit to its lord, Qutb-us-Sālikin, Ghaus-ul-'Ālamin, Barkat-ud-Dunyā wad-Din Shihāb-ul-Hudā Mawlānā al-Shaikh Aḥmed al-Mashur Kanjki, may his grave be sanctified. He then visited the tombs of his father and grand-father and started from the mausoleum to the capital of Aḥmedabad and entered it from the Kālupur gate. At his arrival, he visited the tomb of the founder of the city, Sultān Aḥmad and sought blessings from him. He entered the Jamē 'Masjid, and said prayers of thanks. He ordered presents to be given to mujāwirs ( those who looked after the tomb ), servants and other attendants and fulfilled their needs. He rode to the capital and ascended the throne in the blessed month of Ramzān, 93? ( 1526 ). He then proceeded to Muḥammedabad-Chāmpāner. He passed by Rasulābād and alighted there for a visit to Qutb-uz-Zamān, means of desires and safety, Mawlānā Manjhan Jiv Shāh 'Ālam, lord of cities, blessings of creatures, † may his grave be sanctified. He then sought help and blessings and rode to Vatwā. He dismounted from the horse for a visit to the shrine of the illumined mausoleum of the master of revelation and mysteries, Qutb-ul-Wilāyat, Talisman of favour, Burhān-ud-din Mawlānā Qutb-i-'Ālam, may his grave be sanctified. He then sought help and blessings from his spiritual guide, Qutb-us-Sālikin Mawlānā Shāh Shaikh Jiv, may his grave be sanctified. He distributed alms to the high and the low, said prayers of thanks in the mausoleum's mosque and rode to Chāmpāner. Ministers except 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Qaisar Khān and their party, met him. The day on which Bahādur entered the city Masnad-ul-Āl Muhammed Majd Khudāwand Khān waited at the door of his house on account of weakness. His house was situated on the road of Bahādur. When he passed by him, he saluted him and entered his house. He welcomed the Sultān to the Dār-us-Saltanat. When he reached the door, he was hear

* Original Text, p. 139. † Original Text, p. 140.

saying, " Enter with safety and security. " He replied, " All praise be to God Who made our place of residence legal through His beneficence. " When he entered the place of Sikander and saw his blood, vomited on the wall, he wept bitterly for him and ordered 'Imād-ul-Mulk and his accomplices to be brought immediately before him. Bahādur stepped forward to the throne-chamber, sat upon the throne and received salutations from those who were present. In the meantime, 'Imād-ul-Mulk was brought. He was ordered to be blown up from mouth of a cannon. It was done with him as is done by a cotton-carder with cotton by his teasing bow. He ordered others to be put to death. ( On Bahādur's arrival from Delhi to Gujarāt, he started for Chāmpāner. When he crossed the Mahi, those who gathered around him of the army ran with 400 horse and elephants. He crossed the river with him to Hālol. First of all, he visited the tomb of his brother Sikander. He then ordered Tāj Khān to proceed to Chāmpāner with 300 horsemen, to guard the house of 'Imād-ul-Mulk lest he might abscond. 5000 of his companions had collected around 'Imād-ul-Mulk for his help. When they heard about Bahādur's arrival at Hālol, they deserted him. Khwajah Manek b. Jalāl and Yusuf b. Mubāriz-ul-Mulk said to him, " Why did you not go out when you knew that he would not spare you ? You are responsible for what has happened." He replied, " I am not responsible for it. If it were* not for the fact that when I saw the Sultān in person and others responding, how can I go out when he was before me and on all sides. I could see nothing but swords which stopped me from movement. It was due to that. It was out of claim for the pardon and that too like Sikander. On the arrival of Tāj Khān, I hid myself in the house of the Kotwal, Shāh Jiv b. Siddiq. People collected around the house of the Malek, plundered his members, and wealth. The Sultān arrived in the wake of this. When he passed by the house of Khudāwand Khān, he kissed his stirrup, went with him and in a short time, the slaves of Khudāwand Khān were made to be present. He was pinioned in a worse condition, bare-headed he was taken to the Dār-us-saltanat ( palace ). Bahādur then ordered his imprisonment in a room of his palace " Dilkushā ). He said to Tāj Khān. " Ask him why he did not kill him. His reply was that all the amirs were in favour of killing him. Tāj Khān said to him, " It was your house; the house of the husband of the nurse. I was a slave to him. How can I agree on his murder ? I remained silent. " Husām Khān narrates in his history that Bahādur sent him to summon Tāj Khān from his palace of Dilkushā. When he arrived, I showed him the place of murder of Sikander. He heaved a deep sigh. He said " this is the wicked slave who will be hanged tomorrow at the gate of the kingdom." It is said that when he was brought to the place of execution and the rope was placed round his neck to be raised, he was asked to repeat the formula for evidence of the Unity of God. He said,

* Original Text, p. 141.

"My tongue does not help me." I said, "I belong to God and verily to Him." Alas for the hardship of next world. God! Protect the followers of Muḥammed from similar things. It was 'Imād-ul-Mulk Khus Qadam the first amir who climbed up for the conquest of Mandu mountain. He fought in the path of God and the first amir who entered the fort-gate with his sword followed by Sultan Muzaffer. His status was excellent and eminent. He was punished in the world for his deed. God is of ample forgiveness).

He then sent some amirs against his brother Latif Khān b. Muzaffer who was in occupation of Sultānpur. Qaisar Khān and his companions gathered around him. In this war, he fell down from horse-back and was seriously wounded. He was captured. On his arrival at Murgh Darrah, he died. His coffin was brought to Hālol. Bahādur destroyed his other brothers. The only surviving brother was at Mandu. He wrote to Sultān 'Alāuddin Maḥmud Khalji to send him to him but Maḥmud refused. This was the first cause of * unpleasantness between him and Khalji. He then paid attention to those who were with him in a foreign country. He raised their rank. Khurram Khān was one of them. He bestowed upon him the amirship of arsenal and the title of Khān-i-Khānān. So said the historian. The number of armed soldiers rose up to one lac. The Wazir Tāj Khān Narpāli was the wisest and most perfect man. He submitted resignation of his post. He requested grant of a village for maintenance. The Sultān conciliated him as far as possible by giving him in addition to what was granted to him by his father. Abu Isḥāq al-Ṣābi said, the king is more justified to fulfil the wishes of his men than by satisfying him with wealth. His authority was made more extensive. His glory and worth were not possessed by any one nor he had given these things to many. His example is like the example of a traveller on a distant road who will like to have a favour of a near horse rather than the favour of a ridden horse. He apologised and refused because he wanted to lead the life of piety. He was very serious for what he had determined as has been said

> Aloofness from the world, verily, for you is
> Exit from the world and you are aloof.

He responded to it. He determined what was determined. He renounced the world and came out from his house with his family, lived in a village he had demanded, with safety, security and nobleness.
Some one has composed against seclusion

> Safety from night and its passage
> If it does not pass with a state ever-changing.

There is truth and correctness in what is said. The world is not without honey and righteousness. A discourse for every place. Men for every state. A decline

* Original Text, p. 142.

for every perfection. The kingdom belongs to God, the Almighty. A lesson to Abi Muslim, Tāhir bin Ḥusain, Māmun shedding tears will be sufficient to men of intelligence. And from what I saw in the Deccan in near future will suffice as a reap from security. Saif-ul-Muluk Ulugh Khāni was noted for prudence and resoluteness. He had determined to dethrone Ismā'il and assign sovereignty to Burhān. There was nothing for him except separation of self after a long stay in prison. In a miserable state, he did trust any one until it became a lesson of the world

Woe to the mean world *
Malignity in deed and desire
Life is stuffed with
Grief and its end is death.

I relate to you something about the condition of its seekers. Khwānd Mir narrates in his history Ḥabib-us-Siyar about Abu Muslim. He mentions about his relationship with Ḥamza bin Ḥusain. He was a descendent of Godrez the Persian. From another account he traced his descent from Buzarjmaher Ḥakim. He was born in Ispahān but grew up at Kufa. His name was Ibrāhim and appellation (kuniyat) Abu Ishāk. Hamza was born in 100 H. When he attained to the age of nineteen, the nakibs of the 'Abbasides arrived with him to Ibrahim, the Imām. The Imām (chief) ordered him to change his name and surname for achievement of what he intended. He chose the appellation of Abā Muslim and the name of 'Abdur Rahmān. When the Imām noticed signs of nobility in his appearance and felicity in forehead, he ordered him to become a shia and sent him to Khurāsān. The missionaries Kaḥtaba bin Shabib and Sulaimān b. Kathir lived there. It happened in 124. After his arrival in Khurāsān, the shias met him. They started to train him in Da'wat (mission) first secretly and then publicly till he determined to go out. He ordered them to come to him in one coloured garments. They did so. After change of colours, they came to him in black colour. A kind of fear entered into his heart due to black colour. He chose it and ordered them for it. It is stated in the History of Persia that Godrej had originated the custom of wearing black dress in mourning for Siyāwash, Sultān of Persia. Abā Muslim originated wearing of black dress for going out for missionary work. He usually went out at the close of Ramdhān of 129. When he arrived in the vicinity of Merw, he wrote to the Amir Naṣr bin Tayyār to accept the da'wat and ordered a big fire to be kindled in the camp. After eight or eighteen months Naṣr sent his mamluk (slave) Yazid to prepare for war. It was a first army for war. Abu Muslim sent Mālik bin Haitham al-Khazāi' against him. Yazid surrendered himself to him due to being wounded by 'Abdullāh Tāi. He came with him to Abi Muslim who res-

* Original Text, p. 143.

pected him and treated his wound. When the wound was healed, he gave him the choice either to stay or to go back. He returned to Naṣr and informed him about his good qualities and was on the point of carrying out his order. Naṣr dissuaded him and so he changed his view otherwise he was about to accept his* da'wat. He then left Merw for sarakhs. Abu Muslim penetrated through entire Khurâsān in 130 and dominated over it. With his stay for da'wat, the Khilāfat of Bani 'Abbâs came to an end. As-Saffāḥ 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammed respected him much. He died in Zilhaj, 136. Some historians say that his brother al-Mansur willed to treat him with regard. Abu Muslim was at Makka. On his way back, he halted at Hira of Kufa. It was said that there was a Christian who was two hundred years old. He knew primary sciences. He turned to him and met him. When he observed Abi Muslim, he said

I advanced but I did not succeed in the end
I had reached the goal but I consumed your self.
Then you weep, will continue to weep
I am with you, I see your burial.

Abu Muslim wept. He said to him, " Do not weep, you lacked firm prudence and deep judgement. No plan was beneficial. No sword was sharp. Everyone's hope got frustrated. Death hastened in condolence." He said, " It is from what you see him." He said, " when both the khalifas acted in concert in the matter as it was, destiny nullifies plan. If you had returned to Khurāsān, you would have been safe." He intended to return. Manṣur wrote to him about the past. He went to him who had prompted him. But sight puts a screen when fate descends. His guidance was at the proper occasion. He had sent message to the nakib for exercise of caution and guile in war but there is a limit for every man and an end for every affair.

When fate plays its part in affairs
Attention in a way flees from them.

It is stated in the History of Khallikān that he determined upon return and Manṣur did always deceive him in correspondence until he appears in his presence. Abu Muslim was looking into books of wars that a state dies and a state lives. He was fighting in the cities of Rum and Manṣur that day was in Madain of the Rumis. Madāin was founded by Kisrā. Abi Muslim had no danger at heart for it was a place of war, nay, he was at ease and boldly penetrated to the cities of Rum. He saw Manṣur who greeted him. He then ordered him to depart to his tent. He kept a party ready. When he struck his hand upon a hand, they killed him. Manṣur sat and Abu Muslim came to him. He was granted leave to sit. He then rebuked him. I did and I did. Abu Muslim† said to him as to what he uttered was for me after my attempts and efforts.

* Original text, p. 144. † Original Text, p. 145.

Were those attempts not mine? He said, "Oh son of malignity! Verily you did that for our luck and pleasure. You have no power. Oh mother of melancholy, to act as I acted. Are you not the writer who wrote to me before this? Aren't you the writer to address my aunt Āsiya and pretend that you were the son of Salit, son of 'Abdullāh, son of 'Abbas. I had promoted you, no, or rise for you was difficult." Abu Muslim seized his hand to rub and kiss apologizing him. Manṣur said to him, "Allāh will kill me if I did not kill you. He then clapped his hands. They came out and struck him with their swords. Manṣur was repeating "strike him." God cut your hands. "Abu Muslim said, at the time of first stroke, "O Amir-ul-muminin, spare me for your enemy." He said, "Allāh will not spare me. Who is my enemy more inveterate than you." This happened on Thursday, when five hours were left for Sha'bān. Again it is said that it took place on the two nights, again on Wednesday at seven in the night of 137 or 136 or 140. The last statement is on weak ground. After the death of Abu Muslim, Abu Ja'far Manśur made searches of many of his companions.

Cease to be familiar and friendly with men of consultaion.
At night, take his view in confidence and then decide upon it.
Advance till you know his creed
Do not retreat when advanced.

Here is a citation from Buhturi's panegyric written in praise of al-Fath bin Khākān, a friend of al-Mutawakkal 'Alallāh. He came across a lion on his way. He did not advance upon him. The lion then advanced upon him, al-Fath killed him. The following verse is from one of his brilliant panegyrics. Object of its citation is as stated above.

Retired when he did not find lure in you

Advanced when he did not find retreat from you.

With this, Juzi Abu Muslim. Manṣur did not reproach him except with the guilt for murder of a culprit. There is no faithfulness for kings. He felt sad when he got full knowledge of it. There is no despair in natures as Nu'man bin Manzar has said

Kings pardon great offences with liberality
They punish with ease and it is not out of ignorance *

But for knowledge of liberality; he fears to make it exemplary.

Abul Muslim became popular with residents of Merw. He was the first to attack Merw and conquer it. Abu Tayyab Tāhir son of Husain son of Mas'ab al-Khazāi' styled Zulyaminin reported to 'Abdullāh al-Māmun al-'Abbasi who was at Khurāsān. His brother al-Amin removed him from office. He was at Baghdād with his son Musā. This took place in 194. He also received the

* Original text, p. 146

news of invasion of 'Ali bin 'Isā bin Māhān upon him with sixty thousand horse. This happened in 195. al-Māmun decided to send Tāhir to fight with al-Amin. His Wazir Zā-ar-Riyāsatin al-Faḍl bin Sahl al-Sarakhsi put a question to him about it. People reported it in accordance with their starry knowledge and most of them happened to be accurate in their prediction. Fadl looked at the problem. He found guidance in the mid-sky. It was the star Zā-Yaminin. He reported to Māmun that Tāhir would gain a victory over al-Amin and therefore Tāhir came to be styled as Zil-Yaminin. It is so stated in " Tārikh-i-Khurāsān" of Abi Husain 'Ali bin Aḥmal as Salāmi. In it, it is also stated that he chose once time for invasion. He tied a knot in the standard. He then said, " I have tied a standard which would not be untied for seventy-five years. The cause of his invasion was 'Ali bin 'Isā. Ya'kub the Ṣaffār had captured 'Ali Muḥammed bin Tāhir bin 'Abdullāh bin Tāhir bin Husain at Nishāpur in the year 165. When Tāhir son of Ḥusain went to defend himself against Ibn-i-Māhān at Ray, he gave an order to a large army. It was not possible for him to face such a large army. He relied upon his chiefs. He treaded the path with extreme prudence till distance between two armies was of a few farsakhs *viz.* five. They encountered. It was a hard-fought battle in which 'Ali bin 'Isā was done to death. It is so stated in Habibus-Siyār that a severe battle was fought with dart of an arrow when his companions fled to the direction of Baghdād. In the History of Hāfiz Abru, it is stated that it was a victory in the afternoon. Tāhir wrote to Māmun stating in the introductory part of the letter that head of 'Ali bin 'Isā was in my hand and his end in my fingers-salām. The messenger journeyed with it from Rai to Merw in ten days. 'Abdur Rahmān bin Jabalah started from Baghdād with thirty thousand horse with designs against Tāhir bin Husain. Both met in the vicinity of Hamadān. When they were about to meet reins with reins, the army of Baghdād fled to Hamadān without any fight. Tāhir encamped at the city and besieged it for* two months. 'Abdur Rahmān sought amnesty, went to him and encamped on a side from him. After some days, he attended the majlis of Tāhir and used to talk with him and pass time in rejoicing with him. He waited for unawareness on his part. One night, he rushed upon him to fight but after a hard struggle, he was killed along with men of his companions, while those who were spared by the sword escaped to Baghdād. The rest came out to fight with Tāhir but they retreated before seeing him. In the wake of this event, Harthama bin A'yan arrived from Khurāsān to 'Irāk and met Tāhir at Ḥalwān. Grandeur of Tāhir got strengthened thereby. He marched to Ahwāz but did not pass by the side of al-Amin; either for occupation or strength till he encamped at Baghdād in 197 and besieged it so much so that al-Amin was reduced to great straits. He could get nothing to give the army. His rule became extremely

* Original Text, p. 147.

*feeble. He did not find any escape from getting down from Khilāfat.* He wrote to Harthama for acceptance of allegiance to Māmun. Harthama ordered to go away one night and that would suffice him for what was important from his brother. The story is long but its short account is that he came out in a boat which was for Harthama. The companions of Tāhir seized it and came with his head to him and carried it to Māmun. Khilāfat for Māmun was confirmed. Māmun held him in respect for that. Murder of al-Amin took place at the close of Muharram, 198. Tāhir was born in 159. His grand-father was Maṣa'b ibn-i-Zarik who was a scribe to Sulaimān bin Kalhir al-Khazāi', master of Da'wat of Bani 'Abbās as stated by Ibn-i-Khallikān. He was eloquent. He had all necessary qualifications as a scribe, to the highest degree. His nature tended to nobility of character. His ambition was sufficiently free from dirt of greed and meanness of nature. Zarik was maula (client) of Ṭalḥa. Talhas al-Khazāi's are noted for their lavish generosity. It is said that Maṣ'ab bin Talha bin Zarik was specially so. This Ṭalḥa was one of the nakibs of the 'Abbaside State from the companions of Abi Muslim. He was titled Amin al Muḥammed. It is said that Tāhir in his war with ibn-i-Māhān beat a man. He lost his two middle parts. The wound was to his left side. Hence his title Zul Yamunin. The Wazir Abu 'Ali al-Bal'ami narrated in his history* "Tarjumat-ut-Tabari" that Tāhir sent the head of al-Amin to Māmun. He also sent with him a ring and a sheet of the Prophet may peace and benedictions of God be on him as well as a staff. These are the things with which the Khalifas glorify themselves on account of having herited these relics of the Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him. They are blessed with them. He wrote to him ordering my servant Kuraish al-Dandāni to come with them and in case of failure he would fight. He fought till he was killed. Māmun saw in the astrological birth-chart of al-Amin with prediction of the astrologer that al-Amin had the risk of being killed by Kuraish. He thought, looking to outward meaning of the word, that Kuraish murdered him. It was for this that when Fadl bin Sahal wrote from Māmun to Tāhir urging him for showing regard to Kuraish and their multiplicity. Tāhir did not know the original story and it was not his intention when he wrote from the side of his slave Kuraish that he killed him. It was the knowledge of Māmun that in Amin's birth-chart it was Kuraish murderer of Amin as foretold by astrologers. It was not an 'Arab Kuraish. He was called Dandāni because he had big teeth. It is stated in Ḥabib-us-Siyar that Tāhir enjoyed the highest rank under Māmun after the settlement of Khilāfat upon him. Then he internally suffered in his estimation and his mind changed against him. It so happened on the day of drink in his majlis in presence of Tāhir. He ordered the man in charge of drinks to satiate him with drink. He did accordingly. During the hobnob, Tāhir observed

* Original Text, p. 148.

Māmun and found that tears were flowing down his cheeks. He got amazed. He said, "Oh Amir-ul-Muminin! the east and west of the world are under your command, then what is the cause of your weeping?" He replied to him not in defence against his question but said that tears would never cease to flow. After the majlis was over, Tāhir remained with him to know its cause. The man in charge of drink was Ḥusain Ṣāḥabi. I met him and treated him in a friendly manner. I asked him whether there was any deceit in his question. He did it and indicated it to me. He replied, "Oh Tāhir! Did you not see my eyes when mention of Al-Amin was made and my eyes could not control weeping." Tāhir said, that the man in charge of drink informed me what Māmun had said to him. I became powerless and came to the Wazir Ḥamd ibn-i-Abi Khālid. He was a friend to me. I informed him about the matter and sought his advice for going to Khurāṣan otherwise I will not be delivered from him some day. The Wazir saw the Khalifa and said to him, "I do not find efficiency in the governor of Khurāsān. Māmun asked him for advisability and for suitability. He said, "Zul Yaminin." He asked him, "Is it possible to have faith from his side?" He said, "Every opposition grows from him." * He said, "The responsibility is mine." He ordered him to send him to Khurāsān. The Wazir removed the governor to be substituted by Tāhir. He departed with adieu from Māmun and set out for Khurāsān. Kulthum son of Haram was in charge of postal department of Khurāsān during the regime of Māmun. He said that Zul Yaminin dropped the name of Māmun from Khutba on Friday. He used to say, "Oh God! ameliorate followers of Muḥammed as you did to your friends; restrain mischief of transgressor, re-unite the scattered, stop bloodshed and bring about mutual improvement. He had not yet descended from the pulpit, when I wrote what had happened and sent its report to the capital. With the rise of morning on Saturday, there came to me a messenger from Dār-ul-Imārat about my doubts concerning the Amir in what I wrote on the previous day. I supplied evidence for it and went with the messenger. When I entered the Secretariat, I went to Talha bin Tāhir. He said to me, "Did you write what happened yesterday?" I said, "yes." He said, "write to-day the news of my father's death". I did that and hastened in its despatch. When the first report reached Māmun, he said to the Wazir, "As you had undertaken to be responsible for Tāhir, go to Khurāsan and suppress his mischief." In the meanwhile, there arrived news of his death. In Rawḍat-us-Ṣafā, it is stated, that when he dropped name of Māmun from Khutba and came down to his house, he took bath that very hour and his soul rose up with sun-set. It is said that the Wazir requested Māmun to defer march to Khurāsān till tomorrow when a letter of the post-master conveying news of his death arrived. Māmun was wonder-struck. The Wazir said, "

* Original Text p. 149.

would not have been a surety for him but for his association with one whom I trusted who is my servant, that is, the man in charge of drinks. I had advised him about it. I secretly instructed the servant to see when he disobeys, wash this ring and give ring-washed water to him for drink. I gave him the ring and urged him for its preservation. He acted according to directive. No Wazir of Amir-ul-Muminin will trust Tāhir and be a surety for him. Māmun was surprised at it and his confidence increased in him. Tāhir died in the city of Merw in 209 with tears of members of his family. He continued with that service to the end. Warning was sufficient from seeing tears. In the story of the Jackal, the cock reproached Jackal for his aversion of men. When they desire, they catch him. The jackal said, " If you see a cock on a spit, you should have severe aversion from me. Abi Bakr al-Khwārazmi has said, " The* world is a female, for marriage with every one. Humble animal bears burden of every rider. " The following are his verses :—

I associated with the world, a warning for us
Praise be to Allāh for that.
People are unanimous for its censure
I do not find any one abandoning it
If you are a man of courage, you will not wish it
To wager the world for anything.

The historian Ḥusām Khān narrated that, Isḥāk, son of Ayāz succeeded him in his kingdom after Ayāz's death. After a short time, he suffered from melancholia. He displayed many unpleasant activities. One of them was that he came out to fight with the ruler of Jagat. He was submissive to the saltanat. He then returned to Junāgarh with him. Chief of the state imprisoned him. It was grace of God that he died. Tughān son of Ayāz stepped into his place. He was a symbol of personality and strength. He moved in his domain like his father. People thanked him. He stayed at Div very often. Its cause was the firangis. They were afraid of him.

In 934 (1527) the Sultân started from Chāmpāner towards the Deccan to help 'Imâd-ul-Mulk, the ruler of Berār against Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri and Malek Barid son of Malek Barid and Khudāwand Khān. They all gathered against him and routed him after a hard battle. He fled leaving elephants and cannons in the battle-field. 'Imād-ul-Mulk confederated with Muḥammed Khān, the ruler of Āsir as there was relation between them. He rushed to his help in time. Burhānpur was on his way. There lived in Burhānpur a saint called Mawlānā Majzub Shāh Mansur. Muḥammed stayed with him in expectation of good news from him. The saint broke an arrow which was in his hand and threw it towards the enemy. He drew an evil omen from the piece. He

* Original Text, p. 150.

carried out his determination attentively and guardedly from disgrace of fear. Both the armies encountered in the battle-field and there happened what happened due to swords. The order was to take refuge with the Sultān. He wrote a detailed description of circumstances. He marched alone followed by the army. An emissary Za'farān Khān b. 'Imād-ul-Mulk met him near* Nazarbār. Muhammed Khān and 'Imād-ul-Mulk met him at his residence. It was a gathering as desired. Behrām Shāh, the ruler of Baglāna climbed up the fort of his kingdom on the mountain of Sāler with him for a feast wherein dainties of food were served. He stayed there for a day. He passed his night there and he married his sister with him. He thus became secure at his hands and lived with him. In the morning, he called Muhammed Khān and 'Imād-ul-Mulk and passed the day with them in comfort. He then retired to his pavilion and raised Muhammed Khān from the rank of an amir to that of a sultān. He gave him a canopy and conferred upon him the title of Muhammed Shāh. Similarly, 'Imād-ul-Mulk was ennobled with the rank of a sultān. He was given a yellow canopy and conferred the title of 'Imād Shāh.

In the early part of 935 (1528), he ordered Behrām Shāh to march to Ahmadnagar, the capital of the kingdom of Nizām Shāh Bahri. He was accompanied by the Amir of arsenal, Khān-i-Khānān. The Sultān proceeded towards it by the side of Chapur. When he reached its vicinity, he ordered 'Imād Shāh to march towards it. He renewed his pledge. He did it. He lectured to him. The Sultān proceeded to Ahmadnagar and encamped in the plain. It was near the fort. The architect built a raised platform out of stone for sitting of the Sultān. The architect's name was Kālā. It was therefore called Kālā Chotra. The name dakka in Hind is chotra. The Sultān sat upon the raised stone-platform and received news from the fort. He assured security to Nizām-ul-Mulk with regard to his kingdom. The Sultān ordered to announce to the city and the whole kingdom. He then marched to Daulatābād and encamped there. He ordered his amirs for siege of the city. Regiments from the fort issued out for war but they were routed. Nizām-ul-Mulk started negotiation for peace and ceased fighting for some days for this distress. Then continuous reports poured in for depredations of the army of the Deccan at Burhānpur. He permitted Muhammad Shāh and 'Imād Shāh to march against them. He promised to join at the eleventh hour of the war and that was at the rise of morning. He then allowed 'Imād-ul-Mulk to go. It was dawn. He followed them with cannons, elephants and arsenal. Khān-i-Khānān marched† before the sun reached the meridian with the whole army. The Sultān marched in the evening. The whole Deccan army except 'Imād Shāh encamped at Bir. They learnt about the proximity of the first army, they prepared themselves and stood in the plain. The war began. The Deccan army had the support of.

* Original Text, p. 151.

† Original Text, p. 152.

a large multitude. During the hustle and bustle of war, 'Imād-ul-Mulk made his appearance. Khān-i-Khānān was in his wake. During the battle, the banners of the Sultān became visible on a staff. The Deccan army saw them. They got scattered from the battle-field. They gathered together in the evening. The Sultān had encamped near the battle-field. They were divided in opinion. Nothing happened at night. The emissary of Malek Barid came to the assembly of the Sultān conveying to him the submission of his lord and acceptance of recitation of the Khutba in the name of the Sultān. The Sultān heeded to him, honoured him for his welcome and wrote to Malek Barid as to what he had collected. He became anxious for the government and kingdom. The saltanat was in the name of Kalim-ul-lah b. Waliullāh. He was with him in the city of Badr. He permitted the emissary to go immediately on his arrival. He returned to his lord for the reply. The king rode at his leisure time after reading it to the capital of Bidr. On the first day of his arrival, the khutba was recited in the capital in the name of the Sulṭān Bahādur-Nizām-ul-Mulk was separated from Malek Barid. He proceeded to Burhānpur. The Sultān went after him and encamped at a distance of several farsakhs from him. Nizām-ul-Mulk sent some persons of the sword and the pen for peace. Amongst them was a man of pure miracle and nobility, perfect in glory and brilliant virtue, Mawlāni the Wazir of chief authority, Shāh Tāhir. The Sultān was surprised at his presence and was fully inclined towards him. He stayed with him for some days and patched up peace on terms of submission, recitation of Khutba and attendance. The Sultān ordered a platform to be raised in front of his platform decorated with gold-embroidered carpet, gaudy cloth and canopy with curtain between them. The Sultān sat upon the throne at an auspicious hour. All his maleks stood in order as well as Nizām-ul-Mulk in a like manner. The curtain was raised. Nizām-ul-Mulk saluted (the Sultān) and sat. Shāh Tāhir was a means of negotiation between them. Then a gold-embroidered green canopy and a * similar banner were brought. Amity was established between them. The bearer of the canopy stood keeping it over his heads the bearer of the banner was on his right, the naqib (head man) raised his voice in prayer for Bahādur who blessed him. With just kingdom with the title of Nizām Shāh from Nizām-ul-Mulk. Trays of offerings were brought. Two gold trays were held in two hands. They were replete with precious stones of different kinds. The third was also full of jewels for offering on him. Silver trays were placed on the right side full of gold coins. On the left side were placed gold trays full of silver coins. He then wore the jewel-studded crown, jewel-studded diadem : the poets were seated on the right and left of the Sultān praising him ; a special sword was brought for him, he was girded with it in his majlis ; it was sheathed, its gold hilt was studded with jewels ; his khil'at was of velvet adorned with

* Original Text, p. 153.

sapphires and tightly drawn with gold ribbon. It was upon his shoulder. There were Arab horses whose saddles were of gold studded with pearls and elephants embellished with trappings. The amirs who were present were similarly distinguished according to their status. He then showed favour to the greatest Wazir Shāh Tāhir and adorned him with a khil'at of the same kind as his master and girded him with a gold-plated sword and placed a turban on his head with his hand. A horse was given with all its adornment and embellishment. As help to 'Imād Shāh was the cause of his entry into the Deccan, he returned elephants and cannons to him. Peace was concluded on this condition. Excellent trays full of fragrant substances were brought at the time of departure. Nizām Shāh rode out from the majlis for his capital. The Sultān stayed for the remaining days and prepared with the emissary to go to Malek Barid to meet the Sultān. He bade adieu to Muḥammed Shāh and 'Imād Shāh, showed many favours to them and conciliated them with favour to look after their kingdoms. He permitted them to return to their kingdoms. In the morning, the Sultān also started for his capital. When he reached Nazaibār, he favoured Bahram Shāh, the ruler of Baglāna and gave him much more than what he gave to others. He bade him adieu and continued his journey to the capital. When the Sultān arrived at Chāmpāner, he showed favour to the amir Kanahir Rāy. He was the first amir to join him in his entry to the Deccan. He had wisdom, judgment and bravery to a perfect degree.* He gave him a kingdom according to his demand and increased thereon. The emissary of Nizām Shāh arrived in his wake with a letter from him as well as from Shāh Tāhir. Therein there was information about recitation of the Khutba at Aḥmadnagar. It was in the year 936 (1529).

* Original Text, p. 154.

## CHAPTER XIV

### *Conquest of the South by the Muslims*

The historian Ziauddin Barni narrates in his history " Ṭabakāt-i-Firozshāhi about this topic that the first Muslim king who penetrated into the South was 'Alauddin 'Ali son of Naṣr al-Khalji. His uncle Jalāluddin Firoz Shāh was then Sulṭān of Hind. Its short account is: 'Alauddin was assigned the region of Karah by his uncle. He had married his uncle's daughter. He had intense love for a wife which fact he kept hidden from her out of regard for his uncle. Her name was Māhru, the sister of Alp Khān. When his uncle's daughter learnt about this affair, she was much affected and she reproached him. He denied it. She ordered some one to keep a watch over their meeting and to inform her about it. It so happened they met in a garden where she went in their unawareness. It is said appropriately that

> Oh, life is enjoyable only when permitted
> Vicissitudes of nights and events are abed.

His time got disturbed. She was content with a rebuke. She seized her by legs and beat her. He was looking at this incident. He could not bear it. He had a sword in hand and he struck her with it. It so chanced that it cut the sheath and due to its sharpness, blood began to flow. The affair became big and savagery assumed a big shape due to malice in temper and mischief in nature. Her mother had wide clemency. She treated him with kindness. Ill-feeling lasted between them for a long time. Where upon 'Alāuddin decided upon keeping himself away from his uncle. He despatched secret agents in different directions to get him news about gold wherever found in large quantity without delay. One of the informants told him that it was found at Deogir. Its fort was situated on peak of a mountain ruled by Rāmdev, a Maratha chief. He expediously proceeded to this place. When he encamped at the well-known valley Bara Churak, Rāmdev heard about it. His army was engaged in some * important campaign. He despatched whatever soldiers he had for defence of the valley. 'Alauddin defeated this party and moved after them in wake of their retreat as far as the city and encamped on a side. He routed Rāmdev everywhere except the fort. The fort contained temples of gold and silver and images of the same metals. Besides, there were jewels of different varieties. He ordered them to be destroyed and collected its gold. Ruler of fort was surprised at this action and his mind got confused. He sent an envoy for conclusion of peace on condition of sparing the temples from destruction which was agreed to.

* Original text, p. 155

Peace was made on payment of forty thousand bull gold coins known as Bahun. The historian related in this manner. Responsibility for its accuracy rests upon him. 'Alauddin took these coins and returned to his region. His further account will come in the life of his uncle in the second daftar. The historian narrated that the ruler of the fort met him. He spent all this wealth upon his uncle and his murder. He then sat upon the throne of saltanat.

In the year 708 (1308) 'Alauddin's slave Kāfur, styled Malek Naib arrived at Deogir as viceroy of the Sultān. He supervised all the offices and won confidence of its ruler Rāmdev for previous event. He met Rāmdev, made him as well as members of his family captives, seized what he owned and returned with them to Delhi. 'Alauddin received a report of what he did. He reproached him and ordered for his release. He met him, apologized himself, showed great favour towards him and titled him as Rāy-i-Rāyān. His wealth and members of his family were made safe and secure. He was granted leave for return to his dominion.

In 709 (1309), Kāfur encamped at Urangal (Warangal), the capital of Telangana. He conquered forts made out of earth and spared those of stone. Its ruler Ludra Dev made peace on payment of one hundred elephants, seven thousand horses and many boxes filled with gold and jewels. He was indited a letter to carry tribute to the treasury every year. Kāfur returned to Delhi with* it. In 710 (1310), Kāfur conquered the region of Ma'bar (Malabar) and Dahur Samand. Both these regions belonged to Bir Rāi. He marched further to Sarandip (Ceylon) and Kāfur broke the famous idol of Rām Ling Mahādev. It was wonderful that the swordsmen deserted the temple. The Brahmins assembled to fight with him at the time of his breaking the idol till they collected all broken parts and got displeased with swordsmen. Kāfur marched further to Sirā and demolished the temple of Jagannāth. He then returned to Delhi with gold of the weight of nine thousand and ninety maunds, many boxes filled with jewels as well as twenty thousand horses, two hundred elephants etc. besides implements, cloth, utensils and other goods. None reported so much spoils as these, having come to Ruler of Delhi. When it is of this quantity then what about the Nāib and the Amirs, and pillage of soldiers and other servants. How can there be an approximate estimate of it? That is the favour of God which comes to whomsoever He wishes. Sultān 'Alauddin died in 711 (1311-12).

In 718 (1318) Rāmdev, titled Rāy-i-Rāyān, ruler of Deogir died. His son-in-law Harpāl Dev succeeded him. Kutbuddin Mubārak Shāh received its intelligence. He arrived at Deogir, conquered it, made Harpāl Dev a captive, killed him and confiscated what he had in his hand from the kingdom especially,

* Original Text, p. 156.

the Maratha. He put this kingdom in charge of Malek Lakhī. He raised the rank of his beloved Ḥasan titled Khusraw Khān by investing him with the authority of Nāib of the Deccan and returned to Delhi. Malek Lakhi turned out to be disloyal. Khusraw Khān invaded him and descended upon Deogir. The army captured him alive and sent him with Khusraw Khān to Delhi. Kutbuddin amputated him. He sent 'Ain-ul-Mulk to Deogir, favoured him with Amirship and appointed Mujiruddin Abārjā as deputy in office while Tājuddin son of Khwāja 'Alāuddin was made a secretary. Khusraw Khān marched to Ma'bar, alighted on its precincts but he took nothing from any one. He only seized whatever elephants he had. His lower instincts misguided him to rebel. He made a demonstration of it by assemblying amirs and compelling them to go to Deogir. They attacked him in a pālki (litter), proceeded * towards Delhi, greeted and reported the matter to the Sultān. He did not hear any adverse report against one with whom he was enamoured. Its account will follow at its proper place. Kutbuddin was always on the increase for his love. He did not listen to any just statement. Ultimately, Khusraw Khān murdered him in 720 (1320).

In 722 (1321-22), Tughlak Shāh Ghāzi was the Sultān of Delhi. Muḥammed Shāh son of Tughlak Shāh descended upon Warangal. He returned to Deogir on circulation of news of Sultān's death. The Sultān received intelligence about it. He ordered those who spread the news of his death to be put to death. This act was meant to eradicate source of mischief. In the meantime, because of a long distance, his son stayed in the Deccan as Sultān with absolute power. He wrote to him accordingly. He ordered those amirs who were with him to hear him and to obey him. He sent to him, according to convention, an umbrella etc. to him as Nāzim of Saltanat. He urged him to widen his dominion by opening new directions. He therefore marched from Deogir to Warangal and conquered it by force. He captured Rāy Kadr Dev and penetrated into Telingana with his capture in hand. He then marched to Chāchnagar, a very wide place with thickets of trees, water and elephants. He returned from that place with one hundred elephants. During his regime as sultān, after his father, at Delhi, he transferred capital to Deogir, built a fort on peak of the mountain and a city adjacent to it and named it Daultābād. He made it a capital. He transferred residents of Delhi to it till the region was vacated by dwellers. He then came back to it especially in 742 (1341).

In 743 (1342), he behaved with severity towards his subjects. He began with the Marathas. He demanded money from them which was not with them. Hence a large number of them died in punishment. He then marched to Warangal where an epidemic broke out. He made the king his nāib and

* Original Text, p. 157.

returned to Deogir as a sick person. He complained of water and climate. He appointed the great amir Katlagh Khān and returned to his native place Delhi with most of its residents. During his days, his cousin Bahā'uddin invaded Dawlatābād. He then fled to Dahur Samand, the residents of Kampila captured him and sent him to the Sultān. He got him killed. In like manner, * Gitā Nāik invaded Warangal. He fled from it and attacked Telangana. From that time, it remained a part of Delhi saltanat. The Khutba was recited in the name of Kutb Shāh Turki, its ruler, then it entered into Delhi Saltanat under Jalāluddin Akbar the ruler of Hind in 1008 ( 1599-1600 ).

In 746 ( 1345 ), Muḥammed Shāh journeyed to Telangana and Kampila. There was rain. Hence he encamped on an elevated place called Sarkadwadi. During his days, 'Ali Shāh, son of sister of Yusuf Zafar Khān al-'Alāi invaded Gulbarga and encamped at the city Badr. The Amir of the place fought with him and killed him. He entered the city and its property. Katlagh Khān heard about it. He marched against him, besieged him. He then gave safety and security to him. He came to him.

In 748 ( 1347-48 ), Muḥammed Shāh learnt about the rise of Amirs in Gujarāt and their disloyalty. He marched to Gujarāt. The cause of their disaffection was that there was an Amir at Dhar by name 'Aziz Khammār. He killed one hundred and eighty amirs in a single day. Rest of the amirs dispersed from him. They and the soldiers of Gujarāt gathered together at Dihawi ( Dabhoi ? ). On the Sultān's arrival at the precincts of Gujarāt, Amir 'Aziz Khammār requested him to wait for he was sufficient for the affair. He issued forth from Dhār to fight with them. When he neared them, they resisted him and his soldiers fled away. 'Aziz fell in the battle-field. Behind that, the advanced guard of the Sultān made its appearance. They fought with it and routed it too. They issued forth from different directions of Dihawi to Deogir. At Deogir, the brother of Katlagh Khān, 'Ālam Shāh was 'Āmil. They assembled around him. A letter of the Sultān arrived ordering him to send them to him. He did so. He was with them and he was one of the amirs with confidence in them. When they were at the famous valley called Mānek Banj, they resorted to plunder and pillage in an unguarded moment, killed some of the reliable amirs with them and returned to Deogir, killed its diwān and protected 'Ālam Shāh out of regard for his brother Katlagh Khān. They gathered around Ismā'il Afghān and gained his friendship. Muḥammed Shāh returned from Dahiwi to Deogir named Dawlatābād. He fought with Ismāil outside the city first and then besieged him in the fort. Ḥasan Gangu was with him. When he entered the fort, he separated him and fled toward Badr and 'Imād-ul-Mulk Sartez followed him. He was an Amir at Gulbarga. He had to

* Original Text, p. 158.

pass by him. When he came to him, he returned to Dawlatābād from him an the Sultān had besieged the famous fort of Dahāgir at the peak of mountain of Deogir. In the meanwhile, he received intelligence about his Turki slav Taghi titled Ṣafdar-ul-Mulk and his disloyalty and occupation of Broach and it surrounding places. He left behind Johar and Kiwamuddin Khudāwand Zāda Tirmizi as aid to the army on the fort. He marched to Broach. Ḥasan Gang seized the opportunity and arrived at Dawlatābād. A fierce battle took place 'Imād-ul-Mulk Sartiz fell into it and his companions fled away to the pinnacl of mountain. It was a favour of fortune. Soldiers gathered around Ḥasai Gangu, Ismā'il surrendered the fort, took an oath of fealty acknowledging hin as Sultān. After the ceremony of fealty was over, they raised an umbrell over his head. He recited the khutba in his own name and titled himself a 'Alāuddin Bahman Shāh. He then pretended that he was a descendant o Bahman son of Asfandiyār, one of the kings of Persia. He arrived in Delh during the time of Taghlak Shāh Ghāzi. One day, he was present in the majlis of the spiritual traveller, the divine gnostic, famous for miracles, father o blessings, pole of the pure ones, Mawlānā ash-Shaikh al-murabbi Niẓāmuddin Awliyā, may his grave be sanctified and may I be benefited through him. He gave him good news of his becoming a sultān. He waited for it. There was prompting for its achievement. He set his mind on it till he got it in time. Similarly, some one from Persia had prophesied to him rulership on the date of his meeting him during Akbar's period. The following verse is there :—

> If you want grandeur of kingship
> Win the hearts of subordinates.

He ruled for eleven years, ten months and seven days. His son Maḥmud Shāh sat on the throne after him. During his reign, his territory extended, scholars gathered together, country prospered. He ruled for twelve years and seven months. Husām Khān recorded period of his reign as eleven years, five months and fifteen days. The Persian historian said, Mujāhid Shāh sat on the throne after him. He was not destined to rule. One night, his cousin Dāwood entered upon him, stabbed him with a dagger and he died. The following verses are composed about it :—

> Syrup of sovereignty and rank is so sweet
> That kings shed blood of brother in pursuit of it.
> Do not shed blood of comfortable hearts for sake of kingdom †
> For the same draught will be poured into your cup.

He ruled for a year, two months and nine days. Dāwood Shāh succeeded him. He too was not destined to rule. The sister of the murdered encouraged some of the amirs against him. He was assassinated in the Jāme' Masjid. He was

* Original text, p. 159. † Original Text, p. 160.

then carried to the palace where he breathed his last. A conflict took place between those in favour of and against him. Sword became the decisive factor. Victory was gained by those in favour. It was just the arrival of news of victory to Dâwood at the moment of separation of soul. He ruled for two months and three days. The following verses are appropriate for the occasion :

None sees a permanent dweller in this garden
Every one enjoys the sight for a moment
Therein every moment of a new fairy steps in
One goes and the other arrives.

He was succeeded by Muḥammed Shāh, son of Muḥmud Shāh, son of Bahman Shāh. He ruled for nineteen years, nine months and twenty-four days. He was succeeded by his son Ghiyāsuddin on 17th Rajab. A Khalji Amir invited him to his house for a feast. He was the slave of his father. He captured him and blinded his eyes on 7th of Ramdhān, 799 ( 1396 ). He ruled for two months and twenty days. After him, Shamsuddin bin Muḥammed, sat on the throne. He was the brother of the Khalji. He sat in place of his brother. During his regime, two persons Firoz Khān and Ahmad administered the state. The historian has made no reference to them. Ḥusām Khān says that they were the sons of Aḥmad Khān bin Bahman Shāh. The Persian says that efforts were directed to bring about reconciliation among amirs. Shamsuddin received intelligence about that. He summoned them. They fled to the Sakir fort. Its Amir was one of the mamālik ( slave ) of the saltanat. He gave them asylum. He wished them to be reconciled among themselves. Firoz chose of his own accord to be a ruler. They nominated him as Amir of the fort. Firoz marched against Shamsuddin preparing himself with what he had. He came out victorious in the battle-field. He treated him with kindness and he obeyed him. He and his brother went to him in a hesitating manner. In the meantime, a report was received that Shamsuddin waited for an opportunity to rise in rebellion with them. They all had agreed with him. Aḥmad planned one night to go to the palace at sun-rise with three hundred men. They rushed upon the palace. Shamsuddin came out from it and went to a side where he hid himself. He was called and informed that he was safe and secure. Firoz * and Aḥmad unanimously decided to dethrone him. He ruled for five months and seven days. He was succeeded by Firoz Shāh on 15th Muḥarram, 800 ( 1397-8 ). During his regime, Pole among gnostics, succour for the travellers, adornment of nobility and generosity, decoration and fringe, Mawlānā Syed Jamāluddin Muḥammed Gesu-drāz came to Gulbarga. Firoz welcomed him, ennobled his arrival and served him with fixation of allowances. He always refused to accept. He blessed him. At the close of his life, his son Ḥasan

* Original Text, p. 161.

Khān became a saint of the age after him. One day, he presented himself in his blessed majlis. He remarked, "This is the saint of my age; pay attention to him with an eye of training; pray on his behalf; it will be accepted for the kingdom. Firoz was much affected by it. Then, Firoz fell ill in the wake of it. He resolved to pass on the kingdom, during his life to his son, turning to his brother Aḥmad. He received that news. He was secure from him. Firoz died on the night of 4th Shawwāl, 815 (1412). It is so stated in Tārikh-ul-'Ajam. But Ḥusām Khān narrated in his history that when Firoz became an absolute ruler, he appointed his brother Aḥmad Amir-ul-Umrā-ul-Juyush (*commander-in-chief of the armies*) and titled him Khān-i-Khānān. He had great faith in the above-mentioned mawlānā. He attended upon him frequently, nay he personally attended meetings convened for the nobles. Many a time, he requested those who were present to get for distribution whatever was in the kitchen. Khān-i-Khānān had carried the table-cloth over his head with certain contents and trays containing food were in his wake. Bābā said, "Aḥmad! you placed our table-cloth on your head, God will elevate you as sultān over people, you will see that. Rejoice at it. It so happened in its wake that Firoz issued forth to invade Bijanagar (Vijaynagar) the capital of Sultān of Canara, Rāmrāj. A fierce battle was fought between them. He was about to return to Gulbarga. He wrote to Sultān Aḥmad son of Muḥammed son of Muzaffar to help him against Rāmrāj. He replied that the victory would be of religion. It ended in his march to Bhānbir. Firoz assembled nobles of the state and said to them, "I had resolved upon leisure for jihād nd assignment of saltanat to my son. Find out some propitious moment for * his ascension to the throne." Their reply was that the existence of your brother did not help us for it. He ordered them to imprison him. That very hour at night, Khān-i-Khānān came out following him from Gulbarga on guard from his brother. An 'Arab merchant heard about him. He had come with Najdi horses to sell them. It was a large number of them. He was wealthy, with a number of retinue and assistants. The Shaikh had given good news for grant of saltanat to him. He rode in wake of him with his horses and men that very hour, reached him and became a member of his party. He was addressed as "Malek-ut-tujjār" (Merchant Prince) during his days. He was at Māhim. A warning had been previously stated in the biography of Sultān Aḥmad bin Muḥammed Khān-i-Khānān had intended flight to Bidar. It was soon when there alighted traders in horses called banjārah on a side. They encamped in a village where there was water. The historian stated that when Firoz learnt about invasion of his brother, he assembled the nobles, who were near him and said to them, "What is your opinion in what has happened due to your negligence in thinking of today. I will engage you tomorrow. I know

* Original Text, p. 162.

that if you follow him and realize that there is none with him, he will be a victor for you. If you are with him and I gain a victory, you know the consequences. Hence it is necessary for you to declare your plan to follow perhaps he may drop in your hands. Personal limitations, efforts are excused. They came out in his wake while the advanced guard was in front of them. When they approached a village, Khān-i-Khānān received report of it. He boldly rode the horse. The chief man of the banjārah clearly saw the state of affairs. He came to him and told him, "We are a party. We have strength in us. We had alighted in your neighbourhood. We are now with you. We shall not lay behind in efforts. Be patient with us till you see what is possible with us. Amongst us, there is a banjāra proficient in art of warfare. Head-man of the village came to him with his men and said to him that was a chief in war." Khān-i-Khānān thanked them and said to the mukaddam, "I want to buy gun-powder from you at fixed price. With victory, you will have the full price. He agreed to it." He ordered for general assemblage. He assembled them in the centre. He ordered chief of the village to posit himself with what he had at the right and the mukaddam at the left. He advanced for war. When commandant of the advanced guard saw that there was a large number of amirs on the side of the enemy, he deserted at the very outset and came to him and saluted his order. In the wake of advanced guard, the army displayed that way. It did that. It changed hearts and eyes as was the case with advanced* guard. They assembled under the standard of Khān-i-Khānān. They marched with him to the capital and encamped there. Firoz Shāh received intelligence of it. He came out to the maidān and encamped. At mid-night, he asked those who had come out with him as to why the tents were empty. All his men joined the party of his brother. The wazir was called. He said to the wazir, "leave the tents as they are with their contents. In the morning, my brother will be safe here; be with him." Firoz rode out with special individuals to his house in the city and spent the night with members of his family. In the morning, Khān-i-Khānān was in the camp. When the sun rose up, Firoz invited Syeds of the city as well as the chiefs, handed them keys of the city, house and treasure. He said to them, "go with these to my brother, assure him of safety and tell him to enter the capital. May God bless him in it. They went to him, assured him of safety with greetings. They all entered it and approached the throne, Firoz got down from it, met his brother, embraced him, took him by the hand and both sat together on the throne and talked for one heavenly hour, advised what advice was to be given. The whole matter remained safe. They bade action and went to their respective houses in the city. After a short while, Firoz died in 832 or 33 (1429 or 1430).

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* Original Text, p. 163.

The Persian historian narrates that Firoz was succeeded by his brother Aḥmad Shāh who died in 848 ( 1445 ). He was succeeded by his son 'Alâuddin. He was amiable in nature and sound in temper but he imitated his officers who lacked character. He was blamed thereon. He bound a biting dog at the door of his house. He who invited people to his blame, people rightly and wrongly blamed him.

The Persian historian narrated from that about murders over one thousand committed by Yazid from among the members of Prophet's family, may peace and benedictions of God be of him without any cause. Nizām-ul-Mulk and Shamshir-ul-Mulk were his two amirs. They coveted forts for themselves. They descended upon him. His companions garrisoned themselves and prevented their approach or they were on a side of road and encamped in his neighbourhood. They wanted to avoid them and so closed the door against them. It was as destined for they had so prayed due to enmity. Nearly just then they began to discuss about means for the affairs among themselves with false oaths as the closure of door was meaningless. They were crossing the road. They were safe with oath. They assembled together and gave up causes of mischief. The* amirs one day invited them to a feast with the idea of meeting. They went to them. The army of the amirs agreed upon killing them. None came back from them. Verily to God we belong and to Him we shall return. 'Alâuddin received intelligence of that but he did not go after them. It is possible that he did not even rebuke them. During regime of his father, there was a chief 'âmil ( officer ). He insulted a noble. He was ordered to be trampled under feet of an elephant. He who thought over the action of father and son, would clearly know the secret of the word of God, the Almighty for Noah, may peace of God be on him. When he saw his son in a state of drowning, verily he was not from those who perished.

*Verse*

When the birth is not benefitted from Hāshim
Self ( nature ) belongs to its own people.

*Verse*

Iron and steel are extracted from one mine but
The latter is mirror of the king and the former, a nail of ass.

In the chapter of Hud, there is a story of Noah and his son. Its object is that when he built the boat, the command of God came, the oven of God's wrath boiled over. The oven was of Adam, may peace be upon him. It carried a pair, male and female. Eighty faithful companions rode on it. He was saying, " In the name of Allāh whether it move or be at rest ! " He said to his son,

* Original Text, p. 164.

"Oh my son, embark with us. He did not embark and got drowned in water. God informed him through his invocation. I rested the boat on Mount Judi. As God said, "Noah shouted to his Lord and said, "Oh Lord! surely, my son is of my family and Thy promise is true. Thou art the justest of judges." He said, "Oh Noah! He is not of thy family. His conduct is unrighteous. Do not ask me about that of which you have no knowledge. I give thee counsel, lest thou actest like the ignorant." A story: It is related about some readers. A reader said to Hajjāj bin Yusuf that he committed an impious deed. He was not affected. The statement is that he acted impiously or he committed an impious act. He said, "Take me to the readers." He came with me. He stood up from the majlis. I was imprisoned. Hajjāj forgot me. After seven months, he was put in prison. He came to me last. He asked me, "For what are you imprisoned?" I said, "For son of Noah." He laughed and ordered my release. 'Alauddin died in 860 (1456). His son Humāyun Shāh succeeded him He was blood-thirsty. In this respect, the following verses are sung :*

Rubāi'

Oh tyrant, be afraid of sigh of a wakeful heart
Fear the deed of base and mischievous person.
Look to eye-lashes immersed in blood of oppressed
Fear that sharp, blood-pouring dagger.

One of the servants assassinated him in the harem. It was punishment for his similar deed. It was on the night of 20th Zilka'd, 865 (1460).

Poet Naziri has composed date of his murder in prison.

Rubāi'

Humāyun Shāh died; it was a pleasant period
Almighty God, how good! death of Humāyun
Date of his death became World full of delight
Delight is brought out from world.

His son Nizām Shāh succeeded him at the age of eight. Ḥusām Khān, the historian says that Rāy Udaisingh invaded him in the year of his enthronement. He came up to the vicinity of Badar city. Most of the amirs did not help him out of hatred for his father due to oppression. He came out with a few persons looking to his helplessness and zeal for Islām. In the meanwhile, the amirs met. There was a distance of only nine farsakhs between them. Battle was fought between the vanguard of Islām consisting of not more than two or three hundred horses and that of the infidel. It consisted of ten thousand horses. After ferocity, the word of Islām was elevated and the slave of idols returned with disgrace. He did not fight with a small number. Disgrace of Rāy Udaisingh was honour

* Original Text, p. 165.

for the party of God. He returned from war to his region. Nizām Shāh rose high in the estimation of those who kept themselves aloof from him. Counsellors assembled around him and became loyal to the state.

In 866 (1461), Sultān Maḥmud Khalji marched from Mandu to Badar. When he approached it, Nizām Shāh came out to meet him. Before coming out, he sent an envoy to Maḥmud, ruler of Gujarāt requesting him for succour. In the meantime, Maḥmud arrived. They assembled face to face in the maidān at a distance of forty farsakhs from the city. It was a fierce conflict which first resulted in the rout of Khalji's army. He was personally mean. When people of the Deccan saw his plight, they took to pillage. He collected his goods and chattels and made his appearance from an ambush with twelve thousand horses. Nizām Shāh had a small army and besides, he was young in age without any* personal power. Sikander Khān was not capable for resistance. He followed him and came out with him to the city and became invisible from sight. The wazir Maḥmud Khwāja Jahān stood in front of Khalji. He turned his reins in wake of his Sultān. The Khalji retreated with what he had and his followers and laid siege to the city. He received intelligence about arrival of the ruler of Gujarāt to Sultānpur. He gave up the siege and marched backwards to Ankot with Rāy, ruler of Gondwara. His six thousand men perished with thirst besides innumerable animals. Maḥmud suppressed his wrath till he came out of Gondwara. He then summoned the Rāy, severed his head and marched forward to his capital.

In the year 867 (1462), Maḥmud Khalji came out with ninety thousand horses with intention against the Deccan. Nizām Shāh received report of this. He sent his envoy to Gujarāt. Maḥmud, ruler of Gujarāt set out for help to him. Khalji learnt about it. He returned from Fatehābād with intention to go to Barkonda in Telangana state for proceeding to Mandu. The Sultān of Gujarāt returned from Bhābner. Nizām Shāh died in the above mentioned year (1462). Date of his father's death coincided with his ascension in six years. God knows the best. His brother Muḥammed Shāh succeeded him. He was young in age. He was titled ''Askari'. During his regime and of the wazir Maḥmud Khwāja Jahān, rank of mamālik of Saltanat got elevated. They wielded independent authority in different parts of the kingdom. For example, 'Imād-ul-Mulk Baḥri had occupied Kāwil, a fort situated on peak of a mountain overlooking Elichpur, capital of Berar. Adjacent to Kāwil was the mountain of Karbāha. Kingdom of Junair was in possession of Nizām-ul-Mulk Baḥri. Junair, a mountain fort was invincible. To him also belonged Dawlatābād in the east situated on peak of a mountain known as Deogir. Goa and Rāichur etc. belonged to 'Ālam Khān.

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* Original Text, p. 166.

In the year 887 ( 1481-82 ), it so happened that kings from among mamālik of Saltanat wielded despotic power. It was not possible for them to do so because of the wazir Khwāja Jahān. They met together for forgery of a document. They entered with it in the harem, represented to his father Muḥammed Shāh that the wazir had in concert with Rāy Udaisinh decided to turn out the king from the house of Bahman Shāh. He had summoned him. This letter was sent to him. End is upon this and the advisable course is now to assassinate him.* They agreed upon it. The talk became public. The wazir was summoned. The mamālik then assembled. There were Turks and Habshis numbering ten thousand. There were 'Arab horses in stable more than ten thousand. So far as wealth and territory are concerned, they were as God had said, " He gives livelihood beyond enumeration to whomsoever He wishes." They said, " We have come as summoned by you. We have power. We shall go out with you to a safe place for consultation." He said to them, " Do not do anything." Talk of an enemy is nonsense. He then rode to Dār-us-Saltanat ( palace ) and they rebuked him for forged letter. He defended with falsehood. But he who resolved upon his assassination, how can he accept it. They then killed him. He lived in happiness and died a martyr. It was on 3rd Ṣafar of the year.

Rubāi'

The world knows to burn harvest thus
A juggler should not be taught a game.
Do not be safe for this boisterous sea
Has not forgotten to eat man.

He was one of the good men of the world—in wisdom, excellence, temper, character, luck and applause. People of the Deccan have made his strength proverbial. The world was very extensive for him. Gold was mostly present near him. It is said that onions of the weight of eighteen mounds were peeled every day in his kitchen. Servants of the kitchen had to fetch water of the weight of more than twenty maunds to wash food-plates of ghee. There were only agents and travellers at the Deccan ports. He is the author of wonderful books on different sciences such as " Manāzir-ul-Inshā," " Riyādh-ul-Inshā." They are said to be first on the subject. It is said that he had a house at Makka called the House of Gāwān. Some one composed following lines on the date of his martyrdom :

Emperor of the world Sultān Maḥmud
Who suddenly went down in sea of death
Deccan got ruined through his murder
Desolation of Deccan became his chronogram.

* Original Text, p. 167.

(Life of al-Sakhāwi Maḥmud bin Muḥammed bin Aḥmad Khwāja Kamāl al-* Kidāni brother of Shihāb Aḥmad Kāwān. He was called Malek-ut-Tujjār (merchant prince). He was born in the year 813 (1410) approximately. He wished me to accompany him to meet our Shaikh (spiritual guide) that is, al-'Askalāni in 843 (1440) at Cairo. He acquired learning from him. He then visited Syria. He became a favourite of the ruler of Gulbarga, Humāyun Shāh, who gave him the title of Malek-ut-Tujjār. Khwāja Jahān said prayers on his behalf. Humāyun Shāh elevated him at the time of his death and advised him to look after his children. He became powerful in his kingdom and dominated over his son Nizām Shāh. When he died, he became a patron of his brother, Muḥammed Shāh. He was a seven-year old child. The Khwāja managed the state affairs and extended the State. But he was despotic in control. He prevented him and restrained him from giving posts to base-born persons. He thus became powerless. Some favoured his destruction. The Sultān went to Tarsung and the Khwāja remained in his company without leaving him alone for seventeen days to engage the Sultān in sport. His enemies calumniated him even though there was nothing in his mind against him. Some of the favourites conveyed to him salām through tongue of the Sultān and reproached him in keeping him behind from his presence. It was reported to them that the army of Tarsangh had resolved upon a night-attack and Maḥmud verified the report. He then got ready, wore arms and was in vanguard of the army. He finished this for them. They informed the Sultān that the Khwāja got ready to pounce upon you for assassination. In case of doubt, some one was sent with such a report. When the plot became ripe, the Sultān was asked to come from next day. He brought a Habshi slave who used obscene language against him and then wounded him on shoulder with a sword, repeated it and thus he killed him with patience on 6th Ṣafar, 886 (1481). As'ad Khān, slave of the Khwāja was summoned. He similarly killed that habshi. There was great grief for his loss).

'Askari died on 1st Rabi' I 887 (1482). His son Maḥmud Shāh succeeded him. He was a minor. His mother conducted government. Nizām-ul-Mulk Baḥri and 'Imād-ul-Mulk Baḥri managed state affairs as wazirs. In the meantime, Dilāwar Khān Habshi-ul-Sultāni said to Maḥmud, "Are you pleased that the order should go from you to your mother? It is a disgrace for you. If you call me to kill them, I will do it. Power will come to you." He gave him leave to do it. He lay in ambush for them one night. They happened to pass by his side with salāhdārs. They were in a state of unawareness. He was with an armed party who wielded swords. They defended themselves as they should till blood gushed out from wound. Every one rode out to his respective region.† Dilāwar Khān became the wazir. He did nothing. The Sultān wrote to them

* Original text, p. 168.

† Original Text, p. 169.

summoning them. Both of them said that they would do nothing so long as Dilāwar Khān was in the kingdom. He said to him, " I will act according to your judgment and I will bestow upon you the wazirship. He did nothing. Go to any place you like with what you have." He went to Burhānpur with seven hundred men of his caste and he died there. In the meanwhile, Nizām-ul-Mulk and 'Imād-ul-Mulk came. Barid Turk of the Sultān became vakil of the state. During his time, the event of Bahādur Gilāni took place in 896 ( 1491 ). Maḥmud was tired of the management of Barid. He went to 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Nizām-ul-Mulk joined him. Both followed his stirrup to the capital. Because of their nearness Barid intended to fight with them. Every one of them went out for war. Maḥmud was taking a bath. 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent some one to him to make haste in coming. He gave no importance to it. A second and a third time a man was sent. The third one saw him delaying, he said to him, " Who has given power to you ? " He got angry. When he rode, the fool attacked the followers who were with Malek Barid. 'Imād-ul-Mulk learnt as to what he did. He met Nizām-ul-Mulk and both of them wrote to Malek Barid, " You are better. Keep the post as you desire. This is our last pledge. Every one of them returned to his respective region. Maḥmud died in 927 ( 1520 ). His son Aḥmad Shāh succeeded him. He died in 929 ( 1502 ). He was succeeded by his son 'Alāuddin. He was roaming about. Malek Barid son of Malek Barid wrote to Nizām-ul-Mulk son of Nizām-ul-Mulk known as the Nāib about it. He died in 916 ( 1510 ). It is apparent from the date of his death that he came to Burhānpur to the help of Shaharyār and to 'Imād-ul-Mulk son of 'Imād-ul-Mulk to inform them about his movements and to counsel him in his elevation and the salṭanat of his brother. Both of them wrote to him that he did what he saw. He was elevated. His brother Waliullāh son of Aḥmad succeeded him. Malek Barid was disposed towards his wife. He killed him with poison and came to her. He was succeeded by his son Kalimullāh. He was the last of the race of* 'Alāuddin Ḥasan Bahman Shāh who sat upon the throne. During his regime, Nizām-ul-Mulk and Khudāwand Khān, ruler of Māhur met together against 'Imād-ul-Mulk. After a fierce war, they defeated him and became dominant upon his elephants and cannons. The cause of recitation of Khutba for Sultān Bahādur in the Deccan was stated before. The first who recited Khutba was 'Imād-ul-Mulk in 935 ( 1528 ). He was followed by Malek Barid and then Nizām-ul-Mulk in 936 ( 1529 ). They were maleks and became Sultāns. Afterwards, Bahādur made himself independent. They were in salṭanat. They became maleks of themselves of the Deccan. They divided themselves into four kingdoms. Nizām Shāh took Aḥmadnagar ; 'Imād Shāh Elichpur ; 'Ādil Shāh, Bijapur and Kutb Shāh Golconda. There were constant wars among them.

* Original Text, p. 170

They assembled and entered into a pact for protection of their territory. He who connived at it the rest prevented him from so doing. The pact worked among them till 980 ( 1572 ).

Murtuza Nizām Shāh conquered Kāwil and Narnāla in this year. He occupied Elichpur. Heir of 'Imād Shāh became anxious. He had subdued some forts. It was his last period. Tafāul Khān enjoyed his favour but the Wazir Changiz Khān al-Mughli poisoned him to death. Nizām Shāh got perturbed. He then poisoned him at the hand of a physician named Birbas, the Egyptian. He appointed him a wazir afterwards for the remaining period. 'Adil Shāh and Kutb Shāh, each one of them occupied what was near the city of Badar. The rest was kept for Malek Barid *i.e.* the capital and its precinets till today. When one became his neighbour, the other one prevented him from so becoming. They were in their respective divisions as they were till 1009 ( 1600 ) when they recited Khutba in the name of Jalāluddin Akbar, Sultān of Hind. Kingdoms remained to themselves. I did not see ruin of the house of Nizām Shāh as well as of 'Imād Shah. Your Lord does not oppress any one. From the time of 'Alauddin Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, 748 (1347-48) till 1003 ( 1594-95 ) the kingdom of Deccan was out of Delhi saltanat. It was till 3rd, Sha'bān with the death of Burhān Nizām Shāh brother of Murtuzā Nizām Shāh son of Ḥusain Nizām Shāh, son of Burhān Nizām Shāh, son of Malek Nāib Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri. It was previously hinted at in the account of 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh* al-Fāruki. The cause of his saltanat and dethronement of his son Ismā'il Nizām Shāh took place in Rajab of 999 ( 1591 ). When Burhān died, it was after the period of his son. He was a child. Manjhu Janbaki made him a Nizām. But he did not manage the affairs well. Chānd Bibi sister of Nizām Shāh was in the fort of Aḥmadnagar. He prevented her admission into it. He ordered to post watchmen at its gates for protection. He wrote to Prince Murād to come and take charge of the fort. He marched to it in 1004 ( 1595-96). When he came near it, the wazir came out from the fort with as much gold as he could. There was nothing except elephants to carry him. He sighed for what he amassed and grieved for leaving the collection. He took what was left of jewels which would be useful to him in hardship stage by stage. He did not leave from left ones except what he found that what he left first was for the last-till he took it in turn and found that he had very little left of the first for the sake of second. He then went with his belongings and men to Bijāpur. He left behind in the fort from his side only goodness when Shāh Murād encamped at the fort to take keys from him. This is what the wazir wished him but that which the Lord of destiny wished him. When the wazir came out from the fort that very hour Chānd Bibi invited notables of the fort, cajoled them, summoned the man in

* Original Text, p. 171.

charge of the key and ordered his head to be cut off, which was done. Gates were closed, the fort was garrisoned and residents of the city were informed as to what they should do. They moved from the city to the fort. It was almost evening when Shāh Murād alighted at the fort at a place called Kāranj. The place was narrow. Only few hours of night were left. Residents of the region spent the night in digging a wide, deep ditch where the rest of citizens were removed. Honour to them first. All the citizens had come out to the fort. The queen spent the night in removing stores of houses such as food-grains, fodder of animals, other necessary things such as ghee, oils, sugar, candy, fragrant substances, fire-wood etc. on elephants, oxen and other load-carrying animals. It was morning. She had removed what was necessary during this period. At sun-rise, Shāh Murād sent some one to demand keys. The envoy went out. He* alighted at a distance from the fort where he met him and informed him to surrender the fort at an hour elected by the astrologer that day. He dismissed him and returned. The queen seized the opportunity as a boon. Every store she heard of was removed to the fort. When the stores were collected, warriors in whom she had confidence were dressed as civilians to bring arms and ammunition. They surrounded the fort, arrayed guards and placed cannons on every turret with necessary men. She ordered that all the sides of the fort should be utilized for removal of every thing that was in the ditch for the people. She then turned to amirs, soldiers and marginal warriors and addressed them thus "This fort is like this calamity, you are like this hour I am with you. If you overcome your fright, you will be well spoken of afterwards". They said, "Loyalty is a generous quality. Patience is a gift of time. Independence implies nearness. We are for you and with you in life and death. Divine grace is a good animal." She said "God willing, you will live and make them live. What God wishes, will be." The envoy returned and with him was one who surrendered the fort. They heard cannon-fire. It was a reply to the question. They returned with disappointment. Descent from the fort till it joined the hole continued. Gun-powder rose up in all directions. Victory was about to be accomplished when the queen presented herself, conducted the action, kindled fire too much and through its light the ditch became passable. People made efforts in time to find outlet from the wall. They saw the fort. The condition remained the same next day morning also. There was general destruction in the army, outside supplies were cut off. Most of the animals died of thirst. He who came out from the camp did not return. Men of judgment met for peace. Correspondence continued in that respect. Peace was concluded on terms that a title should be given to the king and a letter should be written to Mus'ud Khān Habshi. He was at Kāvil with amirship of Elichpur with surrender of the fort. It was done. Shāh Murād returned to Elichpur with that letter to Mus'ud Khān.

* Original Text, p. 172.

If the woman was like Hind
Women would be superior to men.*

*Some account of Murtuza Nizām Shāh after Changhiz, may mercy of God be on him.*

After Changhiz Khān, Bibar as physician of Egypt became the Wazir. He was followed by Kāḍi Beg. He was a virtuous man. He continued as a Wazir for two years. After him Shāh Ḥaidar, son of Shāh Tāhir became the wazir. His period did not last long. He was followed by Ismā'il Asad Khān who continued as wazir for about ten years. During his period, he was killed by a favourite of Nizām Shāh Husain Khān. He was riding under a royal umbrella. Nizām Shāh screened himself under it till his last days. He then retired and Shāh Kuli Ṣalābat Khān got confirmed in it. He was familiar with it. When he learnt about the condition of Nizām Shāh that he was struck with insanity by reading the name. During the days of Kāḍi Beg, he erected a building which was named as Bhutadi at a distance of seven farsakhs from Aḥmadnagar. Husain, son of Nizām Shāh lived in it and a tutor was appointed for him. Head of the nauba was appointed. He had an army, a marginal force of attendants and a party of mamālik amirs. They looked after him. Nyābat (deputyship) terminated with Ṣalābat as Saltanat terminated with his master Nizām Shāh. After that, Ṣalābat Khān sported with niyābat of Saltanat. It was from a small story. Nizām Shāh wrote to him a letter in an insane state ordering him to capture him and imprison him in the fort of Kirla built on the frontier of Mandu. He did it out of loyalty. The army and the subjects became anxious for his death. He was succeeded by Mirza Muḥammed Taki as wazir. He was accomplished in all respects. He retired of his own accord. He was followed by Sayyid 'Ali. During his days, Ḥusain son of Nizām Shāh imprisoned him in Dawlatābad in a despotic manner or by a letter from Nizām Shāh. He then demanded his head. He came with head of a child of his subjects and sent it to him. 'Ādil Shāh, ruler of Bijapur received a report of his murder. 'Ādil Shāh's daughter was married to him. He equipped an army to march against Ahmadnagar. Outwardly, it was a victory for his father-in-law in search of his blood but internally, he covetted the kingdom on account of Nizām Shāh's insanity. When his army approached the capital, the wazir ordered a party of amirs to march for defence. They issued forth to that side and stopped. In the meanwhile, he put a question to himself about saltanat. He poisoned Nizām Shāh. He came out with him from the fort to go to the tent, he then† rejected it and engaged himself with poison. He despatched Mirzā Khān and Abnak Khān Habshi Sultāni in wake of amirs. When they met in the house, they took an oath for the saltanat of incarcerated Ḥusain and Mirzā Khān as nāib while headship of the nauba should go to him. They then turned towards

* Original Text, p. 173.

† Original Text, p. 174.

Dawlatābād and agreed with Dawlatābād army for his saltanat. Husain Nizām Shāh went to them. All of them journeyed to Aḥmadnagar. All the amirs joined them. The army of 'Ādil Shāh received news of his life as well as arrival. They rejoiced at that. The envoy of their amir met him. He took leave for return which was granted. Nizām Shāh died due to effects of that poison on last day of the year 995 ( 1587 ). After him, his son Ḥusain Nizām Shāh sat on the throne. Mirzā Khān was appointed as nāib and Abnak Khān as head of the nauba. After a short time, he met Mirzā Khān with relationship to him. They achieved glorious posts with him. His self questioned him about despotism. He sent the mamālik of saltanat to their respective regions. None remained except Abnak Khān. He had Nāsik and Chāndor under him. He beguiled him whereupon he was pleased to go out to them. The Sultān was disposed towards him. He came out and wrote to him as from mouth of saltanat to go out of kingdom wherever he desired. In the wake of the letter, he prepared an army against him. Abnak Khān came out with members of his family and got inclined to go to Lilnak alone on the border of Burhānpur and live there. The Sultān received intelligence about that. He was affected thereby. He said to Ankas Khān who had attained to the age of discretion, "Had Mirzā Khān perpetrated a crime? I have charged him with his murder." He did so and so. The story is long. Its substance is that Mirzā Khān conveyed news to him and went quickly to his prison in bath-room of the fort and sat with him when he came with Ismāi'l son of Burhān Shāh. He was in the fort of Junair. The amirs of Persia then assembled. Husain the imprisoned retired from saltanat and he placed the umbrella on head of Ismā'il Nizām Shāh. He and the amirs saluted him. It took place on Friday, 15th Jamadi I, 997 ( 1589 ). Jamāl Khān Habshi invited the army of the Deccan for release of Ḥusain son of Nizām Shāh. On Friday morning, in response to the inviter, they met him and besieged the fort. Among them was Sayf-ul-Muluk Ulugh Khāni Habshi. After oath of allegiance for Ismā'il, Kishwar * Khān son of sister of Mirzā Khān came out from the fort fighting in the early part of afternoon. He was killed and his head was thrown from a tree in a ditch. For his death, Mirza killed him for above-mentioned Ḥusain, son of Nizām Shāh and threw him with his head to them. It was a great mishap and a strong calamity and weeping of eyes. Jamāl Khān and his friends met for demand of his blood by their extermination. He came with cannons, shook the earth by their deeds and the attendants entered from the gate of Dawlatābād at the approach of night. A soldier let loose fire at gate of the fort. He was Bilāl Mayah-ul-Sultāni. He kindled a flame and joined with its level. Light of flames continued for long. It rose up and changed the night into day. The ditch was narrowed for Mirza Khān and his confederates. They plunged heedlessly

* Original Text, p. 175.

into fire and came out of it. None of them regarded fire as of importance. The retinue gained ascendancy over them and none died except Mirza Khān. All the heads were put together with the head of Kishwar Khan at the tree. There were Khān-i-Khānān, Murtuzā Khān related to Mirzā, Nihāyat Khān, Āṣaf Khān son of Āsaf Khān al-Najafi, Mirzā Muḥammed Yaki, Amin ul-Mulk and Zulfikār Khān. Zulfikār Khān managed slaughter of his patron. He showed no mercy to his youth. It was at three o'clock in the night of 16th of the month. After some days, he came to Mirzā Khān from a distance of three days and it became loyal for him what he did not deserve of misfortune and punishment. They openly cut down his penis. They skinned him. When he died, they stuffed his skin with chopped straw and beheaded him. Jamshid Khān, on his exit from the fort, came to Jamāl Khān with a boy who was near maturity. He ordered them to be imprisoned. He imprisoned his brother. This happened during the regime of Murtuzā Nizām Shāh at Jālnāpur his Capital. He had eighty thousand horses. It was said about Jamāl Khān as narrated from history for Mirza Khān that some Persian monarchs passed such ordeal. He assembled the army for his succour and released the wazir whom he had incarcerated. He did not like to see them assembled after having dispersed. He cut off his head and threw it at them. When it so happened, they met together for his death and felt sad and dispersed. That day they decided to inflict severe punishment upon Mirzā Khān. Jamāl Khān first ordered to kill his brother and slaughter his son * and throw his head in the tomb of his father. They so said to him that " Ḥusain Nizām Shāh was like your son. He is a minor. Show him mercy as mercy was shown to you." They then put him in the mouth of a cannon. God passed an order according to deed. Jamāl Khān came that night to the gate of the fort. He entered the fort in the morning. He was accompanied by Sayf-ul-Muluk and chiefs of men who accepted his invitation. When he stood at the grave of Ḥusain, he wept as well as his companions. He then came to his head, raised it up from the ground to the throne and joined his head to his body and recited fatiha for him. He ordered Nuruddin 'Ali Lāhiji who was at the cannons to shroud him and bury him near his father. He then went to the palace where Ismā'il Nizām Shāh was. He was left alive as monarch and made secure. A party of men was left to attend upon him. He returned from him and went to his aunt Chānd Bibī. He was accompanied by his companions. The famous amir Sayf-ul-Muluk was not among them. She addressed them saying that the House of Nizām Shāh was ruined. He inquired about a plan for its improvement. The reply was that Salābat Khān alone can improve it. That very time he was summoned. She ordered a letter to be written to him. She sealed it with her seal and sent it with a speedy messenger. They went to their respective houses as they all saw. Jamāl Khān had gone on a previous day.

* Original Text, p. 176.

These were the attendants. On his exit from the fort, few persons followed him. People of the Deccan assembled and moved with elephants in front that belonged to Nizām Shāh. All the attendants gather ed together. There was a clamour for plunder of foreigner's wealth andmaking his seraglis lawful for they killed Ḥusain Nizām Shāh. They were Persians. Who was the foreigner, who fought for his wealth and who killed ? Who escaped with his head on horseback and was killed ? They attacked them that day outside the city. The number reached to five hundred. Then it was in the evening. Their killing was not under order of Jamāl Khān for he had declared amnesty for them. I ( the author ) was a participant in this event with Sayf-ul-Muluk. I saw it was an action of fortune or misfortune. It was my independent view based on hearing histories that " His order, when He intended a thing ; He said, ' be ' and ' it was '. On 22nd of the month, the mamālik of saltanat arrived from army of Berār. They were Malek Farhād Khān, Shamshir Khān, Abnak Khān, Shujā'at Khān, Jahāngir Khān, Habash Khān, Dilāwar Khān. They were all habshis and their* chief was Farhād Khān. They were ten thousand horses in strength. Jamāl Khān came out with those who were with him to meet them. When they entered the fort to salute the queen Chānd Bībī, she mentioned to them that she wrote a letter to Ṣalābat Khān for his summons. Farhād Khān was disposed towards him to assure that he was sound in health and secure against mischief. He was applauded for what he did and a letter was written to him also. When he intended to go to his house, Jamāl Khān gave him state-seal, keys of the treasure and the fort to surrender them to her from him. He said to him to keep them in his hand till arrival of Khān Sāheb Ṣalābat Khān. Then Jamāl Khān, Yākut Khān and a party of old salāhdārs of the world met together. They said, " When we got such an opportunity as this for the state, all except Farhād Khān, Shamshir Khān and Bahzad-ul-Mulk will be of our view. There is no need for Ṣalābat Khān. " They dispersed with this view that Jamāl Khān should be nāib of the saltanat, Yākut Khān, amir of the army with the title of Khudāwand Khān. There would be safety and security for the rest. Then they agreed upon capturing these three persons. Abnak Khān etc. agreed with them. Jamāl Khān was confirmed in the post of niyābat and all people of the Deccan should obey him. They achieved desires during his time, and pomp and glory of the habshis got strengthened. Mirzā Khān and his companions entered into the house of Jamāl Khān with what he had along with women, daughters, wealth and animals. He met him at the hour which parted them in life and with state. They laughed ultimately on their deeds. Before arrival of the letter of queen Chānd Bībī, Ṣalābat Khān had left the fort. He said to him rebuking that " None doubled your sagacity. " There is a proverb among common folk that " when the speaker is mad, the hearer is not wise. Your Nizām was insane in

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* Original Text, p. 177.

deed but you were wise. There was no difficulty for you to put him in fetters but you poisoned your Nizâm, butchered his son to death, and ruined the kingdom for the sport of foreigners. You were in it as among the good persons. That caused your retirement due to his misdeeds. I decided upon safety. Perhaps Allāh may make amends for him. I did not find him weeping out of folly and madness. His uncle covetted and extended the state but about our plans, there is what is ordained by God. Ṣalābat Khān alighted. On his arrival* at Berar, its Amir Muhammed Khān famous as Sarnaubat met him. He was in his days specialized in naubat. He wrote to him who was in his days an amir and a noble with loyalty and summoned him. He went to Ahmadnagar with ten thousand horses. Jamāl Khân and Nizām Shāh came to fight. Distance left between the two was of a few farsakhs. None verified as to who wrote and who summoned and thus prepared to come. A split took place among chief amirs such as 'Aziz-ul-Mulk and his equals. But Ikhlāṣ Khān son of Ikhlāṣ Khan Habshi intended to make him a captive and a party adhered to him. This party consisted of Shaikh Muḥammed 'Anis, 'Arab Khān al-Yāfai' and Muḥammed Khān, ruler of Berār. They agreed upon war. Ṣalābat Khān was against war. He sent a message saying that the object is achieved. There is no reason to fight with son of my brother Nizām Shāh. I am here going. May God bless him and you in the kingdom. He then returned to Berār and the party of amirs followed him in his wake till they entered frontiers of Burhānpur. After meeting with 'Adil Shāh, I found him disposed towards saltanat of Burhān Shāh. He sent what were with him of horses, arms and elephants to Jamāl Khān and wrote to him saying that it was not time then to seek region or anything of the world. So long as I am here, nothing but loyalty is possible for me. I intend to have property for life for future prosperity. It is Sigām for its residents. When the letter came from you through the hand of Sayyid Amjad, who is trustworthy to him. Arrival to you is possible and so I do not talk anything with this envoy. Inform me wherever Jamāl Khān was now. Ṣalābat Khān arrived and Jamāl Khān received him with those who were with him and reached him to his place of alightment. They all entered the fort. After taking meals with the Sultān and the queen Chānd Bībī, he went to his place of alightment and stayed for three days. He then went to Shāh Koh. It was a mountain stretching to Ahmadnagar. A dome was built and gardens were laid out within a short time. He selected a tomb for himself. Women had come to the dome. Jamāl Khān and most of the amirs were with him. Women paid visits to the shrine, table-cloth was spread out. They assembled and then they departed to their property and resided there till death in 998 (1590) and he was buried under the dome. He was wise, just, perfect in person and qualities. He was among the people of Deccan as wazir as Shahābuddin †

* Original Text, p. 178. † Original Text, p. 179.

Aḥmad Khān was among the Mughals. Ḥakim Bibaras Egyptian protected the fort. He alighted and then proceeded to Cheval and then to Ahmadābād. Nawāb Khān-i-A'ẓam 'Aziz Muḥammed Kokaltāsh was at Ahmedābād. He met him. He welcomed him and got him ready to see Sultān of Hind. He returned from him and died at Burhānpur, it is said, of poison in 1008 (1599-1600). Ismā'il Charkas Asad Khān came to Cheval also. The Firangis honoured him very much under order of their chief, ruler of Goa. He then arrived at Burhānpur and went to the majlis of its ruler. When Burhān Shāh entered Berār, he made him his wazir as was the case with his brother. He then made preparations for conquest of Cheval. He built a strong fort on the sea and on the fort of Firangis. The victory was about to take place. One day, a conflict with the Firangis took place while Farhād Khān was on sea-shore. There were a few persons with Farhād Khān. He turned to the fort. The elephant was in his wake while the Firangis were in wake of the elephant. Farhād Khān forbade to close the gate one night as the elephant was following him. When the elephant entered, the Firangis entered in wake of the elephant. A fierce battle was fought resulting in martyrdom of Asad Khān. They did not intend to kill him but he refused their entry and thus it was his martyrdom. He was aged. Similarly Farhād Khān and a large number of people were martyred. The Firangis became dominant overall that belonged to the Muslims. They razed the fort to ground stone by stone. The number of those who were killed was more than ten thousand. Verily to God we belong and to Him we return. Asad Khān was one of those who came to Gujarāt from Yaman with Amir Mustufā Rumi Khān. His martyrdom took place in the year 1002 (1594).

A conflict took place between Jamāl Khān and 'Ādil Shāh Fāruki in Rajab, 999 (1591). His companions proved perfidious towards him. It was a severe conflict. He was hit by a gun. After him, Burhān Nizām Shāh came to Ahmadnagar. His son Ismā'il Nizām Shāh blinded him. He was clement in his age. He died with pain and affliction. The ruler invited Sayf-ul-Muluk of firm resolution to his kingdom. He made progress in this event. He was the master * of eight thousand and fifty elephants. He called him, plundered him and imprisoned him in the fort of Dowlatābād till he died in 1001 (1593). Burhān Nizām Shāh died on 3rd Sha'bān, 1003 (1594-95). His son inherited the kingdom. He was a child. Wazir Manju al-Janabki invited the ruler of Gujarat for surrender of the kingdom to him. He came to Bijapur with jewels and gold. Queen Chānd Bibi gave him a despotic order, strengthened the fort and became a trustee on behalf of her brother's son. Shāh Murād descended upon the fort. He returned to Berār. Then arrived the chief amir Suhail Nizām Shāhi. He had brought help with him from Kutb Shāh, ruler of Telangana also. He was from the side of 'Ādil Shāh, ruler of Bijapur. He came to the succour of Chānd

* Original Text, p. 160.

Bibi. But he came after the return of Shāh Murād from it to Berār. 'Ādil Shāh was against surrender for she had time to breathe after peace. There was an encounter between him and the chief amir of Akbari armies Khān-i-Khānān at close of the day. He withdrew from the battle and so war operations were conducted by 'Ādil Shāh Fāruki. Those who were on his side achieved martyrdom. Many died on both sides. It was a victory that day for Suhail Khān but his soldiers on seeing the body, rushed in the morning on the camp of the Amir-ul-Umra. He had no horseman with what he had except the horse and clothes which he had on his body. Everything else was in the hands of Deccanis who did not sleep at night including Suhail. They were three thousand less not more. When it dawned Amir-ul-Umra returned to the maidān. There was a fierce conflict between the two. Had there been no strength in the fortune of Saltanat, Suhail and his companions would not have turned their reins. Suhail had to quit battle-field with a wound. He was removed on an elephant but he was safe. Amir-ul-Umra forbade to pursue him. This event took place in the year 1004 (1595). In the year 1006 (1597), Shāh Murād died at his residential quarters called Shāhpur. He had conquered Kāvil, Narnālah, and Elichpur of the Nizāmiya territory, kingdom of Chānd Bibi at Ahmadnagar. She abstained from correspondence for peace and concord. His territory afterwards devolved upon his brother Shāh Dāniyal. He had encamped at the fort during his time.* It was in charge of Tawāshi. He bore the title of Chitā Khān. He was a slave of Chand Bibi's brother Nizām Shāh. It is said that he stabbed her with a dagger in violence. She died and the fort was surrendered. (The great amir Sayyid Yusuf Muḥammed Khān made great efforts for a breach in the fort. He was about to come near the fort. There was also a breach on the side of Khān-i-Khānān). He came out carrying Ibrāhim son of Burhān Nizām Shāh for him upon his shoulder to Akbari khalifa, Sabal Shāh. He took the child from him, and adopted him. The Mughals entered the fort in 1008 (1599-1600). With her death, the Bahmani Saltanat came to an end. "God gives kingdom to whomsoever He wishes." Most of these territories came under the administration of Delhi government as it was. To Him turns every order. I said that flight was a surprise from him. But experience of the world declared it not as a surprise. These events as commingled with sadness and joy were not to be slighted. Shāh Murād had almost conquered Ahmadnagar. Its ruler was a woman. He had nearly seized it when he died. He was a powerful youth. It was not soon annexed because he prevented it. She was helpless and old. There was little time. Small mistakes were committed. These are degrees of vain safety but beneath it there is falsehood. In between, he breathed. The breath was long which broke him down. Afterwards, the cord of strangulation became tight for his brother. He did not settle it with obvious victory. Half the number of men

* Original Text, p. 181.

were killed for his safety. He went to the capital where after a short time, he perished in 1013 ( 1604 ) in the city of Burhānpur. Thus destiny worked. The world did not spare him in affliction. He died that year. The calamity descended upon his father. Famous men are surprised at this as to who suffers and who enjoys. The world is not based on desires.

Fire gives light to one who
Journeys at night but it is not obtained.
Pleasure terminales with its increase
Sight and perception are short.

These lines are from the panegyric composed by Abi Muḥammed 'Abdullāh, son of al-Kasm, son of Mazaffar, son of 'Ali, son of Kāsim Shaharzuri in praise of the Prophet. He was born in Mosul in Sha'abān, 465 ( 1072 ) and died at Mosul.* He lived in Baghdād for a period. He died in Rabi ' I, 511 ( 1117-18 ). Kādi Abul 'Abbās Shamsuddin Aḥmad, son of Muḥammed, son of Ibrāhim, son of Abi Bakr, son of Khāllikān, son of Barak, son of 'Abdullāh, son of Shākal, son of Husain, son of Mālek, son of Za'far, son of Yaḥyā, son of Khālid al-Barmak al-Balkhi ul-Asl, al-Arbali ash-Shāfai' may mercy of God be on him, said during his short life. It is related in history through one of the holy men that he saw him in a dream speaking in a manner as the Mosulia Kasida ( panegyric ).

A flash of their fire brightened dark night
Intensely burning coal produced heat in guide.
And my heart is that heart of meaning
My love is that love of a foreigner.
Then I came to it and said to my friends
This fire is fire of my night. Be disposed to it.
They threw water accurately in it
It as usual got extinguished and changed its state.
They got inclined to love and said
It was illusory what you saw or imaginary.
I avoided them and got inclined to it
My animal desire and longing desert
With me a friend following
Pure and sincere with condition to live gratis.
You weak in climb and we came near to
Avoiding roads in ruins round about.
They approached ruins, then the condition
Breathing from being near and thirsty.
I said, ' Who is with man of the house ? ' They said, ' wounded,
And a captive, fettered and killed.

* Original Text, p. 182.

What did he desire? I said, 'a guest.
He came with pleasure to a village. Where was to alight?'
I pointed with pleasure, near you, stupefied
This, then what near us for departing guest.
Who came to us, to settle down from journey
I said, what to me, where is the road?
People alighted in manzils
They settled down with great delight.
Lesson of ecstasy from them, a custom
Custom and community therein get mingled.
Pardoned among them, with no complaint
But were with tears filled.
There were but the breaths which asked
Who was obedient and retired. *
And from people who advises ecstasy
Leaves but a small effect upon him.
For every one I saw a place there
Its explanation in the book is long.
I said to people of lust, peace be on you
For me, heart from you, with you engaged.
Eye-lids which poured tears copious
Flowed to your face with particles of dust
Always abstain from desire when got
By you, calamities hover around.
Apologize a sin when committed
Who knows my apology to accept when not made.

*Life of Ḥāfiz al-Barzāli, a great Kādi*

The great Hafiz 'Ilm-ud-Din al-Kasm bin Muhammed bin Yusuf al-Barzāli was an eminent man of Syria. He died in the year 742 (1341). He compiled "Mu'ajjama" on hearsay statements of one thousand shaikhs and of other one thousand with permission and incorporated them in his book the names of heard statements and authorities in twenty volumes. May mercy of Allāh be on him. Kādi-ul-Kudāt Shamsuddin ibn-i-Khallikān was one of the famous learned men of his age. He was a chief among literary men of that period. He was well-versed in various branches of learning such as theology, Arabic language and literature, history, lexicon etc. He wrote a precious history which being a short account of eminent men of every branch of learning. It is a book of great advantages. It was named "Wafyāt-ul-A'yān" (Obituiries). He was appointed as Kādi of Syria for a period. He lectured to students and gave

* Original Text, p. 183.

religious decrees. He was very proficient in the science of lexicography. He spent his time in study of Diwān of Mutanabbi as he was very well-informed in the knowledge of literature and beauties of poetry. He was a theologician of sound mind, of abundant liberality, excessive reason, perfect leadership, a lover of scholarship and familiar with it. His majlis had many advantages. One did not find in it except research and investigation, debate and discussion. He was born on Thursday, eleventh of Rabi ' II, 580 ( 1184 ) in the city of Arbal. He was first appointed as Kādi of Syria on 8th Jamādi II, 659 ( 1261 ). He gave it up on Sunday, 13th Shawwāl 669 ( 1270 ). He travelled in different parts of Egypt and established madresas there. He then returned to Syria a second time. He entered Syria on Thursday, 17th Muharram 677 ( 1279 ). He left it on last day of Muḥarram, 680 ( 1282 ). He lived in Damascus. He was a great teacher and continued teaching till his death on Saturday, 16th Rajab, 681 ( 1283 ). He was buried on Sunday at a mountain in the neighbourhood of the Sawābiya Turbat opposite to the Nāsiri Ribāt. Period of his illness was five days. This is a short account of what al-Barzāli said of him. *

Another man narrated that King al-Zāhir removed him on his entry into Damascus for the sake of ibn-i-al-Fakhrāni but later on found that Damascus suffered a loss for his absence. Later on, he was appointed as mutawalli ( officer ) in the kingdom. It is said that he returned and entered Damascus like a rainy cloud upon barren land. He was absent for seven years. Idmar Zaheri, the Nāib came out with his cavalcade along with the amirs to receive him. Citizens also came out to receive him. Neither father nor son was left. Chief of the nobles arrived for his reception and shed tears for him. May God forgive sins of the past and pardon him. Most of the poets composed poems on the subject of his return. Rashid Fāraki wrote the following verses on his return after seven years.

You are in Syria like Joseph in Egypt and in my opinion it is a noble gift.
For every seven difficulties, and after seven years, he comes to help people.

*Life of Kādi Athir*

Kādi Athir Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad al-'Umari was Abu Hanifa of his age in point of clemency, Shāfai' of the epoch in point of learning, Ḥātim of the period but one cannot imagine of Halim with him, seal of the world which terminated generous men. The seal did not separate him. He was a remnant of the liberal Barmecides, a sayyid unattached to the world ; his age was like that departing age ; in that manner, obligation and those gifts, with imitation in manners of those people who were like growing ambergris or selecting jewels from the crown of jewels of Pleiades. He suppressed fury of rage with clemency. Abu Muslim did not roam like him and took rest. In generosity, he was a

* Original Text, p. 185.

pouring cloud. He did not see Mâmun without being called. Such were his good manners. Walid was young and he concealed the account of Tâi. He wrote with certainty over control of events, retention of wonderful things in mind, verification of names, veracity of narration for everything under pavilion of the sky. It is related about his life that he loved a slave in childhood as a * school-boy in Aleppo. He used to hide in some of places and surround him with drawn swords. He was not afraid thereby. He got separated from him for some time. He was not bold enough to get information about him and to know who made it necessary to hide him behind a window. The slave used to come to him like a rebuker and then covered him. If he was busy with the teacher in preparation of his lesson, he stood by his side and wished him to sit down. He used to look at him for an hour. He was contented with this in the world with this desire. He said to him, " Be engaged with theology in that manner and do not deceive me with your fraud. "

> Love did not change from that and not
> Helped me now in pledge and pact
> My lesson, my love with you I repeat
> He understood my ecstasy and desire.

It is related that he was under threat of a slave. He came to visit him. He sat waiting for his coming down from a window of his house. He did not come for a long time. Fire of love did not increase in his heart for him. It was a day of resurrection due to waiting for him. Most of the nights passed when he did not visit him. He stood taking rounds of the house. When he got tired of rounds, he waited in expectation, looking at water and was about to drown in his tears. Such was the condition and ardent love in heart which perturbed him. Hours were passing while his friend was away and not near. The slave was beyond hope of meeting face to face. He was more comely than a gazelle who can be alluded. A branch cannot be compared with his lean stature. He did not see him except with disappointment about his safety.

> I, by God, loved
> Disappointed of safety
> Or I see stature which
> Raised my day of resurrection.

He always fixed his gaze at the door when the door was opened. Morning dawned upon him with face of the east. It erased darkness of night and was commendable. He spent the night but it was not like every lover who rejoices with union of friends. Out of his respect and love for members of his family, he rode to Ibrâhim al-Hâik known as 'Ain-i-Basal to hear verses of his poem. He was 'the eye of onion' generally hereditarily. When he came to him, he composed extempore

* Original Text, p. 186.

Every time is not to permit my mind
To compose poem excellent in word and meaning
Has not the noble religion permitted tayammum
With dust. This is the sea or my friend with us. *

Shaikh Najmuddin son of Isrāil one day said to him, "you were the chief Kādi at Damasous in such and such a year. This saddle under you is broken not repaired. You did not heed it." He said and then said to me, "Oh Najmuddin, man thought over the welfare of others first but who thought for his own welfare? He was a saucy wit. He was too much in it. It was in his nature to be good-mannered. There was no fear in him. His hints did not last always. The margin shone and you see who related it. One of the special men asked his friends about life in connection with men of Damascus. I forgave him for that. I then entreated him. He said, "Learning and scholarship hand in hand, But pedigree, they put a claim in it. They say that the Mawlānā eats opium and loves it saltish. He said, "Lineage and falsehood in it are a kind of nonsense. If I had not intended to trace lineage from 'Abbās or from 'Ali, son Abi Tālib may God be pleased with them, I will not permit that. Lineage goes with community. It does not remain with it. They are Persian Zoroastrians. What advantage is there in it? Eating of bhang or opium implies performance of every other unlawful deed. When it was so, necessarily, I drank wine. It was very bitter. But love of slaves. What do you say when he will be your friend tomorrow? These are from his niceties. These were desired by some sons of amirs. He made no increment for imams except proud persons. He always followed places of doubt to see the rising moon and his fore-head. He was full of moles as if beauty printed on him with a printer. Passage had designs against him at several places. He was in a cavalcade reeling branch of his feet. Eye-lids of hearts will quickly go to shafts of arrows. Ringlets of his hair were pulled beyond him. Azure gowns shone on the bright day. He was always with him till his affair became public in his love. He was about to finish in destined death.

( Verses are droped ) P. 188-189.

Shaikh, Imām, a very learned man, Hāfiz Shamsuddin Abu 'Abdullāh Muhammed, son of Ahmad, son of Uthmān az-Zahbi writes in his book "Siyar-ul-Nublā" about him thus: He was an Imām, intelligent, steadfast, historian, a learned man of poetry and history, periods of men, glorious, of sweet narration. His book "Wafyāt-ul-A'yān" contains seven hundred and sixty biographies. He was a judge, of good family, generous, praiseworthy, of good qualities. ( Verses are dropped. )

* Original Text, p. 187.

## CHAPTER XV

*Bahādur Shāh's Account* (Contd.)

(It is stated in Tuhfat-us-Sādāt of Kashmiri that in the year 937 (1530), Bahādur marched to the kingdom of Bakher. He encamped on the bank of the Mahi river in the village of Khānpur. Under his order, the Wazir Khudāwand Khān Majd and 'Abdul 'Aziz Āṣaf Khān went ahead of him with an army and baggage towards Bākher. The Sultān alone went to Khanbhāyat and then to Div by sea. At Div, many ships of travellers from different parts of the world had anchored. The Sultān ordered to purchase every kind of best articles. There were 1300 maunds of rose-water. In the above year, the relatives of the ruler of Delhi, Bahlol Lodi Fateh Khān, Qutb Khān and 'Umar Khān met Bahādur. Bahādur welcomed them with honour in his Diwān. He met them in a majlis. He clothed them with 300 robes of Sarāsar (cloth), velvet and silk of Syria. He also attired with khil'at those who formed their party. The same number of select horses. Fifty-five of them were of the best quality. They were also given gold coins for expenditure. They were more than sufficient. Khudāwand Khān and Āṣaf Khān expected the Sultān at Modāsa. The Sultān proceeded towards them. At Sanbal, Prithvi Rāj, the rājā of Dungerpur presented himself before him. Bahādur left behind his baggage at Sanbal and proceeded alone for hunting. He was continually proceeding further and further and ultimately reached Mānsalah and then the valley of Karji. Dungersi, the vakil of the rājā of Chitor, Ratansi met him with all * that he had brought for attendance. Bahādur returned to Sanbal from the valley. He distributed Bākher half to half between Prithvi Rāj and Barmalakā. At this place, an emissary of Khalji met him. There was a war at Ujjain between the Khalji and the Rānā Sāngā. The cause of this war was that Sikander Khān, the ruler of Siwās intended mischief. Hence, Silhadi joined the Rānā and Sikander on arrival to him. Similarly, Bhupat also confederated with them. On 27th Jamādi I, both of them met him at Sanbal. After their arrival, Farash Khān and Daryā Khān arrived from the Khalji and represented to him on behalf of Maḥmud about his presence before Bahādur. This request was repeated by him in his letters also but he did not come to meet him. Bahādur said to his emissaries that he would meet him in the valley of Karji. The emissary of Khalji returned to inform Khalji to meet Bahādur in presence at Karji. Bahādur proceeded to the valley of Karji. When he arrived there, he alighted in his pavilion. Rānā Ratansi, and Silhadi met him. They kissed the ground out of respect and honour. They gave him 30 elephants, many

* Original text, p. 193.

horses as well as Sarāsar Khil'ats, many rare articles consisting of fifteen hundred khil'ats. At the time of return, lacs in cash were given.)

Bahādur then proceeded to the valley. The ruler of Āsir, Muḥammed Khān was with him. When he encamped at Sanbal, the emissary of Khalji arrived with an excuse for his not coming due to injury in hand. Bahādur said to him, "I will come to pay a sick-visit to him." The emissary represented on behalf of the Khalji that His Majesty would demand the presence of Chānd Khān who would not be secure. Bahādur said that his excuse lay in that. He would not stand for his death. The emissary returned with the reply. Bahādur marched to Dipalpur. He heard news that the Khalji had appointed his eldest son Ghiyasuddin for defence of the fort. He determined to march against his army. 'Alam Khān and Fateh Khān Shirwāni, the two amirs deserted the Khalji. Bahādur gave them a warm reception. At the time of his encampment at Dhār, Tabriz Khān came down from the fort and joined him. When he encamped at Na'lcha, he began to lay siege to the fort. Muḥammed Khān encamped on the side of Shādipur and Alaf Khān on the * side of Bahlolpur while Bahādur posted himself at Maḥmudpur. One day, he inquired about the elevated side of the fort wall. They said to him that it was from a side......It was a very high mountain. It was on 9th Sha'bān that the Sultān rode to that side along with Khān-i-Khānān and other important persons. They climbed up the gates. The garrisoned had paid no heed to defence of that side. Bahādur's men stealthily climbed up the wall. It was a victory. Bahādur entered it along with his experienced men in the army. The first amir of the Khalji who confronted and fought was Habib-ul-Mulk. The Khalji joined him with his hordes. They made strenuous efforts in war and ultimately garrisoned themselves in the palace with a force of 1000. They then sought security and safety. He came out and saw Bahādur with his children. He treated them with formality. This account is given by Sikander in his history and a majority of others agree with what I have narrated in my history from Husām Khān. God knows the best about these accounts).

In 937 (1530), Bahādur marched to Bākher and thence to Chitor. This mountain belonged to Rāy Ratansi. He met him within his jurisdiction with submission. He then turned towards Mandu. Maḥmud Shah Khalji had promised to meet him. He encamped in the valley of Karji. The above-mentioned Rāy met him in this manzil along with Rāy Salādi Purabiya. He heeded to them with much respect and honour. He listened to them when they complained to him against the Khalji at the time of departure. He said to them that he would please him with them on his arrival. They determined to go to their respective regions. Dunger Siv Purabiya lagged behind them. In the

* Original Text, p. 194.

meantime, the Khalji joined on receipt of intelligence of a complaint against him. He turned from him to Siwas, the ruler of which place was Sikander Khān Purabiya. He was occupied with hunting for some days. He got separated from the saddle while galloping his horse behind a game. He came down to the ground and dislocated his hand. He returned to Mandu in a pālki. He sent his emissary to Bahādur apologising for not meeting him due to pain in hand. He attributed this illness as an excuse and created its impression very much. It was because Bahādur had summoned his brother, Chānd Khān, son of Muzaffer. Maḥmud understood from his insistence that he intended to bring about destruction of his brother while he had given him safety out of regard for Muzaffer Shāh. He made an excuse and did not send him to him. One of his amirs Razi-ul-Mulk went to him. Bahādur wrote to the Khalji rebuking him for* giving quarter to Chānd Khān. He ordered him to send him as a captive. Maḥmud apologised and did not act according to his order. He received news that Razi-ul-Mulk had gone to Delhi to meet Humāyun its ruler. He returned to Mandu as an emissary from him to Chānd Khān. His arrival at Mandu was attributed to it. But after what was written to him, it was said that it was not out of will what had reached us from the efforts of Razi. His shelter would not cease from him. Firstly, till he was returned. Secondly, through an embassy of Humāyun to my brother for establishment of sincerity. The first condition was to send him as a captive. He should be in his region for all the time. When the Khalji did not do it as there was doubt in this matter. He marched to Bākher as stated before. He wrote to him in a mild tone in hope of meeting him. He accepted it and promised a meeting. When he delayed the meeting, he marched towards Mandu and wrote to him that he was near him and the road of travelling had become light. He agreed to meet him at the foot of the valley but he negatived it on the ground of what had happened. He then sent an army of amirs to Sultān Bahādur. They met him at the foot of the valley. The Khalji followed them with what was left of them at Mandu. Rāy Darbā (Durga) killed some from amongst them. His affair got disturbed and his organisation was paralysed till there remained with the Khalji only 4000 soldiers. Just then, Bahādur ordered to blow the trumpet, escaladed the valley and encamped at the capital of Shādiābād. He was determined for its conquest. The Khalji received the intelligence. He was seized with the zeal of Saltanat and self-esteem. He rode from the capital to the Ghiyāsiyah madresa to prevent the fort from falling into the hands of Bahādur. But his army advised him to submit to Bahādur. He went to his house and dismissed the idea of war. When Rāy Sāngā, the ruler of Bāl, saw that he was committed to sincerity with him, he stood before him and said to him, "What do you order me now? I have dismissed the idea of war. If I

* Original Text, p. 195.

were resolved on it, I would have been personally guided by you as well as those who were with me." The Khalji said to him, "Are you that person who orders me today to dislike a man who is not inimical to you? Do you not care for your fidelity? You do not hide with him and at last you advise me to expel Chānd Khān to his place of shelter. God willing, persons like you will have power over him. He then embraced Chānd Khān and prayed to God. The Rāy also embraced and made Chānd Khān secure. He prayed to them for his safety. They gave him a farewell salute and came out. The tongue sang *

Or who separated me contrary to my wish
This is according to the order of God; it is not my order.

Hence the withered pen writes what was to happen. The Khalji did not fight. None remained with him except his children. They were seven. His women and the special attendants were with him. On 9th night of Sha'bān of the above year, the Sultān entered the fort. When he approached the capital, the Khalji was touched by pride. He was slow to move out of self-esteem and valour to salute him. He had the hilt of sword in his hand. He rode his horse and advanced to the gate of the house. It was a sign of his strength and bravery. The eldest lady of the harem was with him excited with rage as if the youth returned to her even though she was old standing straight with one thousand horse. When he reached the gate, he saw a multitude of soldiers on every side. He turned to the harem to kill those who opposed him. He was then free from martyrdom. It so happened that he who informed Bahādur, restricted those who were desirous of maintaining the kingdom. He gave up his determination. He alighted at a place and the Sultān entered the palace. When he settled down in a majlis, Khān-i-Khānān was sent to him for a meeting with him. He turned to him and approached him, Bahādur met him, embraced him and sat down on a single same carpet. He opened the conversation. The Khalji was enchained and not speak. Bahādur felt dispirited after he had resolved to treat him with affection.

* Original text, p. 196

## CHAPTER XVI

### *History of the Khaljis at Mandu as narrated by historians*

The first Khalji sultān of Mandu was Maḥmud son of the Eastern monarch Khān Jahān Mugith. He was succeeded by his son Ghiyāshuddin son of Maḥmud* followed by Nāṣiruddin son of Ghiyāthuddin and 'Alāuddin Maḥmud son of Nāsiruddin. They say that Khalj is name of a city among the Turks. It is said that originally it was Kāliz but its frequent use, made it Khalj. Kālij is name of a son of Afrāsiyāb who had married the daugher of Changhiz Khān, al-Mughli. He left her. He lived in Kābul with thirty thousand horse. He conquered Samarkand after the death of Changhiz Khān. He had three sons, the youngest in age was Tulak Khān. He lived in Kunduz and was fortunate to embrace Islām. He had two sons, Naṣiruddin and Firuz. After his death, they migrated from Kunduz to Dehli. The Sultān in those days was Ghiyāthuddin Balban. During the salṭanat of Kaikobād, Firuz was the Amir at Lāhore. During the salṭanat of Kaikāus, Firuz assumed the title of Sulṭān and nominated his brother Naṣiruddin as Governor of Amroha. He had a son 'Ali Sher son of Naṣiruddin while 'Ali Sher's son was Mugith, and Mugith's son was Maḥmud. Maḥmud was the Wazir when Hoshang was the king and he continued as such even during the regime of Hoshang's son, Saifuddin. When Saifuddin died, Maḥmud seized salṭanat. The cause of it is mentioned about in the life of Saifuddin.

Maḥmud ascended the throne at Shādiābād on Monday, 15th Shawwāl, 839 (1435-36). In 841 (1438), a war took place between him and the ruler of Gujarāt, Aḥmad bin Muḥammed bin Muzaffar as mentioned above in the life of Aḥmad Shāh. He descended upon Chanderi where Shahābuddin was the Amir. The ruler of Kālpi, al-Majlis-us-Sāmi Ismā'il Khān chanced to arrive at Chanderi. He intended to go for hajj via Gujarāt and so mediated for peace. Shahābuddin came out from it to him.

In the year 844 (1440-41), Maḥmud marched to wage a religious war in the vicinity of Khandwa. It was an independent principality under Rāy Hardās† and his capital. When the Rāy heard about his march, he left the centre whereupon Maḥmud resorted to plunder and pillage. He then moved forward to Laharni and left it to his army. He journeyed to Khirlah, an independent principality under Rāy Birsang Dev and his capital. He came out to meet Maḥmud for submission. The latter granted him safety and security in person and kingdom. If Hardās had done the same thing his kingdom would not have been made desolate. He would not have suffered any loss. Besides, he would

* Original Text, p. 197.

† Original Text, p. 198.

have had the pleasure of security and safety followed by strength. It is said in this respect "For the fearful, safety is the ornament". It is a hemistich from verse of a panegyric. Maḥmud then marched to Sarkaja when Rāy Birsang Dev was in attendance upon him. It so happened that the guide lost the road. After three days, he came to a mountain known as Sā'u inhabitated by black people in a nude state. He did not understand their language. He left them. They all proceeded further passing through valleys and mountains and arrived at Mahma called Koh Pāyah and thence to a mountain called Hindugar. Inhabitants of this locality were similar to those of Sā'u black, uncivilized covering their privates with a piece of cloth with knot on a side bound by a string in what is beneath the secrets. The piece of cloth is extended to cover the parts between buttocks and ties the other end with the string above the knot of penis. Women do the same thing for the cover. Wherever the Khalji alighted, he gave them cloth, food and gifts in gold and silver. They were apart from that. They loved him and came near him with elephants for procreation in their region for multiplicity. When he saw them, he was surprised. They stipulated conditions for that, saying they do not hunt when they have them in their stables. They have brought them to him. Sarkajah belonged to Rāy Bhoj. The king and his subjects were in that dress. They had silk and gold-embroidered garments. They expected those things from Khalji. They met him and offered him elephants for which he felt a surprise. He took them from him and awarded him with gold and clothes. His eyes had not seen such things. He felt obliged to him. He was not at first influenced by him. Distance between Sarkajah, capital of Rāy and Shadiābād was two hundred farsakhs. When he observed him to be favourably disposed towards him, he complained to him that he was not free from wanton sport of Rānā Kunbha, ruler of Raipur. Khalji determined to punish him. He received intelligence about it. He sent an envoy with elephants and showed submission and agreed to give up depredation on the* frontiers of Rāy Bhoj. Khalji was at Sakajah. He left it for Doli, in the territory of Hoshang but Rāy Kunbhā had occupied it. Now Maḥmud regained it and annexed it to Mandu. He then journeyed towards Delhi and encamped there. It happened during the regime of Muḥammed son of Khizr Khān as its account will come in the second daftar of the history. He then returned to his kingdom.

In 846 (1442), he conquered the fort of Rāipur. He then marched to Chitor and domineered over peak of a mountain. He received intelligence about depredations of Rānā Kunbhā in the neighbourhood of Mandu. He returned to that side. On the way, he heard about his route from his amirs so he turned his reins towards Bangra in the territory of Rāy. He descended upon it and delayed there. In the meanwhile, he received news of the death of his father, king of

* Original Text, p. 199.

the East Khān Jahān Mugith. He had encamped at Dasur (Mandsur) and decided to conquer it. He recovered it. He then journeyed to Dasur. After arrival, he sent the coffin of his father to Shādiābād. Tāj Khān was left behind for siege of Dasur and returned to Chitor. In the beginning of monsoon, he marched back to his capital. Ruler of Chitor made a night-attack but he did nothing.

On 16th Rajab, 847 (1443-44), he alighted upon Karkun which was within the territory of Hoshang but Rāy Phālan had conquered it. He then laid siege to it, conquered it with violence and destroyed many of its citizens by the sword. Among the kiiled was the Vakil of Rāy whose name was Dhirā. Rāy escaped by going out. He burnt his women. Khalji re-built the fort and named it Mustafābād. It was this fort which was strongest of the forts and it was famous for its invincibility on that side. After its conquest, he was always on the fort. It was found vacant of its citizens. Residents of Karkun remain hidden. During a short period, fourteen rulers ruled over the fort and city.

In this year, Maḥmud son of Ibrāhim, ruler of Jaunpur wrote to him to permit him to occupy Kālpi for its ruler Khān Jahān transgressing limit of religion. Besides, his marriage with unbelievers is most objectionable. Khalji replied to him to conquer it by force. Khān Jahān came out to Chanderi situate* within the territory of Mandu. He complained to Khalji about oppression of Jaunpuri and requested him to mediate as before during the regime of Hoshang. Khalji mentioned about it to him and arrived at Chanderi to advise him. Similarly, Maḥmud Jaunpuri marched to him and met Khalji. They met him and he made them repent. Hence Khān Jahān returned to Kālpi and Maḥmud to Jaunpur. In this year, a hospital was built at Shadiābād. It was an outcome of his charity. He dedicated much property for its upkeep and maintenance. He appointed excellent physicians such as Hakim Faḍlullāh. He was one of the virtuous men of the age, of blessed hand and auspicious face.

In 857 (1448), he descended upon Bayānā. It belonged to Muhammed Khān. He made peace on condition of loyalty and recitation of his name in the Khutaba.

In 854 (1450-51), Khalji arrived at Barah Sinol (Balasinor) of the territory of Gujarāt. Rāi Gangdās, ruler of Champāner sought help of Kutbuddin son of Muḥammed Shāh. In 855 (1452) they displayed Islām due to peace between him and Kutbuddin against wars of enemies of God. A warning was previously sounded in the book. Peace was made on war of Maḥmud. In 858 (1454), he marched to wage religious wars in the regions of Hāruni, Katwās, Dev Satir and Methuni. His son Ghiyathuddin came out for a religious war against Dhiiwara and its adjacent territory. Every ruler engaged himself for

* Original Text, p. 200.

defence to seek help. Plunder became public in that region and they enriched themselves by spoils of war. Mahmud then marched to Ranthanbhor and conquered everything except the fort. He turned to Ajmer and ruled over it, and made it the capital of saltanat for his son A'zam-i-Humāyun. He left him behind adding Ranthanbhor to it along with other adjacent territory. He then returned to his capital. In that year, Mahmud encamped near Manaur of the Deccan. It was at the request of amirs Jalāl Khān and Sikandar Khān, as well as Amir Mughol and Rāy Satwa (Satya) Das. They met him and decided upon* conquest of the Deccan. When they resolved upon it, they questioned about safe places for their harems. Sayf-ul-Mulk ordered for defence of the harem. They marched with him to Hoshangābād. The story is sufficiently narrated in the life of Mahmud, ruler of Gujarāt. In this year, Mubārak Khān, ruler of Āsir entered the precints of Rāy Mānu, ruler of Baglāna. Rāy sent an envoy to Khalji seeking help from him against him. He sent Sayf-ul-Mulk and Ikbāl Khān from his side. In the meantime, Rāy Mānu happened to meet Khalji. Mubārak Khān learnt about it. He sat with him in his own way. Rāy heard about it. It was at a fortified place. He thought it necessary for him. He sent an envoy to Khalji to restrain him from that. He continued in his place till Khalji sent his son Ghiyāthuddin to his help. When he encamped on the river Tāpti, Mubārak Khān returned to Āsir. Ghiyāthuddin carried on depredations in adjacent parts of Āsir as far as the famous valley of Bāntur situated on the boundary of the Deccan, over it there is an invincible fort at a distance of a day's journey from Deogir famous as Dawlatābad. He sent some of the amirs to Songhir for reception of Rāy. Songhir was in the territory of Burhānpur. It was under Jitāpur. It was under Burhānpur at a distance of one day's ride for a fast rider from Songhir. When Rāy met Ghiyāthuddin, he informed him that his father was at Chitor. He passed his whole life in a village Basur called Khaljipur. He had written to me from that place that you had invited help against the ruler of Āsir. You are saved from him. Chitor is far off from you. Return to your safe place. Rāy returned to his place. Similarly, Ghiyāthuddin and every one else returned to the capital. They had met at Thālner. Mahmud stayed at Khaljipur till Rānā Kunbhā met him in submission.

In 859 (1455), Ghiyāthuddin son of Mahmud Khalji conquered Jānāgarh which was a strong fort under Rānā Kunbhā. It was his residence and place of safety in times of dangers. His stores were always kept there. Mahmud was at Dasur. When he alighted at it, army of the fort came out from it to fight.† Battle was fought with ferocity. None left his position. When the night advanced with its darkness, the atmosphere was decorated by plaster of dust raised by hoofs of horses. Darkness spread over its precincts. Eyes had a screen of darkness. The unfortunate ones fled away due to fierceness of war intending to

* Original Text, p. 201. † Original Text, p. 202.

enter the fort but were not guided to it. When they saw its gate, they rushed towards it and stood root and branch. They escaped from the sword without being hurt, they dispersed on the roads between wounded and dead. The Muslims conquered that fort that very hour. They lighted fire of jauhar after the wont of women. None was saved except he who was destined to live. It was an obvious victory.

In this year, Ikbāl Khān Khalji conquered the fort of Sajnad. Khān-i-A'zam Tāj Khān marched this year for religious war towards the region of Jahin. His soldiers obtained immense booty. Afterwards, he, Ghiyathuddin and Ikbāl Khān met together and all of them journeyed to Sultān Maḥmud at Dasur. He marched with them to Tawdah Bhim. Here was an invincible fort on the river Bias. They alighted here and conquered it by force. Now they were on sides adjacent to Khāduni, Mewār etc. Most men entered into investigation and found mines in it such as the eyes had not seen them. They said that round about the fort were places where treasures of Korah lie buried. In the meantime, he was there, a party of chief men of Ajmer came to him questioning him about victory of religion. They had fatigue and wanted relaxation. He marched to Ajmer. On the way, Rāy Chitā, ruler of the fort Bādahpur came in the way with a complaint against Rānā Kunbhā. He said to him, "I do not listen to your complaint unless you embrace Islām. He accepted Islām. The Khalji showed favour to him and went to Bādahpur to help him. The Rānā had conquered it. He recovered it from him and made it safe for him. He killed a large number of Rānā's followers. He convened an assembly and invited Rāy Chitā to it. He endowed him with a robe of honour and awarded him a sword, a girdle, a saddle, a horse, an elephant and cash. He was titled Chitā Khān. His territory was increased by adding to its frontiers. This took place in 860 (1456). He then returned to Ajmer with victory for religion. Rāy Gajadhar was on the way.* He received him with a war. He wielded his sword and he fled away. He came out on second, third, and fourth day and began to fight and fled away. On the fifth day, he again attacked but did not return for he was one of the killed. Khalji conquered the fort and appointed Khwāja Ne'matullāh to administer it. He bestowed upon him the title of Saif Khān. He marched to Mandalgarh in the domain of Rānā Kunbhā. It rained when he was there. He returned to Shādiābād. Monsoon lasts for four months in Hind. In 861 (1457) he conquered Mewār and its other portions. He descended upon Mandalgarh and conquered the city with force. He then conquered the fort with peace of safety to its citizens. It was on tenth of Zilhaj of the year.

In 862 (1457-58), A'zam-i-Humāyun son of Maḥmud Khalji conquered the fort of Parandi. In 963 (1458-59), he marched to Kunbhalner. He encamped at foot of the mountain at a distance of seven farsakhs from him. There is no

* Original Text, p. 203.

place equal to it. It is all stone. It is so planned. It prevents one to be steady. One has to persist in it. Besides, you do not see the fort except that it is on a high cloud to the altitude of the mountain from the ground. He said, "This fort cannot be conquered except by one whom the fate had made secure or death had forgotten him to a long time or one who does not find any work. He abandoned it and returned.

I say it was falsely held out. After the conquest of Gujarāt, Sultān of Hind Jalāluddin Akbar Bādshāh, equipped an army against it in 980 (1572). He remained at foot for two years. It was a victory then with peace. Forts and fortified strongholds were conquered by Muslim Sultāns. Thanks to God for their efforts, lives, wealth abandonment of comfort for granting safety and service to unbelieving subjects.

In the year 866 (1461), he had resolved upon conquest of the Deccan and alighted on the bank of river Narbada. Sayyid Jalāluddin met him appealing for aid. He was one of the nobles in the court of the ruler of Āsir. The cause was murder of his brother Sayyid Kamāluddin. He fled from him to him seeking his blood for blood of his brother. Khalji found a way for encampment at* Āsir. It so happened. The story is related in the life of Ādil Khan as it was. Then all of them returned to the Deccan. But he happened to return to his capital as narrated in the account of Maḥmud, ruler of Gujarāt. In 870 (1466-67), Sharaf-ul-Mulk, an envoy of Mustanjid Billāh Yusuf, son of Muḥammed 'Abbāsi, one of the Khalifas of Egyptians came with a robe of honour of Khilāfat. He honoured him by reception and meeting and departure with most of his subordinates. He wore the robe and mentioned name of the Khalifa with his own in the Khutba. A few days after wearing the robe, he said, "I saw in a dream. I am riding in the midst of a large cavalcade with a robe, on me and Sharaful Mulk was on my side. He said to me to walk on foot. I dismounted the horse and walked on foot. A pie-bald horse descended to me from the sky. Sharaf-ul-Mulk said to me to ride it. I rode upon it. I found myself near the gate of Delhi. I emboldened myself to enter. The door-keepers prevented me from entering it. I then resolved upon to return. When I was with an 'Arab saying to me, "Oh great Chief! enter". I entered. Sharaf-ul-Mulk followed me. I was near a carpeted platform on which there was a great throne. There was a party of 'Arabs in the black satin. I glanced at my robe. I found it to be of satin colour. I then turned to the 'Arab and said to him as to who they were. He told me that they were the 'Abbāsi Khalifas. I said to him to whom I should salute. He pointed out by his hand and said, "This is Rashid and this is Manṣur. Salute them. I saluted them. I heard one from the party saying to Manṣur refering to me as to who was he. He replied, " He is our

* Original Text, p. 204.

friend Maḥmud Shāh. He turned towards me not to ask Rashid but I understood him. Kaḍi Abu Yusuf had presented dishes of food. He ate with a drinking spoon in his hand. They awakened me with a clamour from my sleep. Its interpretation was asked. They said that they were distracted thoughts and that they did not know interpretation of such dreams.

One of the amirs, Mukarrab Khān conquered Lohyāna and desolated it this year.

In this year, one of the amirs Khawāṣ Khān encamped at the fort of Hartāmal. Khalji arrived. Its ruler felt disappointment as its being burnt. He fled. Khalji occupied it and annexed it to the territory of Āsir,

In the year 871 ( 1467-68 ), peace was concluded between Khalji and ruler of the Deccan on terms that Khalji should have territory situated near his frontiers except Elichpur and its precincts. Kāḍi Shaikh was an envoy of the* Bahmanis. He returned from Khalji with the document of treaty. Sharaf-ul-Mulk was with envoy of Khalji. He returned to him with a document of Bahmani's pledge.

In this year, Khalji descended upon Kunbhalner. Rānā Kumbhā was there. It so happened that an envoy arrived with a letter of Ikbāl Khān. He was the Amir at Khaljipur informing to evacuate soldiers from Chitor. Khalji sent one amir after another to Khaljipur to assemble with him without the knowledge of Rānā Kumbhā as to what were the designs of sudden gathering at Chitor. In the meantime, Rānā received intelligence about it. He dispersed his army to allure him. He rushed upon him. A fierce battle was fought between them. Such an encounter never happened with Khalji. God the Holy helped him with victory. Rānā fled from him to Chitor. On his entry into Chitor, Khalji returned abandoning his designs.

In this year, Sarkhān, an amir of Khalji conquered Amreli fort by killing its ruler, Rāy Chita. In Zilhaj of the year, Mawlānā 'Imād arrived with a khirkah ( robe ) from Shaikh-ul-Islām, barkat-ul-ayyām, Mawlānā Shaikh Najmuddin Kubrā may his grave be sanctified. He met him with honour and respect and treated him in a beneficient manner due to blessings connected with it and a khil'at ( robe ) implying success here and hereafter. At the time of Tātār invasion, the Shaikh was at Khwārazm. He sought obligation from the companions of the Shaikh who had achieved perfection such as Shaikh Sa'duddin al-Ḥamwi, Shaikh Radiuddin 'Ali Lālā etc. He said to them, " I see fire, displaying itself from the east and advancing burning in the west. Hence, you go to your families and regions in time of leisure." This was what he ordered before the onrush of the Tātārs. They requested him for prayer to ward it off or prevent occurrence of the calamity in Muslim countries. He replied that

* Original Text, p. 205.

prayer would be of no avail against preordained destiny. They requested him for protection against his rush in a safe place. Perhaps, he would accord to go out with them from Khawārazm to Khurāsān. He said that there was no refuge for us from his inroad and God has preordained martyrdom for me. They decided that his association would be a safety. When the Tātārs came and entered Khwārazm, the Shaikh said that he who from his companions was left* out with him, should be ready in the name of God to fight in the path of God. He entered private apartments, wore the khirka, and lightened its middle part. There was a pocket in the khirka. He put stones on one side of it. He held a weapon in his hand and came out fighting to expanse of the house and strove in hitting faces of the Tātārs with stones till they were exhausted. The Tātārs darted arrows continuously at him from all sides like rain. An arrow got fixed in his chest. He pulled it out with his hand and threw it away and attacked them with his weapon. He did justice to efforts in the path of God. He fell a martyr with that dart. May God raise his ranks in paradise ! This event took place in the year 618 (1221). As this event was very much talked of and I heard it very often so it has been described in my history. It has been described in the name of my patron, giver of gifts, Shamsud Dawla Majlis-ul-'Āli, Abil Ma'āli, Jamāl-ud-Dunyā wad Din Maḥammed Ulugh Khān, may God make his grave pleasant and give him rewards with His generosity and pleasure. In the year 872 (1468-69) it so happened that an 'Āmil of Khalji at Maḥmudpur sent the revenue that he had collected to ruler of the Deccan and despatched some elephants of Khalji to the son of Rāy Kharila. Tāj Khān son of Maḥmud Khalji heard this news. He pursued in all speed, the son of Rāy at night. He was at a distance of seventy farsakhs from him. Morning had not dawned when he was in the precincts of the city. He received news of his pursuit. He received him with an encounter. After a fierce combat, he left the field and went to a tribe of Bhils. Tāj Khān recovered elephants of his father and added to their number other elephants which he had obtained in victory. He wrote to the chief of tribe ordering him to capture him and send him to him. Malek-ul-Umara Dāwood was sent against him. He travelled as far as Koh Pāyah. Chief of the tribe was not loyal. He was sent to Malek-ul-Umara.

In this year, Khalji was at Sunnārgaon. Khwāja Kamāluddin Astrābādi, an envoy of Sultān Abi Sa'eed Bahādur Khān al-Mughli, ruler of Khurāsān met him. He received him with great honour. When he departed, he sent 'Alāuddin Zadah as his envoy with him.

In the year 873 (1469), Ghiyāthuddin son of Maḥmud Khalji built a fort at Kachhwārah and named it Jalālpur. †

* Original Text, p. 206.

† Original Text, p. 207.

In this year, Mahmud arrived as Chanderi. He despatched the two amirs, two lions, Sar Khān and Fateh Khān against the fort of Karharah. It was high and wide. They encamped at the city first. They brought pressure upon the fort and fought. In one day, they violently attacked fort of the city and approached so near that they were in a position to burn it on one side of it. Fire spread to adjoining houses. Citizens were engaged in defence of the fort. Flames blazed forth and blow of wind carried fire from house to house till it encompassed thirty thousand houses. It was a victory. Seven thousand citizens were captured. Khalji received intelligence of burning night. He hastened from Chanderi. It was at a distance of eighty farsakhs from Karhara. In the morning, there was an envoy to the fort. It was conquered by force. None had conquered it before. Its ruler Rāy Darya, his children, and members of his family, relatives and seven thousand other men were made prisoners. Number of killed was four thousand. Khalji ordered him and his sons to be skinned and crucified and men were thrown to elephants. It was a disgraceful day of punishment.

In 873 ( 1469 ), Sarkhān conquered the fort of Āmudah. Number of killed was four thousand while the captives were eight thousand.

In this year, Khalji was at Fatehābād. Shaikhzādah Muḥammed Karmali, Ku bkhān Lodi and Kapurchand son of Rāi Girisang son of Rāy Dungarsi, ruler of Gwalior arrived as envoys from Bahlol, ruler of Delhi. They appealed for help against Su ān Ḥusain, Ruler of Jaunpur. It was due to his conquest of Bayāna which belonged to Delhi. The Khalji assured him of victory and promised to come in an hour of need. The envoys returned with this reply. Kha ji returned to Shādiābād. It was a very hot day. Khalji fell ill due to heat. His illness increased. He died of it on 11th Zik'ad, 873 ( 146 ) ). He was a powerful sultān. His victories were clear. He waged * religious wars and conquered many forts and cities. He ruled for thirty-four years.

*Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammed Shāh*

Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammed Shāh son of Maḥmud Shāh Khalji ascended the throne on 12th Zik'ad, 873 ( 1469 ). It was out of his grace that he continued in service officers of his father. He made no change during his regime. He was like his father. As if he did not die because many prayers were offered on his behalf and people showered praise on the third day. His brother, Tājkhān-ul-A'zam was appointed in the kingdom to the same post he held under his father. He was titled ' Alāuddin. First of all, he convened an assembly of wazirs and amirs for state policy and attitude of his father therein. Those who were near him and distant from the general public and managed state affairs

* Original text, p. 208.

replied that he should command those deeds ordered by and prohibit forbidden deeds. Experienced one said, " Suspend a sword, keep a shield, taste soaked poison, till you conquer the forts, evacuate places, help me with madness of youth. In movement, change mind as a man changes clothes An old man encamps with me, there is no advisable course except to accept his advice. This is now the work you have got to do. Be with him as he was and do not turn from me except in case of transgression. He then wrote to different parts of Hind for men of joy to present themselves before him. Every one was proficient in his art. Follow the old one and assemble the youth. The number did not reach to twelve thousand. He ordered the trainees for arts, business, literature and sciences, every section was skilful in his respective art. He then chose a party from among them for guarding the palace. He bore arms and men of patrol and police. Similarly, he selected personnel for magistracy, accounts, call to prayer, sermons leading prayers, preaching, repentance, religions decrees, recitation of the Holy Kurān and narrated them styles of dress or fashion of women as well as of men by stages. He then chose a building in the Capital ( Dār-us-Salatnat ) containing, market police department, magistracy, education, masjid, baths, monastary and shop etc. He carried to the market every * necessary thing. Every section of people sat there side by side. There were suitable businesses, places and affairs were assigned as assigned in a city. When everything as he desired was made ready, he hid himself from men, he devoted himself to women, kept himself busy which self wished, eyes delighted but in the palace, self did not know what he would earn tomorrow. Those who sat at the dining-table had the verses committed to memory or narration of hadith ( tradition ) or a story. There were men who kept watch on those who carried boxes of gold and silver coins, when I heard him saying yes and He is Holy or thanked Him. Mention was made several times of those who thanked him for that or made his affairs safe by coming to needy and deserving persons. This and he in the palace. Outside the palace, he had a slave for this service or a servant to carry a cash-box for distribution in alms and charity; a servant for petitions of needs; a servant to carry a purse of titles etc. Every one was compelled to do duty as he was assigned. One thousand tankas were given from the purse to whom for whom the order was issued. Such were the duties and times fixed. Charitable deeds and prayers continued night and day. He was engaged in prayers and recitation of faith-formula after sun-rise to midnight. He then went to the bath-room for a bathe and application of scents, came out from it and went to Dār-ul-'Ibādat ( prayer-room ) where he remained alone with God the Holy to morning. He then paced to the masjid adjacent to prayer-room for congregational prayer and sat on the prayer-carpet till he was free from sun-rise prayers. He then went to the majlis where special persons

* Original Text, p. 209.

used to remain present as well as needy and the post-master. He then proceeded to majlis-i-'ishrat (pleasure). He met there his queen Rāy Khurshid daughter of Rāy Nānnā, ruler of Baglana. This was her name from him. She attained to that rank with him that her orders were executed in the state. She had glorious deeds to her credit. All the officers of his father were in their respective districts as they wished. He received from them state and world information continuously. One of his prominent buildings was Āhu Khāna (Deer Park). It extended from Na'lcha to Ujjain. On a distance of every four farsakhs, there was a building containing an enclosure near long walls in* the building, there were carpets, vessels, goods, implements, artists, stables of horses, elephants, drinks fruits, stores of every kind including women, guards and retinue. What he wanted and at any time, he got immediately. On the enclosure, there were animals of every kind, varieties of tamed ones; games were found. When he rode in Dar-us-Saltanat with his harem in whatever building of it, you will find them playing polo or hunting any animal and return from it. If she was inclined to rest, there were facilities for that. Every thing desired will not be missed. He was disposed to listen to music too much.

In the year 689 (1484), he went to Na'lcha to the succour of Rāy Patāi, ruler of Chāmpaner. I had stated about it in the account of Maḥmud, ruler of Gujarat. He had two sons—'Alāuddin and Naṣiruddin. Rāy Khurshid was inclined towards 'Alauddin. He preferred him to his brother. She was their mother. Both of them flew into rage one day out of regard for 'Alāuddin. She ordered that the house of Nāṣiruddin be plundered. Nāṣiruddin went out of the city. A party of soldiers of his father were devoted to him. He encamped with them at the city and laid siege to it. Ghiyāthuddin was aged. He was weak to move about. 'Alāuddin determined upon blockade of the city. He strove for its defence with whatever men of Gujarāt he had with him. The citizens were disposed towards Nāṣiruddin. Nāṣiruddin entered the city. 'Alāuddin fied to his father. Nāṣiruddin caught him with his sons and killed them all. He sat upon the throne. It is said that he poisoned Ghiyāthuddin. He was ill and so he died in the early part of his ascension. He came upon his mother Rāy Khurshid and waited for her safety till attack on treasure. It was done. Ghiyāthuddin ruled for thirty-two years and seventeen days. Some scholars of Persia found date of his death from his name. He was very generous. May God be merciful to him.

### *Nāṣiruddin Kādir Shāh*

Nāṣiruddin Kādir Shāh son of Ghiyāthuddin sat upon the throne by force in the year 905 (1499). He reproached all those amirs of his father who sided with his brother. He was severe with them. He confiscated their bounties.

* Original Text, p. 210.

Syed Barānahar titled in Gujarāt as 'Ali Khān migrated to Gujarāt. He was * straightforward and virtuous. The 'Āmil of Chanderi Sarkhān son of Muzaffar Khān was killed. Nāṣiruddin pursued him. When he found him, he fought with him. He was killed. He charged the rest amirs of his father with ingratitude towards him and turned them out by force. Sarkhān was loyal during his life-time but he was unnecessarily charged with the offence of perfidy. When he firmly established himself in the kingdom, he invested his son Maḥmud Khān with powers as his deputy in the districts of his uncle A'zam-i-Humāyun. He then lived at Ajmer. The kingdom was safe for Nāṣiruddin. Nāṣiruddin then engaged himself in misguidance and transgression. He responded to lower instincts of lust and passion. He spent his life in the fort of Deer Park. He received five hundred thousand Mālwi tankas for his expenses which he did not spend for himself. He had thousand into thousand and eight hundred thousand tankas in cash as inheritance of his father. He gave reward of virtue in vice. He was one day drunk. He was at the reservoir in his harem. He fell into it. He was unaware of his being in water. He was about to be drowned to death when ladies saw him. They took him out of water. When he regained consciousness from the state of drunkenness. he learnt what had happened to him and how he was saved. He ordered those ladies to be killed. They were four in number. It was as stated in the tradition " He who helped a tyrant, Allāh dominates him over him. In the year 916 ( 1510 ), his son Shahābuddin marched against him. He lived at Shādiābād. Most of the amirs joined with the son due to oppression of his father. Nāsiruddin feared that it was a reaction of what he had done against his father. He went out to Jannatābād. Shihābuddin fought with him. Nāṣiruddin defeated him inspite of a small number of men with him; he pursued him and was about to capture him but he was overpowered by paternal affection. He controlled his reins and slowed down his pursuit till he left his frontiers and entered into those of Delhi. He then reconciled him to return. He was not inclined towards him. He returned from him to the capital. He talked with the amirs in his way. In the meantime, Shihābuddin behaved in this manner. Their opinion towards him changed. They all decided to poison him. He died on his way. His son† Maḥmud Khān was with him. He had a third son whose name was Muḥammed. Soldiers assembled around Maḥmud. None was disloyal. They arrived in attendance to Shādiābād. Nāṣiruddin ruled for eleven years, four months and ten days.

### *Abul Muzaffar 'Alāuddin Maḥmud Shāh*

Abu Muzaffar 'Alāuddin Maḥmud Shāh son of Kādir Shāh son of * Muḥammed Shāh son of Maḥmud Shāh son of Mugithuddin Malek-ush-Shark

* Original Text, p. 211.    † Original Text, p. 212.

Khān Jahān son of 'Ali Sher son of Naṣiruddin son of Tolak Khān son of Kalij al-Khalji sat upon the throne. Khalji had relation with the king of Turks Afrāsiyāb. His coronation took place at the capital of Shādiābād. None was without oath of fealty to him. Shihābuddin learnt about his father's death. He speedily marched on Mandu. Maḥmud received information about his arrival. But Khwāja Jahān aṭ-Ṭawāshi al-Khalji, who was Amir of the fort with the title of Muhāfiz Khān closed the gate against his face. He returned with despair. He was ill at Āsir. He was during life and death at Āsir. The world was qualified for Mahmud. He was twenty years old.

In the year 917 (1511), Khwāja Jahān left him for meeting his master Muḥammed son of Nāṣiruddin to Gujarāt. The cause of his going was that Maḥmud consulted him for the murder of his brother Muḥammed. He did not listen to him. One day he entreated him till he lost his temper against him and hit him with a scabbard sword on his head. It cut the scabbard and the turban and split his head. He came out with blood flowing upon his face. The Khaljia mamālik assembled around him and besieged the fort. Maḥmud came out one night from it and went to Sārangpur. Khwāja Jahān entered the fort and seated Maḥmud son of Nāṣiruddin as a sultān. The Khalji mamālik took an oath of allegiance for him. The amirs and the Khalji muluk did not take oath of allegiance. They assembled around Maḥmud and besieged the fort. Among them was the great amir 'Imāduddin Khurāsāni. Khwāja Jahān learnt about him. He corresponded with those who were inside the fort, soldiers and mamālik. He was polite and submissive. He suspected them and so one night set out with Muḥammed to Champaner and met Sultān Maḥmud. He promised him with a government on the side of Mandu for the present, he gave him what sufficed him for maintenance from Champaner and an increased thereon. Khwāja Jahān sent his horses, elephants and men to the region while he remained Son of Nāṣiruddin alone stayed at Chāmpāner in attendance upon Muzaffar till an event took place for Muḥammed with subordinates of the Persian ambassador. It has been previously described in the life account of Muzaffar. There was an * amir of Mandu who corresponded with him. He felt ashamed. He did not return to his house. Khwāja Jahān met him. He had come from Persia and was moving to the direction of Mandu. When he was in the territory of Mandu, he arrived to him who corresponded with him. Maḥmud became suspicious of him who was with him. He took into confidence Rāychand Purabbiya. He raised his rank and invested him with power of a wazir and titled him Madni Rāy. He tried for himself and collected within a short time many of his caste-men and controlled the fort. He marched with Maḥmud against his brother. Best Purabbiya soldiers were recruited in his army. A hard battle was fought for killing Khān Jahān. Son of Nāṣiruddin fled to Delhi. With this service, Madni

* Original Text, p. 213.

Rāy advanced upon Muslim amirs at Mandu. He established his control over the kingdom. Maḥmud surrendered to him. He was leader for his stay. He made efforts for him.

In the year 918 (1512), Muḥammed son of Nāṣiruddin arrived at Chanderi with an army of Delhi. Maḥmud marched against him. Both the armies faced each other. Rāy Madni advanced with his Purabbiya warriors and strove in ravishing lives, and wounding heads by lances and swords till the word of Maḥmud got elevated and the maidān became clear for him. Maḥmud, thereupon, placed increased trust upon Rāy. He reclined on him and placed reliance upon him. Thus all the affairs came out from his control for his management. At the outset, Rāy displayed to do what pleased Muḥmud, whenever, he found power, he talked about equality among the amirs and made efforts in expelling them from the kingdom one by one till none of them was left. There were few soldiers in the fort, nay, in the kingdom who carried swords with them except a few of the retinue and auxiliary for service of Maḥmud in the fort. Everywhere, Muslims were kept away while unbelievers were near. Rāy Madni thus established his power in the kingdom while his caste-men became absolute. He did what he wished. He ordered temples to be built, images were placed in them for worship and spread unbelief in the kingdom as it was. An event of Ray's absolute power happened in case of 'Ali Khān son of Syed Barānhar 'Ali Khān. Its account is that Maḥmud one day rode out in search of a game. 'Ali Khān was left in the kingdom after his father's departure to Gujarāt. A party of Hindus had centred power in their hands. When Maḥmud came out of the fort, 'Ali Khān entered it with habshis and others he had assembled around. After a war between him and the army of Rāy, more than two thousand were killed.* They settled themselves in the fort and prevented others to come in. Rāy had descended upon the fort. 'Ali Khān came out of the fort and fell upon his army. He killed more than four hundred men. Rāy Madni rode with all his followers. 'Ali Khān stood firm. He was tested by a good calamity. Many unbelievers perished in this encounter. With the approach of evening, horses shivered and three hundred of his men were martyred. May God show mercy to them. After this calamity, he washed off hands from his own men. Khalji was filled with fear. He found no trace of a Muslim, he was in the midst of unbelieving followers of Rāy Madni in Dār-us-Saltanat and took from it what they found. They did not respect the sultān in anything with which he was connected so much so that they hovered around the haram for protection. The Sultān repented of his excess and deficiency and found his existence in the palace like non-existence with them. He found himself powerless. One day, he resolved upon martyrdom. He got ready those of his followers who were disposed towards him. He sent

* Original Text, p. 214.

order to Rāy Madni to quit his kingdom. Frequent messages passed between them. Rāy did not add to his reply except 'be soft or lenient with us.' His followers became angry with Madni Rāy and they decided to invite son of Rāy-i-Rāyān in the kingdom and seat him on the throne in place of Khalji. A wise man among them said to Madni Rāy "what is left with Khalji except his name and his house but how is he with you when he got detestable things." Muzaffar will help him. You be with Khalji to own power. After him, none would accost you with a speech and be in the state with safety. Then the wise man rode out to him, showed humility to him and was soft in talk with him, took an oath of his faith saying that nothing would come from his followers except death. Khalji's anger subsided and he came out to people as usual. He saw them playing with him. He then rode out to hunt a game. Rāy Madni was with him as well as his wazir, Sālbhān. A person was posted hiding at the gate to assassinate Rāy Madni. He got occupied with game till approach of night. Rāy was with him as was his wont. He entered the house and on his return from it, the hiding man fell upon him. He felt him. He threw him down but as his life was to be spared, nothing happened. He went home in a wounded state and so wazir Sālbhān. A revolt took place. His men sided with him. There was none in the fort except they. The Sultān prepared himself in Dār-us-Saltanat, wore his armoury rode his horse. There were twelve horsemen with him as well as one * hundred men.

'Abdullāh bin Zubair, may God be pleased with them, felt sorry for his stepping out for martyrdom. People had forsaken him. He went to people of Syria. He was saying

I was not left behind life for rest
A ladder was not raised from fear of death

We were not on helplessness due to bleeding of our wounds. But blood dripped on our feet.

Hāfiz Damashki has said in his "Kitāb-ul-Adab" that he who believes in abominable change, these phrases are easy for him. First is patience for them to be said in this state. He did what was wicked. He knows it after having done it. He feels himself to be in the hardest test. Help to him is felt to be heavy. Secondly, I might not have abhorred this matter which tended to goodness. You feel its knowledge with keenness. Cause of it was obtainment of plenty. There is no difficulty after it is over and no trouble after that trouble.

Every penitent person feels pain for some time
Every state should be met with a change.
Perhaps days of life are short
For the knower, our sorrow multiplies and lengthens.

* Original Text, p. 215.

He then issued forth from his house to an expanse. He had drawn out the sword from sheath and showed himself like a lion who was annoyed in his cave and carried it with hope as if in the path of God and to please Him and strictly went around his itinery. He disputed much with his might. There was much grief for murder of Rāy-i-Rāyān son of Rāy Madni. Those who escaped the sword dispersed. He did not desist from reins nor there was praise from them. They turned them out from the house. Disgrace and dishonour stuck to them.

He who took refuge with the sword, got a wonderful opportunity,
Death in haste or life in justice
Do not ride on soft land for soft land is dangerous
We do not feel glory till we ride Unka ( Phoenix ).

When Rāy Madni came to his murdered son, he said to those who were around him, "I forbade him many times from sporting with Khalji. I refused you to get entangled into trouble, my son, I say prayers for you now. Khalji sent* some one to count the dead. Among them was his son. He got the reward of what he did. I called him in presence. When he met me, I asked him whether he felt any fear due to death of his son. Khalji said, "I was in need of this question from you. I have transgressed what I have done. I beg your pardon. He then kissed his feet. He then permitted him to wear arms for those who entered the Diwān for solace of his heart. He entered with five hundred dressed persons. One day, Khalji was overwhelmed with fear, he was led with chearfulness to Sultān Muzaffar. It has been narrated previously in the book. It was during the regime of Bahādur, that 'Abdul 'Aziz, al-Masnad-ul-'Āli Āsaf Khān died a martyr. He had under the order, from his place of refuge where he led an even life. Substance of the story is that Rāy Singh, ruler of Albāl received news of his despatch to Champāner. He lay in ambush in a narrow valley intending to finish him to death. Āsaf Khān descended to him in a pālki which was enclosed. He approached the valley. Rāy and his companions rushed upon him from every side. They raised their voices. Khalji learnt about it. He had no personal valour in him. He took a chain into his hand to break it. He felt with his movement as to who was around him from guards. He was about to come out when one of them hastily stabbed him with a dagger which hit vital parts of his body. Hence he achieved martyrdom Rāy Singh received the news. He split his collar and returned. He was helpless. Masnad-ul-'Āli reproached him when on duty as a guard. He took strong measures against the murderer. He said to him "you failed to protect him though you were with a small number. There is no excuse for you. We are possessed of power and strength as well as despair:" He took pity upon him and sent him stealthily to Dahiwad within jurisdiction of Chāmpāner. He was buried at a reservoir. He moved

* Original Text, p. 216.

with all his children to Chāmpaner and left them in the fort. He then took lea of his haram for ziyārat. Bahādur gave them permission. They were at Manc They came out of his palace and went to his grave. It was their last time Shādiābād.

If you kill them and if they kill you there is no
Disgrace upon you, Killing is no disgrace.

He ruled for twenty years, six months and fifteen days. With his dea terminated the Khalji Saltanat of Mandu. It lasted for eighty-nine years, s months and fifteen days. May God show mercy to them*

He then assembled all the Khalji amirs under the banner of the amir, tl famous Malek Shujā'uddin Qādan son of the sister of Ulugh Khān. The mana: and territory of every amir were kept in tact. They were conciliated by gra of double that they had. They followed Malek Qādan as his Deputy on h behalf in the kingdom of Mandu. He admonished him to be good towards then He then came down the fort. He then permitted Muḥammed Shah, ruler ( Āsir to proceed to Burhanpur in the month of Shawwāl of the above year. Aft a short time, in the month of Ziq'ad, he permitted Salādi, the Purabiyah t return to his capital Rāisin to come back in haste without waiting for a cal The Sultan then started for Burhānpur. He met the emissary of Nizamshā informing him about his promise to visit him at the time of departure. Th Sultān arrived at Burhānpur. Nizāmshāh came to see him. Everyone w delighted to see his master. It was a memorable time for the gathering regarde as a boon in the indifference of time. He showed favours to them and bac adieu. He set out for his kingdom. Bahādur started for his capital similarl Muḥammed Shāh journeyed to Biyāwal and turned towards Burhānpu Bahādur arrived at Chāmpāner on the 'Id of Sacrifice. It was an auspicio 'Id. It was the year 938 (1531) and in the history of Kashmiri 937, (1530 Amir Mustufā, son of Bahrām arrived at Div. His mother was the sister of th Amir Salmān al-Turkamān accompanied by the old maternal aunt of Khwāj Ṣafar al-Turki al-Salmāni titled in the Saltanat of Maḥmud son of Laṭif - Khudāwand Khān and Karā Hasan in the Salṭanat as Jahāngir Khān an Mustufā Karmāni in the time of Sultān Aḥmad as 'Ādil Khān and Ismā Jarkas as Asad Khān and a party of Turkomāns. They were a glory an majesty for Salmān, pleasant slave free from wrath. An account of Salmā was previously given in the life of the Amir Ḥusain al-Miṣri. A short accoun and appropriate now with details is description of the missionary to Ami Mustufā for entry into Gujarat.

* Original Text, p. 217.

## CHAPTER XVII

*Description of the missionary for entry of Salmān Turkomān of Yaman and arrival of Amir Mustufā at Div. (Bahādurshāh Contd.)**

I was present, one day, in the majlis of Shaikh of the time, Jamāluddin Muhammed al-Hashiyiri, when nākhudā (Captain of the ship) Muhammed al-'Anasi was sitting with him. He was one of the followers of Amir Salmān. By chance, there was a talk of night-attack. I questioned him about Salmān and the cause of his entry into Yaman. He replied to me. Veracity or falsehood of report rests with him. During the last days of Jarkasas, he was famous in the sea of Rum owning slaves and boats. Men of his race assembled around him. They followed a chief in his boat who strove himself. It was in the sea of Rum full of fear due to Firangis. Salmān plied his boats loaded with cargo of timber of Egypt, Alexandria and ports situate on Nile coast to intended ports in the sea of Rum and its coast. He entered those ports on accepted terms. Besides, he would not let go boats of the Firangis. There was least chance of its being lost. Hence, he had amassed much wealth, his power was strong, his fame had spread to distant places, his authority created fear in others. During the regime of Kānṣu Ghori, ruler of Egypt, 'Aden was under Malek Zāfar 'Amar, the last king of Jāhir Dynasty. Firangi piracy had spread to Indian ocean, the coast of 'Arab peninsula from 'Aden to Hurmuz terminating in the Indian ocean to nearby ports of 'Aden from the side of Bāb Mandab. 'Āmar wrote to Ghori about the Firangi danger to 'Aden and it was the whole coast of Yaman, territory of Islām. Ghori responded to him that he would prepare equipment, and send help to him on demand on any side. The envoy returned to Ghori with the news of approval from 'Āmar. He ordered a fleet of ships to be despatched to Yaman. 'Āmar was now sufficiently strong enough against danger from Firangis. He was immune from seeking help. It was formerly described in the account of Amir Husain. Soon after the victory, the envoy of Egypt arrived for assignment as stipulated of territory. He was indifferent to fulfilment of this term. The envoy returned and Ghori was affected thereby. By chance, Salmān arrived in Egypt as usual. He was sent for. There was a wrapped-up carpet in his hands. (A secret was confided to him). He was given instructions for the same. He said, " For which amir." He was consulting as to where this carpet was to be spread. Every one of them stated that it would be spread at its suitable place. He said that † it would be spread in the capital of Yaman. He turned to Salmān and said

* **Original Text, p. 218.**

† **Original Text, p. 219.**

that it should be secretly carried to Yaman on such a day, help would come in its wake. Salmān sailed to Yaman. Amir Husain arrived after him. He was what was as stated before. Husain returned and Ṣalmān remained. World did with Ghori what he did with 'Āmar. Egypt came under control of Bani Uthmān. It was the capital of Jarākasas. Amir Khairuddin made preparations to sail to Yaman. Salmān had conquered the fort of Kamrān and was living there. He was engaged in plying boats on the coast of Salif. It was opposite to Kamrān separated by sea in between and the distance could be covered within less than a heavenly hour. Khairuddin himself loved independent power. He pointed at my swords coming to me with a drawn sword. He did that in the majlis of Salmān. Salmān was playing chess. Khairuddin said, "My swords are with you. Your sword is this." He replied "thus". He showed it to him and seized it from him and struck Salmān with it. He attained to martyrdom. There were a few persons there. It happened in the island of Muhamala situated in neighbourhood of that spot. Khairuddin stood towards his companions. It was heard that Salmān had his companions. They were Amir Mustufā at Jāzān and Khwāja Ṣafar of Kamrān. They corresponded and met together with agreement to take revenge. When the plain was arrayed by armies of both parties, Mustufā emerged from the row and said to Khairuddin with the loudest voice, "You said that maternal uncle was in your hand. I demand your blood. Both the armies consisted of mamālik of the Sultān. He who followed Salmān, one of them was equal to ninety on thinking of your life for destroying guiltless person. He showed the maidān to be a decisive factor, God willing. Khairuddin looked at his companions. They said to him, "You do justice, who showed to you demanding blood of his maternal uncle. Show him to him. Khairuddin showed him. He was one of the killers. Martyrdom of Salmān took place in the year 935 (1528).

Martyrdom of Salmān took place in 935 (1528). Amir Mustufā was confirmed as Amir. The companions of Khair-ud-din were in concert with him. In the meantime, Bahrām wrote to his son Amir Mustufā who was at Istambol. He informed him about his dismissal and ordered him to proceed to Hind before* the arrival of the ruler to Yemen. He got ready and went with his companions and subordinates who belonged to the party of Khair-ud-din to Hind. He took shelter at Shajar in 937 (1530). He left Shajar before the opening of the sea and arrived at Div. Bahāul Mulk Tughān son of Maḷek Ayāz was the governor of Div. When he learnt about his arrival, he received him and welcomed him and ennobled him by alighting. He supplied him with every necessary thing. He was in Div. He wrote to the Sultān about his arrival. Just at the opening of the sea and arrival of Mustufā at Div, the Firangis of the ruler of Goa pre-

* Original text, p. 220.

pared to arrive there. There was a war between Tughān and the Firangis. Mustufā took leave of him and went out with his boats against them. Other boats had anchored at the Turkish port. He changed the course of a number of his boats. A war ensued. They did not know before that he was at the port of Div. They fled to the shore of Div Pattan to take out boats to Div or change their course. They alighted there. Those who questioned about it were told that he was the son of the sister of Amir Salmān. The man returned after getting this intelligence. They said, "we have no strength to fight with him" and returned to Goa. Amir Mustufā was summoned by the Sultān. He started for Chāmpāner with those who were with him and met the Sultān. He obtained joy and approbation. His rank was raised to proximity (became a favourite). He was conferred the title of Rumi Khān. He was put in charge of ordnance. He gave a gift of a cannon cast for Salmān after the name of Sulaiman, the ruler of Turkey. It was named Lailā. He then cast cannons in the name of Bahādur. A cannon was named Majnun. They were like Majnun and Laila to fire them together like their concord in love. Both of them were of short and long ranges. He chose the region of Rāner (Rānder) and Surat and what was near the shore to Mahim. Later on, Div was added to it. The Sultān showed favour to him by removing Tughān. Div was added to his region. Tughān was not equal to him in strength, bravery, figure and personality among the muluk of the saltanate as well as the mamālik. None was similar to him, then how can one be equal to him? When he arrived at Chāmpāner after his removal, he began to work hard in the Diwān. When Rumi Khan found that he had no power over himself (he could not control himself), he secretly intended to assault him. One day, they complained to him. The Sultān ordered for his captivity. At the time of his departure to Chitor, he desired to conciliate Rumi Khan. He* ordered to put him to death. The Sultān was naturally inclined towards concord. In the meantime there was discontent among the silehdars (armour-bearers). One of them struck the staff of the pālki by his sword. The Sultān was inside the pālki. Had there been no watchmanship (glance) of Shams upon him at the time of hitting the mark, apparently he deviated from them to affectionate concord. He had trust as well as confidence in them. He assembled many of them and was near to them. In the meantime, it so happened that Rumi Khan arrived there. He was a man with authority in him qualified with perfect wisdom both in person and quality. He saw everything and made no difference in minor matters, saw clean things with sagacity. He was free from fraud and deception. He was clever in scholasticism, wonderful in the knowledge of the art of conquest. He was proficient in external and internal matters. The Sultan heeded to him, received him and did according to his judgment.

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* Original Text, p. 221.

Ḥusām Khān has narrated the affair of the silehdars in his history in this way. Oae day, they all assembled together to demand their salary. They were one hundred thousand. They went to the office of Khān-i-Khānān. He promised them payment of salary and so they dispersed. When the stipulated time of promise came, they assembled a second time and asked him about payment of their salary. He paid no attention towards them as well as the people of Gujarāt who had advanced money to them. There were hot-headed persons among them who would not tolerate any wrong and injustice. They hastened to mischief and were disposed to ruin. They would not return from what they were told. They, therefore, presented themselves in the Jame' Masjid for prayers. When the priest sat upon the pulpit, they prevented him from reciting the khutba ( sermon ). When such was the matter, no pious man could say his Friday prayer. They were questioned about their behaviour. When the amirs learnt about the matter, they guaranteed to pay their dues. Khutba was recited and prayer was said. The amirs assembled and rebuked the paymaster in regard to the dues of the silehdars. Saturday was fixed for payment when they assembled for it. The Sultān proceeded to the polo-ground in a pālki. Their complaint against the paymaster was made. He was previously told about them so he heeded it not. A silly person from among them drew out his sword and threw it at the Sultān. It hit the shade of the pālki. They then retired to the foot of a mountain called Sayado Nakri and waited to know action of the government. One of them behaved in an unmannerly way. The Sultān flew into rage and issued an order for their murder. The amirs came out with their regiments and sided with the silehadārs. The amirs said that they asked for their salaries. They should not be killed. A man behaved with unmannerliness and therefore all of them should not be put to death. The * rest are free from the guilt. We are with them so long as they receive their claims. They also retired with them and sat on their side. Other amirs individually approached the Sultān and represented to them the whole case. The other amirs similarly came out with their forces and went separately to him. All the amirs and soldiers in concert requested the Sultān to quell this revolt before it spread. Those who arrived received their claims from the Sultān. They were retained in service. The rest were expelled from the kingdom. The Sultān ordered accordingly and the discontent subsided. The great silehdārs decided unanimously before dispersal from the foot of the mountain and arrested the guilty person. They put him in heavy chains and presented him before the court of the Sultān. They said, " We are not from him. The Sultān should pass the order in this respect with pleasure. We questioned about our salary. We meant no unmannerliness. When we are free from the guilt, we and those who were with us at the foot of the mountain are under order of the

* Original Text, p. 222.

king. The offence was committed by this man. Disgrace became necessary for us ( we are ashamed of it ). May God forbid that we should be disobedient to the Sultān. We disperse before the order is withdrawn from us with pleasure of the Sultān." When the Sultān heard this account, his rage subsided and ordered to give khil'at of pleasure to the great silehdārs. The offender was pardoned. This account of concord is from his history. He had collected many from him. He raised their ranks in amirship as well as offices.

The Sultan set out for Mandu. His target was Silādi Purabiya. When he was granted leave to go to his kingdom after the conquest of Mandu, he was instructed to come back immediately in all haste, without any delay when summoned. He did not act in accordance with his promise. The Sultan sent Malek Nassan Turki to call him. He was a great Malek of implicit confidence. After his meeting with him, he did not find him upon his promise. When he pressed for the response to summons of the Sultan he found him slack. He wrote to the Sultan about his refusal. He found it burdensome to move. When the Sultan became acquainted with contents of the letter, he regardedt his matter as urgent. He then sent Muqbil Khān Sultani with formal usages to the most* perfect among the excellent men and most excellent among the perfect men, the great, famous, Wazir, Khanjiv son of Dāwood Siddiqi titled Ikhtiār Khān to arrive with cannons. He arrived at Mandu with cannons on 20th Rabi 'II of the above year ( 938 ). On 5th Jamādi I of the year the Sultan marched from Shadiābād to Na'lchah on the way return to Chāmpāner. He encamped at Dhār on 21st. Silādi received intelligence of his return to Chāmpāner, he became secure from him in his kingdom. He came out with Malek Nassan. One day, he met the Sultan at the valley of Munakkalin. His companions dispersed. The Sultan's army rode in their wake. He did what was to be done in respect of massacre, plunder and captivity. This took place on 26th. It is also said on 17th. The Sultan ordered to take possession of his kingdom. The Wazir Majduddin Khudāwand Khān al-Iji went to Ujjain with 'Imād-ul-Mulk. It was laid waste. His son Bhupat was left behind near the place of arrival. He encamped there and then at Sārangpur within the jurisdiction of Silādi. Daryā Khān of Mandu was posted at Ujjain as an absolute amir. Similarly, Mallu Khān of Mandu at Sārangpur. The Sultān marched to Bhilsa and conquered it. It was conquered by Sultan Shamsuddin Iltamish al-Qutbi, al-Mu'izzi. It was then in possession of Rāy Medni who had seized it from the Khalji. He belonged to his caste to help on a day of need. It was included in the territory of Silādi. It remained with him for 18 yrs.

*Conquest of Raisin*

On 17th Jamādi II of the above year, the Sultan invaded Raisin the

* Original Text, p. 223.

Capital of Siladi and encamped at the fort. He lived there with his family and brother Lakhmansi. Rumikhan planned its conquest. Silādi with despair expressed his desire to be converted to Islam. He requested the Sultan for it and became a Muslim in his presence. The Sultan was pleased thereby and honoured him by the grant of what he possessed and promised to give him more of territory than what he had. Lakhmani did not like to part with the fort and defended the three turrets. But he was despaired of protecting it and sought permission to come down the fort. He appeared before the court and* sought security by surrender of the fort. The Sultan granted him security and stopped firing cannons. He then sought permission to vacate the fort which was granted to him. He requested to meet his brother Silādi. He met him. It was concluded from his conversation that he was safe after acceptance of Islam with tears in his eyes. His son Bhupat had determined to go to Rāi Sāngā to seek his help. He was coming with 40,000 horse and a large number of foot-soldiers. He had to choose between a disgraceful life with horse and foot and pleasant death with members of the family. He bade farewell and went up the mountain. After separation from his brother, his conversation had its desired effect upon him. He sought leave to go up to the side of the fort in haste to vacate the fort. Leave was given to him. His representatives were with him. They went up to overhear their conversation. He requested his brother repeatedly but none responded to him except himself and got down. Bahādur was much affected by Lakhmansi's breach of promise. The younger son of Silādi made a night-assault. He was then imprisoned in the fort of Mandu at the hands of Burhān-ul-Mulk Banbāni. In the meantime, continnous reports poured in about the arrival of Bhupat, son of Silādi with the help of Rāi Sāngā along with his son Bikramājet on a desire of security for Bhupat. The Sultān turned to Muhammed Shāh Fāruqi and 'Imād ul-Mulk, ordered robes of honour for them and equipped them for war. They then encamped on the frontiers of Khirākān village. Puranmal, son of Silādi was there on the bank of its river with two thousand of his followers. He hastily went to his brother Bhupat. Both of them rode to Bikramājit. He was near between the two armies. Puranmal reported to them of the strength he had seen. He reported about the nearness of the Sultān. He had alighted in the pavilion of Muhammed Shāh and had emerged from his camp of Rāisin alone in all haste. Then came the news of Ulugh Khān's arrival with all his preparations. They poured disgrace and affliction upon the enemies of Allāh. They fled with fright to Chitor. The Sultān pursued them expeditiously followed by his followers in their wake to Chitor. He then returned to Rāisin and stormed its fort with cannon-fire. Then descended from the fort a person who wanted to see Silādi to surrender the fort with his hand. The Sultān ordered to cease fire from Mandu. Burhān-

* Original Text, p. 224.

ul-Mulk presented himself before him. Lakhmansi came down the fort with* his two sons to submit to the Sultan's order. Durgā, mother of Bhupat begged to come down the fort with his father. The Sultān allowed Silādi to go with Bhupat's mother in company of the Sultān's amirs, Malek 'Ali Shir, son of Qīwām-ul-Mulk. The Malek was with him to the door of his house. He gave permission to meet them (members of the family). The Malek remained at the door. He then entered the house. His harem consisted of 700 women. He assembled them all in a gathering. Durgā said, "After Rāisin, what would be good. With that, what about your family! To live in it with all faults with members of the family." He said, "Baroda has been assigned to me as Jāgir. All the happy stars assembled together. She said, "This is narrow (insufficient) for you, then how can it be sufficient for your relatives. This is not enough for expenses of betel-leaves for your harem. What about your servants? And not from Rāisin a step without doubt. Fire, there is no disgrace." Salādi heard her. He was between one who wanted to save him and one who announced to him Oh son! he kept silence for a long time. He then raised his head and renounced Islām to see "Would to God, I had died before this event and I would have been forgiven." He relied upon her discourses. It did to him what it had done to her. He went to 'Ali Shir and said to him. "After Rāisin! This was my birth-place! Alas! farewell, farewell." 'Ali Shir tried his utmost to argue with him. He came down with him who talked big things about safety of what was little and much and the fire of jauhar flamed forth. Aged persons did not dislike it. They are full of self-honour and self-esteem. They do not hate it. Then those persons who saw the fire of jauhar came down with their women-folk apparently with no contempt; they rejoiced internally and embraced death without fear. Silādi advanced, then his brother Lakhmansi and son of his brother Tāj Khān followed by those who were at the foot of the mountain killing till they were killed. This victory took place at the close of Ramzan of the year (938). The officer (Havāldār) went up the fort with a drum and dispersed the āmils from their offices. Muhammad Shāh, the ruler of Āsir conquered Kakrun. It had slipped out of hand at the time of Medni Rai's ascendancy over the Khalji and included in the territory of Rāy Sāngā, the ruler of Chitor by force. Similar was the case with Kānur during the regime of Nāsiruddin. The Sultān proceeded to Gondwānā for hunting elephants. On his return, he encamped there and coquered it. Alafkhān was invested with the office of an amir. He marched to Islāmābād † and Hoshangābād and conquered them. He moved to Sārangpura. He had preceded there in the vanguard of Muhammed Shāh. It was in possession of Bir Hankal, the ruler of Kākrun. He came out of it. The Sultān halted there for three days and returned to Mandu 'Imad-ul-Mulk prepared himself with an

* Original Text, p. 225. † Original Text, p. 226.

army followed by Ikhtiar Khān in his wake to Dasur. It was in possession of Gangu Purabiya on behalf of the ruler of Chitor. He came out of it. It was conquered. It was put in charge of Ashyā'ul Mulk, an amir. They returned to Mandu. The Sultān recovered these places which were under the sultunat of the Khalji after the month of Ramzān of the year (939 = 1532). In 939, Muḥammed Shāh sought permission to go to his capital.

The Sultān marched to Chāmpāner. He received intelligence of the arrival of the Firangis at Div. He proceeded to Khanbhāyat and prepared himself to go to Div in war-boats. The Firangis heard about his arrival and so they retreated. The Sultān returned to Chāmpāner with the reward of intention for jihād.

He took into his harem the daughter of the Sultān of Sind, Jām Fīroz.

He wrote to the ruler of Āsir to march to Mandu. He wrote to the wazir Khudāwand Khān al-Iji to encamp with him in the plain.

On the 7th Rabi 'II, Bahādur Marched to Mandu. He prepared Muhammed Shāh and the Wazir Khudāwand Khān to march with him to Chitor. He instructed them for delay at the manzil of Badsur (Mandsur ?). He ordered Tātār Khān Lodi to proceed ahead to Chitor. He did so and crowded himself upon the city and obtained a large booty and encamped at the foot of Chitor. Muhammed Shāh and Khudāwand Khān joined him. They posted their cannons upon Chitori.

On 17th Rajab, the Sultān encamped at Chitor and persuaded Rumi Khān to put his cannons in action but there was no response from those who were in the fort. On 17th Rajab of the year (940 = 1533), the mother of Bikramājit, son of Rāi Sāngā sent her son-in-law Bhupat, son of Silādi as an emissary for peace to give him what was seized by Sāngā of Khalji's territory. She also promised to give him as gift what were conquered by Sāngā in a war with 'Alāuddin Khalji such as the crown, belt and the necklace added to which was the treasure. She agreed to give him the materials and animals left in the * battle-field. The terms were accepted. Peace was patched up on the day of arrival of the emissary. He then issued an order to Burhān-ul-Mulk al-Banbāni and Mujāhid Khān to march to the mountain of Ranthambor. Shamshir Khān alias Banuliā marched to Ajmer. The Sultān returned to Mandu. All these events took place on the day of peace. Such is the account narrated by the historian. He so said and resolved to go to Chitor with Tātār Khān.

So far, what has been written, is written in the Tabaqāt. I made utmost efforts and obtained sufficient benefit.

In 939 (1502), Malek Mirjān al-Tawāshi, the emissary of Nasib Shāh, ruler of Bengal came to Mandu from the capital of Akdāla. He met the Sultān

* Original Text, p. 227.

and handed him the letter containing favour and regards and returned with reply of the letter as well as the gifts to his king.

In 940 ( 1533 ), the Sultān sent an emissary with a letter and presents to Nasiruddin Humāyun Pādshah, the ruler of Delhi. It was a good occasion for him. He received the emissary and treated him with kindness during the period of his stay. He then permitted him to depart with a reply to the Sultān's letter as well as presents. He sent his own emissary with him who had in him the qualities of statesmanship and sagacity to convey to him what he was ordered to convey. He wanted to maintain relation and affection ( friendship ) and remove the blemishes of hardship. When he came to the Sultān, he ordered for his reception, met first in an assembly of maleks and amirs. He then saw him in a special assembly. The emissary talked about the cause of his arrival. It was in keeping with the requisites of introduction * and counsel, maintenance of kingdom from destruction and fundamental principles of evil and goodness. Tātār Khān, son of 'Alāuddin was also present. He expressed thanks for every bounty as well as kingdom. He abstained from what he did not know. He said, " Our Sultān does not give shelter to any one from your race and invite him to his kingdom, nor does he decry intercourse ( does not write dispraise in correspondence ). Similarly, he expects the same thing from the other party. There should be regard from both the sides as well as ease. He who came to the world widened it and then made it subservient to himself. " Bahādur replied to the thanks of the emissary and prayed for him for increased grace. He went to his nearby residence where he had what pleased his desires. He gave him cash and clothes as well as what was advisable for his livelihood. He did not like to part company with him and to return to his master. He then permitted him to go and supplied him with gifts of precious stones and hand-made articles as well as jewelled ornaments, which could be obtained with difficulty. He wrote in reply to what he had heard and carried it out. On account of this intercourse, the ruler of Delhi retained in his possession what he had from the territory of Mandu. It took place in this year. The introductory portion removes doubt of the hearer. No one doubts therein. God obliged the Sultān for the conquest of two famous forts of Ranthambhor and Chitor. He obtained this victory at a great price. The account of it is given by Shaikh Abul Fazl in Akbarnama. This is what Husām Khān has stated in his Tabaqāt. After the peace of Chitor, Burhān-ul-Mulk and Mujāhid Khān marched with all preparations to Ranthambhor to know about its first conquest. As destined, the Sultān encamped at the fort of Ranthambhor. Rumikhān promised for its conquest. After its conquest, he began to make a breach in his promise. A wise man thinks of consequences first. The great amir Nassan said to him, " Ranthambhor and that too with

* Original Text, p. 228.

the hands of Rumi Khān. He is a stranger. How can his disobedience be entertained?" He received a lavish reward and promised him the conquest of Chitor. Rumi Khān was much affected. He was constant with his promise and it was apparently with him. *

Abul Fazl writes in his Akbarnāma that Sultan Bahādur was a man of majesty and power. He was a great personality. He toiled hard in the achievement of his physical desires. After his father Muzaffer, he had brought much territory under his control. His fame of loftymindedness and liberality had spread to distant lands. Nobles from distant places flocked to him. As they said "People saw that they become rich by being near a rich man." More than 10,000 rare things were collected in his diwān.

In the meantime, Tātār Khan, son of 'Alāuddin, son of Bahlol Lodi, the ruler of Delhi had come to him at an opportune time. He met him in submission with necessary wealth of his kingdom going towards one who was in severe difficulty of money. He became a support to him. The Sultān listened to him but did not respond to him. He then one day said to him "Whenever you say to me what is possible except that when I came out of Delhi I saw what happened between men of Ibrāhim, the ruler of Delhi and men of Bābur, the ruler of Kābul about their efforts on the frontiers. I spoke to you on that supposition and not by way of opening the door of mischief with the ruler of Delhi and men of Hind. They and the Mughals are like glass and stone. Their conflict will ultimately result in breaking of glass. Therefore I relied upon the preparation before the strength. I resolved upon conciliation of the Mughals and the warriors to whatever clans they belonged by distribution of treasures. I collected them around me. Stone can be a match for stone. I sought help of this people consisting of different clans from all sides. It is like a hawk and the primaries of birds without talons. Hemistich: Does a hawk fly without wings? In the meantime, Mirza Muḥammed Zamān, son of Badi'uzzamān son of Khâqân Husain arrived by chance. Bahādur met both of them with all goodness with a strong hope to conciliate the Mughals. All these who were in his court assembled under his banner. He made him a full-fledged amir. Tātār Khan† then presented himself. He said to him "Now I have resolved in the name of God to march on Ranthambhor. I have collected men nearby of your species as well as of the distance. I have made secure preparations with one hundred lacs of Gujarati tankas from forty crores of Delhi tankas. I wrote to the Amir of Ranthambhor with remission and permitted him to spend that amount with your knowledge (through you) to conciliate men of his race and so on. He collected as many as he could. When you receive my letter, act upon it in a way you like and I like. It will do according to his wish. It is due to this that he gives precedence to Ranthambhar."

* Original Text, p. 229.

† Original Text, p. 230.

*Conquest of Chitor* :—In 941 ( 1534 ), the Sultān marched from Mandu to Chitor and encamped at the fort. Rumi Khān planned for the action. The army began to come near from every direction. Humāyun Pādshāh returned from the Bengal Compaign. When he came near Kālpi, its ruler, Sultān 'Ālam came out with 12000 horses and one hundred elephants and arrived at Chitor and met the Sultān. There was a respite between him and Humāyun with a favour. He stayed with his army at Kālpi of Raisin. At the time of Humāyun's encampment at Kālpi, he received intelligence about the siege of Chitor with Muḥammed Zamān there. He wrote to Bahādur that he did not approve of his presence for it was a breach of the requisite of sincerity as it was not in keeping with fulfilment of pact. He replied to him in humility by quoting this line : God forbid ! Your pacts are null and void and promises with you are not to be carried out. He then wrote on behalf of Muḥammed Zamān " Is he not in place of a son to you ? It is necessary for us to show regard to him. It will be to please you." The same reply was repeated during the halt of Humāyun. He wrote a second time to him saying " A wise man was questioned as to who is a weak person, he replied that one who has no friend and the wise man was to his side." He said, " No, a weak person is one who has a friend to ruin him." It is said that a thousand friends are few while a single enemy is more.

*Couplet*

Plant the tree of friendship so that the desire of heart may yield fruit ;
Uproot the plant of enmity for it causes you limitless trouble.

Bahādur replied what Hafiz Damashqi has narrated in his Ādab that there are five objects of war : Growth of the state and its* distance which you cannot control ; preservation of acquired territory and its protection ; control of the state with tyranny by the sword of justice ; addition of the state to the state but the fifth object is that there is no good in it and all the efforts are directed to mischief, love of predominance, usurpation and connivance at obedience and similar things. There is nothing in a thing from it : distribution of wealth ( in charity ), assemblage of men, disposition towards fighting in the cause of God, and raising aloft the principles of Islam of the best creature ( i.e. the Prophet ). May benedictions and salutation of God be on him.

We harbour no trouble and hatred against anyone in both the worlds ;
He who bears malice towards one, may mercy, befriend him.

( Know what Bahādur wrote to Humāyun in reply to his letter wherein he rebuked him for breach of promise with a bearer whom he had sent in company of Nur Muḥammed Khalil, the emissary of Bahādur. He was much infuriated with him due to breach of promise as could be known from his narration. The

* **Original Text, p. 231.**

narrator says that Mulla Muḥammed Munshi wrote to him and represented him in time which was not like it to assemble the scholars to write similarl They did not find it in literature wherein he rebuked as mentioned in the vers

Plant the tree of friendship so that it may yield fruit of heart's desir Uproot the plant of enmity for it brings innumerable hardships.

The following couplet was written in response with this severity.

When you are a guest of a drunkard, be respectful to rakes
Oh friend ! you will suffer headache if intoxication creates drowsiness.

The courtiers failed to call back the messenger when they learnt what w written. They requested the Sultān to pretend ignorance for it and send son one to call back the messenger. Abu Jiv Tānk titled Wajih-ul-Mulk in tin of Sultān Qutbuddin was sent after in all haste. He reached him and brougi him back. Humāyun was very much excited by hearing about such a lette Rumi Khān wrote to Humāyun to prepare himself to humiliate Bahādur f such a speech. When Bahādur was convinced about Rumi Khān's letter to Humāyun, he wanted to punish him. Rumi Khān learnt about this evil to b done to him. He came out on an excuse and went to Humāyun. One mornin he was near a war cart of the horse when he saw an elephant with a litter ov him. When he gave up riding the horse he returned as a fugitive, and came wit the elephant to the Sultān. He was with a box on a litter. He ordered it be opened before himself. There was coal, a small quantity of salt and a pie of cloth dyed in indigo. When he saw them, he was intermingled with lament tion and awe. On a previous day he intended to go to Mandu. He ordered burn the jewels in a day. He cut off trunks of favourite elephants. Amor these elephants were those whom he loved such as the Sharzah and Pāt Sa gār. When he shed tears, his sorrow became intense. He broke the tw cannons—Lailā and Majnun—personally as well as others. He then came o one night with a party of favourite persons without the knowledge of any o and laid siege to the fort of Mandu. Humāyun besieged the fort. One of tl gates was guarded by Bhupat Rāi son of Silādi the Purabiyah, the ruler Raisin. He sent Rumi Khān to him to persuade him to open the gate on co dition of giving to him the kingdom of his father and more in addition. H instigated him to wreak vengeance of his father and his family on Bahādu He further said that he was not a son who did not revenge his father. H acted accordingly and the Mughals entered the fort through him. Bahād was said to tell him the saying, " To kill a serpent and spare his youngo yields this result. Sadr Khān son of Malek Rāji was asked to stop at place. He bade good bye to Sultān Ālam Lodi and ordered him to defend t fort Songar overlooking the mountain-fort. He got down from the mounta

* Original Text, p. 232.

to travel to Gujarāt. The Mughal amir noticed him. He turned his reins and engaged in war with him alone and killed him. His soldiers fled away and took their passage to Div. The narrator said that Sadr Khān was fighting constantly at his place until he surrendered. He ordered for his death. Sultān 'Ālam was spared to make efforts for the defence of Songar till his provisions got exhausted. He went to Humāyun. He ordered to put him to death along with those who were with him. They were three hundred in number. The narrator said that Bahādur fled away at night from the pavilion. In the morning, Humāyun saw the pavilion of the Sultān intact with the carpets and vessels the like of which his eyes had never seen. There were velvet, silk, ermine and precious clothes of embroidered velvet, carpets of gold, utensils of gold and silver and silk tent-ropes. He remarked "How did he not have the power over this when the sea and the land were in his hand?" The narrator said * that Sultān Sikander son of Bahlol used to say that the dependence of the Delhi Saltanat was on wheat and jawār while that of the Gujarat Saltanat was coral and pearls and it had 84 ports. It is so mentioned in the Mirat (i-Sikandari). Shaikh Abul Fazl differed from this account in his Akbar-nama. He knows it and makes his stand on it. It is in the Mirat. After the conquest of Mandu, Humāyun held a public assembly on Tuesday. He wore the garment of red colour from head to foot. This was in accordance with the Mughal tradition. When they conquered a kingdom and looked at their kingdom, they appeared in a public assembly with red garments. They were so permitted for general massacre for its people. They, therefore, constantly clothed themselves in red garments. When he removed them from his body, massacre was stopped. The narrator said that when the Mughals were engaged in massacre and rapine, they came across a person who was proficient in music (he was a favourite of Bahādur and his name was Manjhu) he was famous and had been captured. A Mughal drew forth his sword to deprive him of life. He said to him, "What do you want to do?" He said, "I will kill you." He said, "There is something better than that." He said, "What is that?" He said, "you will get gold equal to your weight to be enjoyed by your descendants." Whereupon, he sheathed his sword and removed the turban of captivity from him, and tightened it upon his shoulders. When one of the Hindu amirs of Humāyun recognized him to be Manjhu, he unfastened his shoulders and went with him riding to Humāyun. He was in an assembly of wrath. The Mughal was sincere with him but he had no power upon his release. When they reached Humāyun, the Mughal complained of violence on his captive. The chief said to him that he was Manjhu, proficient in music and a favourite of Bahadur's Court. Humāyun kept quiet. Whenever he was enraged at his subordinates, he ordered them to be put to death. He was an emissary from the

* Original Text, p. 233.

Mughal to Bahādur. He had seen this man honoured in the majlis of Bahādur. There was none like him in the art of music now; nor there would be equal to him in future. Humāyun treated Khushāl with justice. He said that he was the master of his art. Humāyun looked at him with kindness and said to him that he wanted to hear him for which he was qualified. He dispelled his despair by singing and disappearance of his anger was noticed in his silence. Humāyun removed his red garments and wore green clothes as a symbol of pleasure. He* ordered to give him a special robe of honour and told him to ask him for anything he desired. He demanded release of his family and subordinates. His wish was granted and gave him a royal horse and ordered him to ride over it. Sixty persons were thus released. The narrator said that Manjhu was the cause for the release of many persons who held mansab from Bahādur. He remained with Humāyun for as much time as he liked and had become his favourite. He got an opportunity and went to Bahādur. When he met him, Bahādur said to him, "Tell me what you saw and how you escaped in detail." He narrated what he saw while he was in attendance upon Humāyun. He had become his great favourite and he gave him presents in cash etc. He sent presents to the Mughal who had saved his life. It was a great obligation on him. This was what was said by the father of Manjhu, the author of Mirat-i-Sikandari who worked as a librarian to Humāyun. This is an account of misdeeds of Rumi Khān. Humāyun had encamped at the foot of Chāmpāner. Bahādur had a cannon. The experts of the art met together to lift it up from the ground to the mountain-fort; but they failed to carry it upwards. There was a place at the bottom of the fort in the mid-portion of the mountain. After helplessness, they made three holes in it and kept it there. They repaired it as much as they could with a serious defect in it. It failed to fire at a long range. The first stone which it hit, a breach was made in the gate of the fort; the second one uprooted a big tree grown near the gate. It was very high and widely spread. Its branches covered the lower part of the fort. The residents were filled with fright. There was a Firangi as an attendant of the fort. His name was Sakata. He had become a Muslim at the hands of Bahādur. He was titled Firang Khān. He said to the Wazir Ikhtiār Khān that he would break that cannon to pieces by his device. He said, "Do you say with your tongue?" He faced the cannon and fired at its mouth and broke it to pieces. The attendants of the fort were delighted. Ikhtiār Khān eulogised him but he gave him less than promised. His partner in defence of the fort and state affairs made amends for it. He was Rājā Narsing Dev. He gave him seven maunds of gold. Rājā Narsing Dev had received a wound in battle and therefore he was kept at a place by Bahādur at Chāmpāner. He was a tender pole. When the shouts of cannon-fire rose continuously, the pole was rent. His

* Original Text, p. 234.

wound opened and he died. When Bahādur heard about his death, he felt aggrieved and remarked that the fort had gone. Afzal Khān 'Abduṣ Ṣamad al-Banbāni was present. He asked him about news. He said that there was no * news but the Rājā had died. He was the man of the fort. He was unique but Ikhtiār Khān was not acquainted with strategy of war. It is narrated of Sayyed Jalāl titled Munawarrul Mulk that when he heard about the conquest of the fort, he remarked that that fort was one which was difficult to be conquered. If an old woman threw a stone from the top of the fort, people of the world not come around it. But Humāyun conquered it with ease within a short time by strength of his fortune. Sikander (author of Mirat-i-Sikandari) narrated from his father that when Humāyun conquered the fort of Mandu, he sat upon the throne on the first day. There were kings, amirs, wazirs and nobles on all sides of the throne standing in accordance with their rank and status. A man came with a parrot which talked in different languages. Mawlānā Nakhshi has stated in his book "Tuti-nama" about this subject. There was a merchant and his wife. The merchant was absent for a long time. Her heart was attached to his promise. She came to the parrot to inquire about his visit. Such are the stories of tutcring parrots told to Bahādur. A cage was placed near his throne or it was kept in his hand near him. In short, in the meantime, Rumi Khān presented himself in that distinguished gathering and saluted. He was welcomed by Humāyun by mentioning his name. The parrot heard his name and said in language of Hind "Phat Rumi Khān harāmkhor; phat Rumi Khān harāmkhor." He repeated these words several times about a person who was connected with the guilt seriously quickly spurting his tail in anger. This happened when Rumi Khān moved in the midst of that assembly. This was on the first day of his sitting upon the throne. He was overwhelmed with shame by the talk of the parrot. Humāyun said to console him that if these words were uttered by a person other than a parrot, he would have ordered his tongue to be cut off but it was a bird. The meaning of what the parrot said was: cursed be oh Rumi Khān, oh unlawful eater (ungrateful). When he deserted Bahādur from charge of war-carts, the bird was taught these words in his absence. They were repeated. The parrot heard them and retained them in his memory. When he heard his name, it mentioned those words and spoke them continuously in anger as they were talking. It may be that these words may have been inspired by God timely as a warning and a lesson to dishonest (disloyal) persons in such an assembly. Time does not erase out such wonders.†

After the conquest, Humāyun marched to Khanbhāyat and thence to Aḥmadābād. He encamped at Ghiyāspur at a distance of two farsakhs from the city. In the Akbar-nama, it is stated that he went to Aḥmadābad from

* Original text, p. 235. † Original Text, p. 236.

Chāmpāner as I am narrating in my history. He then proceeded to Batwa to visit the shrine of Quṭb-i-'Ālam. After the visit, he saw the famous miracle of the saint in connection with "Loh, Lakkad, Patthar," and acknowledged the high level of spiritual element of the saint. He further states that when Akbar visited Gujarat, he ordered, after the visit to break it into two parts. He returned with the half with himself and kept the other half at its place. When he heard from Sher Shāh about this wonder, he deputed Mirza Hindāl to Aḥmadābad, Qāsim Beg to Broach, Hindu Beg to Naharwāla Pattan and Sher 'Ali Burhān to Agra. I say what is in Akbarnama is contradictory and I have narrated it. On his return, he met Malek Nassan, the governor of Ranthambor, Malek Burhān-ul-Mulk Banbāni, governor of Chītor and Shamshir-ul-Mulk, governor of Ajmer. They went to neighbourhood of Naharwāla Pattan. They were with 20,000 horses. They wrote to Bahādur to wage war. He responded to them with delay and wanted for his arrival. Bahādur came and Hindu Beg proceeded to Aḥmadābād without waging a war with him. Bahādur pursued him actively and journeyed to Aḥmadābād. He met with those who were with him and Hindu Beg at Ghiyāspur. The Sultān encamped on the other side of the river. At night, the Mughals left the place with lamps burning and journeyed to Maḥmudābād. Bahādur pursued them and encamped in the plain of Kaniz. The governor of Broach arrived and joined himself to them. When the sun shone, the armies faced each other when first the Mughals dominated. Then Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri and 'Imād-ul-Mulk Malekjiv stepped forth and the army of Bahādur retreated with them. It was a clean victory. Many Mughals got drowned in the river Mahi and those who came out alive were pursued by Bahādur to expel them from his boundary. (I narrated what was in the Akbarnāmā differing at some and agreeing with some account).

When Humāyun was gripped with disappointment, he assembled his nobles and consulted them about his plan. The opinions were about dispersion He became anxious and disengaged from Chitor till victory on this side. The Sultān, thereupon, wrote to Amir Khān ordering him to proceed to Kalinjar. * He sported in the nearby places. In the early emergence of Sher Shāh, there was correspondence between them at the first acquaintance. When the Sultān was at Delhi, he relied upon him. He sent to him a large sum of money with merchants to help him to collect an army. He wrote to inform him about the siege of Chitor and what happened between him and Humāyun about terror. After the collection of army, he should join him or that he should not allow Humāyun to come out from his centre to conquer Chitor. He should associate with frightful Burhān-ul-Mulk al-Banbani to strengthen with his treasure and army to march to Chitor to make it the centre and to move about with the amirs to the Punjāb. Malek 'Imād-ul-Mulk was posted at Ajmer to be nearby.

* Original Text, p. 237.

He should make efforts to gain victory and rely upon the reports of the messenger to receive news of Agra from day to day. In the meantime, a letter of the messenger arrived with news of victory of Bayāna and the encampment of Tatar Khān there. It is stated in Akbarnāmā that he had, on the day of victory, 40,000 auxiliaries. When Humāyun reached him, his brothers prepared the coup de grace and they were Mirzā Askari, Mirzā Hindāl and Yādgār Nāsir. Then continuous news of his army poured in about dispersion and that three thousand soldiers were left. He had spent upon them the whole amount easily that was with him at Ranthambor. He felt ashamed before Bahādur upon his rashness to spend that treasure upon other things. When he bore inconvenience for war due to his rashness, he paid attention to assemble the rest. He said to them, " I have inconvenience of money, I was born in my native place, I relied upon the day. I hoped. I found him dead at the hands of the community. For such a day, a wise man was asked, " What is more severe than death. " He replied, " What you wish for death in it. " I emerged in the face of the Mughals alone, if you do not follow me when you do not attack the Mughals like me. Those who are firm with me should kill and be killed. Humāyun followed him in his wake to Sārangpur fighting with the Sultān * who received continuous news about his arrival. Just then, his companions deserted. He did not care for difference in opinion. The great amir Ṣadr Khān apparently saw that victory was nigh, with hope in God to make it easy before his arrival to us. None should doubt the excellence of Humāyun and his high dignity. When we are in war with enemies of God, God forbid, we shall be engaged from them with the Muslims. We are with him in the widest excuse and most near in victory. The Sultān approved of his view and maintained the link of the army. He did not intermingle the two issues. He was between two enemies, visited upon him and faced with him troubling but he was not disheartened. This saying was constantly upon his tongue, " If you help, God will help you and make your feet firm. " When Rumi Khān did not find a way to the fort except by a mine, he buried himself with it and completed it within the least time, with the help of his gun-powder. It was inescapable. He then represented to the Sultān and gave him information. The Sultān ordered his soldiers to wear uniform and resolved upon to be the first to enter the fort with sword in the path of God. The amirs assembled before him. 'Imād-ul-Mulk got the army ready, unfurled the flags, and bugles and drums shook the ground and mountain and the world assembled under the flag of the Sultān. It presented an appearance of the day of assemblage. The flag of the Sultān carried to the side which was under him and Rumi Khān lighted the fire. The mine blew up the mountain to the gate of the fort in the air and darkened the world. The Sultān was patient till the fall from the above. He then raised

* Original Text, p. 238.

his voice with takbir ( Allāh-o-Akber ) and advanced to the foot of the fort. He was the first to climb then was followed by the maleks, amirs and the army. They climbed up the fort and laid aside the swords. The Sultān ordered for security. This victory was won on the 3rd of Ramzan of the year. The Sultan ordered for repairs of what was destroyed by gun-powder from the mountain. The masons worked at it, placed stones one upon another sticking them with lime and gypsum till it returned to its original condition. In this way, the fort was reconstructed, its stability increased, money spent was sufficient for * the year, the fort was strengthened with cannons, attendents and it was assigned to the charge of Malek Nassan. Rumi Khān felt very much and he harboured an evil design in his mind. Outwardly, he showed himself with the Sultān but inwardly he was disposed towards the ruler of Delhi. When the Sultān was free from the affair of Chitor while Humāyun was in Ujjain, he marched against him. Humāyun too marched. Both of them met against each other in the neighbourhood of Dasur. They encamped at a long and wide reservoir so that they might drink water from it. The Sultān then consulted his captains with all haste. Tāj Khān and Sadr Khān said that the army was fresh with the victory and so there was pride in them and so they would march with diligence and vehemence. Hence the army should be arranged expeditiously in rows. They would advance for war and sincerely attack the enemy; and thus would come out triumphant with majesty and strength and God willing, there would be victory for us. The Sultān, thereupon, decided to wage an arrayed battle the next day after encampment. When Rumi Khān learnt about this decision of the Sultān, he decided to seize this opportunity before it passed away to wreck vengeance personally for a breach of promise at Chitor. He said, " You have resolved upon war, I have ordnance, the cannons and the gun-powder with me. They are necessary for such a day as this. They will be useful on such a day." Let us take opinions in this respect. A camp should be a centre. It is like a circle to be surrounded by it. Ditches should be dug around it. The army will be safe from night-assault of the enemy and his strategem. The enemy would not be safe thereby. After disengagement from it, the vanguards should issue forth, fight the enemy and retreat. When he moved from his limit, he would have to be on his guard. Our supply of provisions will not be cut off for we will be on our own ground. The enemy, contrary to it, will take to flight of his own accord. Such is the method of fighting in war resorted to by the Sultāns of Turkey. They thus overpower the enemy and expand their kingdom." When the Sultān heard his speech, he turned to Ṣadr Khān and asked him as to what he had to say after what he had heard. He said, " The statement is like honey but the action is like a rush ( a thorn ). Call upon fire to fortify its own people like horse's

* Original Text, p. 239.

back but it is not beneficial like a sword in meeting the reins with reins." When the Sultān trusted Rumi Khān and was disposed towards him, he acted * according to his judgment and took opinions. The vanguards of both the armies made strenuous efforts in war. Mirza Mukim titled Khurāsān Khān was in charge of Bahādur's vanguard. They asked according to their plan. He (Rumi Khān) sent a letter with a messenger and conspired with him to be on guard. This messenger was ordered to be arrested and was taken to Bahādur. He took out from him the letters addressed to the party for a reply. When they questioned him, Bahādur began to think about them. He had written to Humāyun about the supply of provisions, to seize them and block the passage of caravans. It was done. Immediately, the supply got exhausted at Chitor. Under such circumstances, its supply fell into the hands of the enemy. Within a short time, a severe famine took place in the camp. Many animals died of starvation and the soldiers became extremely weak. Muḥammed Zamān, one day rode out for war with 500 horses and fought but achieved nothing. He returned. They desired to capture him and fired cannons at him. He retreated as he was made the aim of cannons. It was the Ramzan 'Id. Scarcity of food continued till 20th Shawwāl. Humāyun intended to come out one night for fight. It was evening and 21st of Shawwāl. Sultān Bahādur stood at the cannons and ordered them to break all of them. Humāyun thought of a great consternation in the army of Bahādur. He rode out with several soldiers to a distance of several farsakhs from his camp and made a night-attack upon horse-back and in his armour. But Bahādur rode with a mask and proceeded towards Mandu. Ṣadr Khān and 'Imād-ul-Mulk followed suit with 20,000 horses. Rumi Khān then emerged forth. It was said, that he was with him. He pursued the horsemn and captured het rest of the army It is so stated in Akbar-nāmā. Theree was a great commotion and dreadful noise in the camp of Bahādur. Humāyun rode out completely armed and went to a distance of farsakhs from his own camp with 30,000 horse and made a night-assault after his cavalry but did not know what had happened. It was morning. He was in his armour riding till fourth part of the day. When he verified the report, he returned to his camp. He sent his brother Yādgār Nāsar Mirzā Hindu Beg and Qā-im Sultān with a large army in pursuit of Bahādur. † They resorted to rapine and captivity but abstained from massacre. Among the captives was Khudāwand Khān al-Iji. When he was brought to his assembly, he was welcomed with favour and kindness. He seated him by his side. He was much affected by it and made him one of his associates. But Ṣadr Khān and 'Imād-ul-Mulk went by the famous (known) road to Mandu ahead of the Sultān. They entered the fort and ordered for defence of its gates. Bahādur joined them on 14th of the month. He and Muḥammed Shāh

* Original Text, p. 240.

† Original Text, p. 241.

*entered the fort. Rumi Khān followed them from the gate and Bahādur was there. He, through mistaking the Mughals, first took the path of Agra. Then he turned to the path of Mandu. He, therefore, joined them later on. The fort was in charge of Mallu Khān al-Manduwali titled Qādir Shāh.* Humāyun arrived there and halted at his residence. Rumi Khān met him. He distinguished him with the rank of nearness. Humāyun questioned him about Bahādur. He replied that he was in the fort and so and so. They said that the fort was strongly fortified and guards were posted at it. He sent an emissary for peace from his side. The residents of the fort were inclined towards him. The representative of Humāyun, Mawlānā Muḥammed bin 'Ali and that of Bahādur, Ṣadr Khān met together for peace. They met at Sail-i-sail. They decided that Gujarāt and Chitor should be of Bahādur while the rest should belong to Humāyun. They parted upon what they said to be *constructive peace. Humāyun entered the fort. Bahādur wanted to make* amends for what he had suffered. At the close of the night when the peace wás announced, he named the guards of the gate for its defence for its publicity and from its weariness. It so happened that a party of Mughals, through negligence of the guard, ascended to the parapets of the fort and got down into the fort, opened the gate, allowed the horse to enter and raised shouts as was their wont in precipitancy with the words of glory, " Allah, Allah, Allah. The fort trembled. Mallu Khān rode to the Sultān. He was asleep. He woke him up by moving him and shouting him. He rode his horse. He was in a state of sleep and wakefulness. He emerged from the house with Mallu Khān and other men. Bhupat Rāi, son of Silādi saw him sitting (on horse-back). When he was at the gate of the maidan, he saw the Mughal regiment with designs at him. They were not more than twelve. He and his companions * were completely armed. He came out of the gate. He charged them. Some of his companions also charged them. They split the regiment and came out and proceeded to the fort of Songar. They entered the fort and galloped the horses to the base of the fort where they got down and journeyed to Gujarāt. Qāsim Husain Khān was with a regiment to the side of the fort. When Bahādur passed by his side a man whose name was Luri recognized him. He was at one time in his service. He informed Qāsim Husain Khān about it. He heard him but pretended not to have heard it and Bahādur went away in safety to Chāmpāner. He met on the way with a party of 1500 soldiers. Ikhtiār Khān Siddiqi was in charge of the fort. He halted there. He saw the treasures and prepared himself with all rare things to proceed to Div. He ordered his harem to be at the foot of the mountain. He collected whatever treasures he had in the fort as well as his harem at the base of the fort. He left the rest in the fort not known what it was. On the morning of that night, two hours of

* Original Text, p. 242.

the day, Humāyun reached the Mughals, entered the fort after the departure of Bahādur from it. He rode, entered the fort from the Delhi gate. Sadr Khān stayed at the gate of his house with a party fighting with the Mughals. Humāyun entered. He was steadfast fighting on all sides. He had received a wound. He did not jest. The Mughals assembled around him from all sides. He was cutting them in twain by his sword. His companions happened to come there, took him by holding his reins and went to Songar. A large number of Bahādur's soldiers followed him. He entered the fort and garrisoned himself. The Mughals engaged themselves in plundering the region for three days. A proclamation of amnesty was circulated. Humāyun sent an emissary to Ṣadr Khān and Sultān 'Ālam to conciliate them with a promise of safety. They received it. Both of them went with a reliable person to him and met him. He treated them with favour. He then said to Ṣadr Khān that Sultān 'Ālam had, many a time, committed such things that he was not worthy of safety but I tolerated him in what he did and therefore, it was sufficient to hamstring him. He ordered it accordingly and thus treated him indulgently. He then showed favour to Ṣadr Khān more than he imagined. He descended from the fort and marched to Chāmpāner. When he was near the reservoir of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, he proceeded for arrangement of the war and reached Muḥammedābād and encamped there. When Bahādur heard about his proximate* approach, he commanded Ikhtiār Khān what was commanded, got down from the fort and set the city of Muḥammedābād on fire and proceeded to Khanbhāyat alone and placed his harem and treasures in charge of Masnad-ul-'Āli 'Abdul 'Aziz Āsif Khān, and ordered him to come with them to Div. Āsaf Khān started with them in the wake of Bahādur. He instructed his vakil Sirājuddin 'Umar bin Kamāluddin al-Naharwāli to take charge of the harem and other things connected with it and he started on Monday with that. He met Ḥalim Khān brother of Āsaf Khān between Sarkhej and Dholka. He joined Bahādur at Khanbhāyat. One hundred boats were ready there to fight with the Firangis. They were to be taken to Div for the Firangis. He ordered them to be burnt and proceeded to Div. When he approached it, Khwājah Ṣafr Salmāni came to him. He was the vakil of Rumi Khān. He kissed his stirrup, he acquitted him, and went with him to Div. He acquainted him with cannons at Div and made preparations for fortification, went with him to fortified sides to see what equipment was there as well as to places which needed to be strengthened. He then entrusted him to summon the party of Salamānies. Rumi Khān was with them. Bahādur was surprised at his presence. He came to him. He assigned him what had belonged to Rumi Khān of the port of Div, Surat and Rāner (Rander), Thāna, and Daman. He ordered him to summon his companions and showed favour to those whom he knew. He wrote to Varandor, the ruler of Goa seek-

* Original Text, p. 243.

ing his help. He ordered Khwājah Ṣafr to rebuild the port of Div. He asked him whether it was possible to be garrisoned within Div in case of Humāyun's arrival and he replied in the affirmative. He said, "How will you act with Rumi Khān for he is dishonest and not capable of improvement." When Humāyun arrived at Muḥammedābād and saw fire on all sides, he ordered to extinguish the fire. Hindu Beg, most of the amirs and the army followed him. He proceeded with them to Khanbhāyat in wake of Bahādur. Bahādur had proceeded to Div. He sent an army in his pursuit. When he had left the place, they returned. Ahmadbād and Rukhdād, the āmirs of Bahādur were at Khaabhāyat. When Humāyun encamped on the sea-side at Khanbhāyat, he announced safety* to them. The above-mentioned, then, excused themselves to make a night attack on the camp. The Mahi joined the sea at a distance of seven farsakhs near Khanbhāyat with inlets of water and pouring into the sea. Its shore, due to flow of water has created caverns, abysses and ravines which are extremely difficult for entry and exit. From ancient times, there lived a race of people uncivilized. They are called Kolis and Bhils. They formed a large majority. They were naked, bare-footed but they were harsh. Those who bore arms, were obedient to the Sultān of the earth. It so happened that Malek Aḥmad 'Ali made a night-attack with them. An old woman learnt about this night-attack. Her son was a captive with the Mughals. She stood at the door of the Sultān's pavilion. She expressed her desire to meet him for a talk with him alone. When she was ordered to be presented before him, she informed him about her knowledge of the night-assault. He asked her, "Whence do you come?" She replied, "I am a resident of Khanbhāyat." He said, "You and the advice to me who has trodden upon your land with violence and razed it to the ground in war. How is it so?" She said, "Such is the case. Everything is perishable. My son is in captivity. I have made it the means for his release. If it comes out to be true, you should release him from captivity." She disclosed her distress to him. She said that to him. At mid-night, a large number of persons came out with him to his side. They assaulted his camp. They found the baggage only. They pillaged whatever they found including books. Among those books, there was Timur-nāma composed by Mawlāna Hātifi in the hand of Ustād Sultān 'Ali with pictures drawn by the artist Bahzād. When the army attacked them, they fled. Humāyun returned to the camp. He felt greatest sorrow for loss of precious books. The old woman presented herself before him. He ordered her son to be released. He then ordered for plunder. Khanbhāyat was plundered for three days. Humāyun returned to Chāmpaner and laid siege to it for four months. Whatever is written about the siege is borrowed for reliance on its account. Whatever the historian of Akbarnāma had stated about driving nails in wall of the fort from bottom to top of the fort and that it was thus taken by

* Original text, p. 244.

escalation is imaginative and impossible. It was luck which worked and not imagination and thought. It makes ice to defend and iron soft. A lucky man does what he wishes. Mujiruddin, the Kādi, the scholar, Abu 'Ali 'Abdur Rahim* son of Kādi-ul-Ashraf Bahāuddin Abil Majd 'Ali son of Kādi al-Sa'eed Abi Muḥammed al-Hasan, son of Aḥmad, son of al-Faraj, son of Aḥmad al-Lakhmi al-'Askalāni was born in 529 (1135) and died in 596 (1199-1200). He was wazir of the Sultān Salāḥuddin 'Yusuf. Alas! the time should have a substitute of him. He composed plenty of poetry for Abi Tāhir Ismā'il, son of Muḥammed, son of Husain Karashi al-Iskandari :—

Good fortune is delight for eyes
They are safe against fears.
You can hunt an 'Unkā by a rope
Pursue Gemini by reins.

He then granted safety and security to its inhabitants. Ikht'ār Khān met him. Humāyun had heard about him. When he saw him, he found him to be deserving more praise than what he had heard about him. He received him well and made him his associate and raised his rank to that of his close courtiers. Good debates and graceful conversations took place between them on intellectual and descriptive sciences as well as on mathematics, astronomy and literature both in verse and prose. He found him a proficient scholar in those subjects. He rose high in his estimation and held him in respect in his heart.

He was similar to him in treatment as 'Azadud Dawlah was to Abil Ḥasan Muḥammed bin 'Abdullah al-Makhzumi as Salami. A famous poet used to say on seeing as—Salami in a majlis that he regarded him as Mercury descended from the sky to me and stood erect before him. He was at Ispahān with Abil Kasm Ismā'il son of Abil Ḥasan 'Ibād son of 'Abbās son of 'Ibād son of Aḥmad son of Idris al-Tālkāni who was Wazir to Fakharud Dawlah Abil Hasan 'Ali son of Aḥmad son of Buyah al-Dailami, who died at Ray on Friday night in the year 385 (995) between beneficient goodness, wide position and lustrous bounties. He was moved in desire to be in presence of 'Azadud Dawlah son of Buyah at Shirāz. The master took him to him. He provided him with books in the hand-writing of Abi al-Kāsim 'Abdul 'Aziz son of Yusuf al-Kātib. He was one of the eloquent persons. He was taken to 'Azadud Dawlah. On his arrival, he stood guarantee for him favour and showed him brought him to him. He treated him with favour. Following two verses† are from his poetry :

* Original Text, p. 245.

† Original Text, p. 246.

Eulogist is compared to disappointment and announcement,
He was regarded as the smallest servant.
In his army, fifty thousand 'Antars passed
And one thousand Hatims in his treasures.

There was not such a field over which my liberal pen moved. It tried to write an account to which it was inclined. How and from what was in the copy of the master with him and to the writer. He had composed many extempore verses. The ear felt delight for its reception as the eye was for observation. Salāmi was connected with Dār-ul-Islām, Baghdād. It was conquest of Mandu and its famous name in Hind is Mandur, on 12th Shawwāl, 941 ( 1534 ). It was in this year that one of the matchless scholars of the age died. He was most perfect in explanation of meanings and understanding. He was exceptional in extricating real meaning from words though apparently they happened to be devoid of meaning. He talked what was approved by the shaikhs. He was clever in nacromancy. He was expert in the science of chemistry. He disseminated fragrant perfumes. He talked about the sea without any hindrance. He was the holy man of the world Mawlānā 'Imāduddin Muḥammed son of Maḥmud al-Tārmi. He was born in Tāram, a village in Khurāsan and grew up there. He got himself engaged in search of knowledge from its expert scholars. He was skilled in every branch of it. He then travelled to different directions and added to what he knew to become perfect with essence and attributes. He then came to Gujarāt with his books. He composed them when at leisure from prayers with what was reliable. A report of his scholarship spread through books. He moved in the kingdom to contact scholars to benefit and to be benefited through them. He benefited and related from them. He related from Shaikh of celibates Abu 'Abdullāh Mawlānā Wajihuddin al-'Alwi. There is no doubt that he was a Kutb ( pole star ) in conduct and an angel in character as well as sound in religion. Kādi Mawlānā 'Isā was justice incarnate for the state. The author learnt from popular legend that he died at Naharwala Patan.

He presented himself in the majlis of Bahādur in a house overlooking the river. It was not the season of rain. In the course of conversation, he said * to him, " Look at the river. How its water is in an agitated state. He looked at it. It looked like a sea on all sides. Surprisingly, there appeared a cradle with two children floating on surface of water. He said to him, " Do you see a wonder which I saw in it. " He said, " Yes, I saw a cradle and two children in it. " He said, " They were orphans from the side of father such and such at Naharwāla. The river bore them to you requesting fixation of allowance what was in the name of their father." He said, " For them. " Bahādur then

* Original Text, p. 247.

looked at the river. He neither saw the flood nor the children. His wonder greatly increased. In this way, I heard a true and authentic story in connection with the unique of the age Janāb Miyā 'Abdur Rahmān son of Hasan may his benefit be permanent. The Sultān heard about his knowledge of nacromancy. He hoped to see something of it from him. He did it which was not in vain but it was done for extraction of benefit. Allowances of Sultāns of Hind flow in heredity to sons till they do not need it at all. These dedications are meant for prayers and creation of example. It was their custom that when they gave territory to an Amir, they wrote it in their imperial order that it was besides allowances. Such was the case in respect of appointment of 'Āmils and mukaddams of subjects for Muslims as well as non-Muslims. Similarly, when he assigned a village to his subordinate, he made no exception. God accepts from them and gives them rewards in respect of their charity. So with Maḥmud, Father of the author was a merchant. He made a tent and spent some amount of money on it. He did not find a customer for it in Rum. He came with it to Gujarāt. He showed it to the Sultān Maḥmud Begara, Price was considered to be much or he did not see it for satisfaction of one who was always in his armour. It was so. It so happened that he entered a masjid for Friday prayer. Kutb-ul-Awliyā, Ghiyāth-ul-Aṣfiā son of Sayyid son of Ādam Mawlānā Manjhan Jiv Shāh 'Ālam, may his grave be sanctified was present. When he stood to depart, the merchant kissed his hand and requested him for prayer for sale of tent which was not sold in the market. He asked him, "What is your name, your lineage, your profession and your need? Whence have you come? Give him information about it." He ordered him to carry the tent to his house and pitch it there. He did it. He bought it from him at the price he had fixed for sale without excess and promised him to come the next day. It happened that some one said to him, "What will you do when he does not pay this big amount which he does not possess? He wiil give you this amount when he collects that much as presents or when he fulfils the promise."* He was a foreigner. He did not know him as he ought to know. These words entered into his ears. Suspicion arose in his mind. He returned to him. He did not know him where he lived. When he came near his house, he saw a crowd at the tent plundering it and cutting it with knives into pieces. This was the case with the aforesaid Kutb when he left him. The tent stood on its props. He went inside to see what decoration was there for people of the world. Tongue of the Present composed

Verily, this life is temporary
Stupid chooses it out of ignorance
and
What passed is lost, Invisible is hoped for
You are in sky of the hour.

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* Original Text, p. 248.

He came out and called the people to inform them what happened in near past and distant relation. The merchant stood biting his hand in repentance and doubted it. This got revealed to His Holiness as to how he was deceived by hearsay report. He then said, pointing to the carpet, to him in majlis to take as much as price of the tent from beneath it. He did as was ordered and took the amount neither more nor less. He kissed the carpet and apologized for what he had inferred from his words, requested him for prayer for he had no children to leave behind him. He gave him good news of birth. The subject of topic was born at Tāram. It is related similarly for beneficence. He ordered his Sāki (one who gives water to drink) near him to gargle water and said to him to take as much as he needed. He kept away from him. The merchant came near the sāki or it was on the river. He pointed out to him. He saw gold coins floating. He placed his hand and the amount was sufficient. He became greedy. He took more. When he took the amount from water, it was sufficient for what he had. He placed his hand and took what he had and preserved it. He lost patience and saw gold floating. He took from it. What he took became non-existent. He saw nothing. He got disturbed. He informed him with the truth. He said to him, "Take but not more." He returned. Gold was floating. He took according to his claim and returned to the majlis and said, "He took what was with me. Prayer was for blessing." He returned to the city. The man died before the event or in this year.

Bahādur set out for Mandu. He summoned Mirzā Muḥammed Zamān to* create disturbance round about Delhi so that Humāyun might return from Gujarāt. He called him with his party. Similarly, Mallu Khān and his companions of Mandu were summoned. They were with him in his journey to Khanbhāyat. He invited them for raising revolt in the vicinity of Mandu. They assembled under the banner of Muḥammed Zamān. Most of them were strangers. They marched towards Sind. He wrote to Shāh Ḥusain, son of Shāh Beg Arghun, ruler of Sind, from the side of Humāyun in accommodating him and meeting him. He replied that Sind was a difficult territory and that he should make no effort for it. Lāhore was spacious for him in respect of wealth and men. At present, it was empty (with no ruler in it). He should hasten towards it, conquer it and rule over it. Muḥammed Zamān marched towards it and ran over its places. He obtained wealth and collected a large number of followers. Mirzā Kāmrān resolved upon to invade Qandahār due to the revolt of Sām Mirzā son of Tahmāsp Qizilbāsh and encamped there. When he received news of the event of Lāhore, he left his confidential men in Qandahār and retreated to Lāhore. When he approached Lāhore, Muḥammed Zamān left it, returned to Gujarāt and met Bahādur. It was after the return of Humāyun to Mandu. It was one of the causes of his return. Humāyun

* Original Text, p. 249.

halted for some days at Chāmpāner. He had under his control the territory as far as the river Mahi and beyond it. But its administration was neither his nor that of Bahādur. Chiefs sent to Bahādur a petition for collection of revenue. Time had come for appointment of revenue collectors. If the Sultān's revenue-collectors arrived, the revenue would be paid to them in hands of their charge otherwise it would be lost. Bahādur attended to it from his side and expected every one of them to be careful about the revenue. None gave a reply. 'Imād-ul-Mulk Malekjiv as-Sultāni stood up and represented to him to undertake this duty upon himself on condition to spend money according to requirement of time, to collect persons and not demand account thereof and send the rest to the treasury. The Sultān wrote to him accepting the conditions and executing them in toto. 'Imād-ul-Mulk started from Div with one hundred horse for Ahmadābād. He was on the way when soldiers joined * him or he wrote to the amirs whom he knew for collection of revenue without talking about money. He arrived at Aḥmadābād with 10,000 horses every one of them was a horseman. Every horse was to have one lac of tankas. He assembled the army on this principle and spent the money. He saw Mujāhid Khān, governor of Junāgadh at Aḥmadābād. He was with 12,000 horses. Similarly, 'Ālam Khān Lodi, the governor of Dhanduka and its neighbouring territory collected, within a short time, 30,000 horses. They collected revenue illegally. The stronger one crushed them and carried them upon whipping by the sword always standing before them. Humāyun received intelligence about it. He was free from the affair of Chāmpaner on the 1st Safar 941 (1534). This date agreed with the statement in Persian histories *i.e.* the first of the week of the month of Ṣafar. In the meantime, Humāyun marched to Aḥmadābād and encamped on the bank of Mahi. 'Imād-ul-Mulk heard about his approach. He started from Aḥmadābād fighting. Whenever Humāyun advanced a stage, 'Imād-ul-Mulk too advanced a stage till the battle took place between him and the vanguard of the king. Mirza, 'Askari was in charge of it. He made strenuous efforts for the defeat of 'Askari who suffered it. Immediately, Yādgar Nāsir Mirza, Qāsim Husain Khān and Hindu Beg etc. saw him being defeated. They rushed upon him after Mirzā 'Askari's defeat. They were in a joyful mood of war. Besides, 'Imād stood firm in the centre with his companions assembling around him. They displayed great strength helping this side and that side. Humāyun arrived at this stage. Their fury became severe. 'Imād-ul-Mulk turned his reins from the battlefield and went out with his companions to a side. 'Ālam Khān and Mujāhid Khān did the same. Humāyun stood on the battlefield and cast a glance on all sides. When he saw the deaths on both the sides with his own eyes, they were more than one thousand and two thousands. He turned his sight and said to Khudāwand Khān al-Iji whether

* Original Text, p. 250.

it was the last war or there was any probability of another. He replied tha that negro (meaning Imād-ud-Mulk) had been (died) in the battlefield, t it would be the last, otherwise there was apparently, probability of it. search was made of him in the battle-field but they did not find but his who had attained to the years of discretion. This battle was fought betw Nadiad and Maḥmudābād. He then ordered Mirzā 'Askari to go ahead Aḥmadābād and he entered it in his wake. He encamped near Sarkhej wi number of amirs except Tardi Beg. He was appointed an amir at Chāmpān In the meantime, he firmly resolved to march on Div. He received intelligenc from his deputies in Hind about the emergence of Sher Khān Sur in the v nity of Bengal. Muḥammed Zamān had invaded Lāhore. Mallu Qādir Sh had made his appearance in the neighbourhood of Mandu. He halted at camp conquering and consulting. Div continuously received reports about arrival at that stage. Bahādur fell athinking. He had written to Vicer Birzarari, the ruler of Goa NUNO DA CUNHO to come with his boats. It happened that Birzarari arrived with great preparations while Humāyun sta on at his manzil. Viceroy Birzarari anchored at the landing-place of the famo Turkish port. When Bahādur was ready for war with Humāyun, the residen of the fort made great efforts for fortification of Div with cannons, gun-pow and brought boats from the sea for defence of the shore to take advantage wh reduced to straits. There was fear on Div from Rumi Khān. He was delight on account of Birzarari's timely arrival. When Alvarandor presented himself his assembly, he met him and understood his fear from Rumi Khān. Vicer Birzarari dispelled it, undertook the responsibility and requested for his residen in the fort. There was spacious place for his residence. It was assigned to hi and he lived in it. He distributed the books in front of the shore. He came Bahādur and gave him satisfaction. He was thus at ease with regard to Run Khān. Viceroy lived in a wooden structure safely. He was given money an property. He was in his service. The house was not as he deserved. It w reserved for him and he was permitted to live in.

(The subject treated in Mirat-i-Sikandari is given for understanding. T Firangis were at Div at Bahādur's arrival. He narrated: When he entere Div, they made a show of his service and said that "the ports of the sea are ou and we shall prevent any one to establish his control over them in an event war." Once they represented to him that "the merchants of our ports w come to Div, land their goods in a scattered manner. If the Sultān grants a favour a place in Div equal to the hide of one ox, we shall be at ease (* building a fort) for landing the goods." The Sultān agreed to this proposa During his absence from Div, to repel the Mughals, they cut the hide of the in proportion to the extent of the island and built a stone fort. When Bahād

* Original Text, p. 251.

was disengaged from the Mughals, he sent Muḥammed Shāh, the ruler of Āsir * in their wake and pursued them to Ujjain and encamped at Kalnābād in the territory of Nasiruddin Khalji. He was powerful and had a large army. Bahādur returned from Chāmpāner to Div by way of Khanbhāyat. He alighted at Ghogha. He sent Nur Muḥammed Khalil with sixty or seventy thousand horses to the Firangi captain to conciliate him to come to his camp. The captain received him with honour and presents. He arranged a wine-party for him. He inquired about Bahādur in his state of inebriation with regard to himself. He informed him about it and carried him to the camp of Bahādur. Bahādur went to him in a boat with about ten persons—Malek Minas al-Faruqi, Shujā' Khān, Langar Khān b. Qādir Shāh al-Manduali, Ulugh Khān bin Shaikhā Khatri, Sikander Khān, governor of Satwās, Ganesh Rāo brother of Medni Rāo. He did not allow any one to carry arms with him. He displayed in exaggerated terms the sincerity on the part of the captain. The amirs tried to prevent him from going but Bahādur insisted. When the captain saw them in a small number, he issued forth from his house and received him near the shore. He took him to his house with due decorum. In course of conversation, he winked by the eye-lid. Bahādur became suspicious. He stood up and the Firangis surrounded him. He was about to come near the boat when he was thrown into the sea and martyred. His companions also met with the same fate. Ikhtiyār Khān composed a chronogram. "The Sultān of the land became a martyr of the sea." ]. This account in the Akbarnāma is slightly different in connection with his martyrdom. The reader is referred to the Akbarnāma. But the demand of a place in proportion to the ox-hide is not mentioned by any one from among old persons who were with Bahādur at Div. It is mentioned in my history.

The story of ox-hide stated in connection with the Firangis is in respect of the ruler of Hormuz. They had advanced it in regard to Ismā'ili Shaikh Ḥasan Muḥammad bin Ṣabbāḥ al-Humairi.

Muḥammad bin Ṣabbāḥ al-Humairi, Shaikh of the Ismā'ilis was terribly afraid of Malek Shāh Saljuki and his Wazir Nizām-ul-Mulk Ṭusi. His account is lengthy. When Ṣabbāḥ left 'Irāk for Egypt in the year 471 (1078/79) he met al-Mustansir al-'Abidi, ruler of Egypt; al-Mustansir had divested his son † Nazār of authority in his kingdom. He complained about it to him. Al-Mustansir ordered him to be imprisoned. He was raised aloft to the turret at Damyāt. He had planned his ruin with firm determination. Common people connected it with his miraculous powers. Besides, he was carried in a Firangi boat to the west. One day, the sea became stormy. Those who were in the boat engaged themselves in prayers to God to save their lives but he did

* Original Text, p. 252. † Original Text, p. 253.

nothing of the kind. He was asked about it. He said that the Mawlānā (Nazār) had informed him about his safety. It was so. They loved him and put faith in him. The sea cast the boat to the shore. The residents on the shore were Christians. He travelled in a boat to Syrian coast and alighted there on a side. He then travelled to Baghdād, Khujistān and Ispahān. He secretly went to 'Irak and Āzarbaijān. Nazār was invited to imāmat (leadership). Many of them responded to him. He sent missionaries to Rudbār, Kuhistān, mountaneous forts and places adjacent to them. When his da'vat (mission) spread, he chose to be in the vicinity of the fort called Alamut. He transferred himself to it and displayed piety to perfection. He took an oath of allegiance to his creed from a number of persons dwelling in the neighbourhood. When they found that he was immune from greed, and that he reclined upon prayers and further he commanded nothing but virtue and kept his word. They missed to know that he was the shaikh about whom it was said : I was surprised at the shaikh and his piety. He talked about fire of hell and its horrors. He detests to drink water from a silver cup. He pilfered silver to give it away. Residents of the fort came down to him. They remained with him till he rose with them, inhabitated and increased his falsehood with sleight of hand and hypocrisy. He did not claim of his own accord, to be Mahdi. Malek Shāh Saljuki had an Amir on that side. He one day said to him, "I desire you to sell me in the fort a measure of ox-hide land for three thousand dinārs for my prayers on land of my ownership." He did it. He then measured inside and outside the fort, cut the skin with scissors in proportion to it and joined pieces one with the other. Mahdi and those who were in the fort appeared before him and asked him as to what he had bought from him. He was master of the fort. He wrote to the ruler Muzaffar about him. He was an Amir of Kurdkoh in the region of Dāmaghān with the above-mentioned amount. He gave it to him. He became owner of the fort. Mahdi came out from it. Since that time, it is his property. He issues order, extends kingdom and those after him constructed buildings which lasted for one hundred and forty years. During their regime, a large number of imāms and amirs lost their lives. It is said,* Almaut originally is Alah Amut and its meaning is "Eyrie of the Eagle." Its numbers agreeably inform about ascent to it. Hence it is said, "Ḥasan Ṣabbāh in his falsehood is an image of truth in nearness to one who sought it. Had there been no resolution, there would not have been his history. Alah Amut was on a lofty elevated place. He died on 26th Rabi' II, 518 (1124).

Muḥammed Awfi, author of Jame'-ul-Hikāyāt, writes thus about Nizām-ul-Mulk Kiwāmuddin Abu 'Ali al-Ḥasan son of 'Ali son of Isḥāk son of 'Abbāsi al-Tusi, may mercy of God be on him. Once Kaiṣar of Rum asked Malek

* Original Text, p. 254.

Shāh at the time of departure to his kingdom, "Are all your needs fulfilled?" He replied in the affirmative. He had desired his kingdom to be extended to Constantinople and that was a little easy for he would get it from him sufficiently. Kaiṣar said to him, "what quantity did you desire? You have it without any obligation." He replied "To the extent of an ox-hide." He ordered Nizām-ul-Mulk to cut ox-hide, delicately p ece by piece and make it like a rope and send it to him. Kaiṣar accepted it and asked his vakil to choose for him a place as desired by him. He ordered construction of two inns, and two masjids very strong in build. He spent weal h on decoration and adornment. Every one who saw them praised them. Tl ey exist even now. This is from the account of Kaiṣar. When Malek Shāh waged a religious war in the land of Kaiṣar, Kaiṣar went out to fight with him. Dis'ance between the two was short. Malek Shāh, one day, went out for a hunt wi'h a special party. There were four hundred thousand soldiers in the army, Nizām-ul-Mulk, the wazir was with the army. He was left behind in the tent. It so happened for Malek Shāh that he was engaged in a hunt. Kaiṣar's advance-guard captured him with all his men. He had informed them to respect him. When the advance-guard was present in the majlis of Kaiṣar, he asked the captives. They replied "we are all subordinates of Malek Shāh. We came out for a hunt. We fell victims to your advance-guard." He ordered them to be leniently treated. Those who escaped capture, came to Nizām-ul-Mulk and enlightened him with information. He was in plan for it. He concealed what he heard. In the evening, a cavalcade with torches made their appearance under his order. It was so organized that Malek Shāh was with it even though he was under the royal pavilion wherein he had alighted. It was announced that Malek Shāh was with the cavalcade. He spent the night in anxiety for it till it was morning. He rode to Kaiṣar and * met him. It was presumed that he had come for peace. When it was so settled and he intended to return, Kaiṣar said to him, "Have you lost any one whom you assembled?" He said, "I have no knowledge of it. What can that be." Kaiṣar ordered them to be produced. When Nizām-ul-Mulk saw them, he was harsh in tone towards them and became angry with them. Kaiṣar gave them back to him. He returned with them moving in margin with them till he was away from the camp of Kaiṣar. He dismounted from his horse, faced the retinue of Malek Shāh, and apologized for roughness in speech. There was an envoy of Kaiṣar moving to his tent. When he learnt about the whole matter, he secretly repented upon release of the captives. Malek Shāh spent that night. In the morning, he was in his armour, men in the field for war with Kaiṣar. Kaiṣar displayed men similarly. It was a fiercely fought battle which resulted in capture of Kaiṣar. When he was brought to Malek Shāh, he was sitting on a throne. He was asked to show humility towards the Sultān. He refused and

* Original Text, p. 255.

learnt that he was his captive yesterday. He said to him, "If you are Sulṭān, pardon me. If you are a butcher, slaughter me. If you are a merchant, sell me and make a profit." He replied, "I am Sulṭān. Immediately, he dressed him with a robe of honour, sat by his side and fixed a certain amount of money to be annually sent to the treasury. He bade him adieu. It then came out what previously happened between him and Nizām-ul-Mulk. The Ismā'ilis preceded in connection with ox-hide story. Malek Shāh died in 485 (1092). The Ismā'ilis ascended the fort of Alamut in 483 (1090). The ox-hide was not bought after ascent as mentioned by historians.)

The amirs assembled in Div. Similarly, chiefs of the army also met. The Sultān ordered rest of the army with the remaining amirs to proceed to Junāgarh for succour. The Sultān wrought havoc on the Rajputs, the Bhils and the Kolis. None came out for resistance except the ruler of Jagat. In short the Sultān fell in doubt about opinion of others and then turned to his own. He faced Humāyun advancing stage by stage and fought with him. His advance-guard * fled away and stood firm by dividing his army by the sword when the fortune of Sultān began to rise. When he acted according to his own judgment, he gained a victory over Mandu, Raisin, Ranthambhor, Chitor, Mandasur etc. within less than three years. He was in firehouse like Layla and Majnun etc. Among the muluk such as Muḥammed Shāh, Āṣaf Khān, Khudāwand Khān, Tāj Khān, Ṣadr Khān Ḥusain, Shamshir Khān, Sultān 'Ālam, Rumi Khān, Muhammed Zamān, Mirzā Mukim, Khurāsān Khān, Malhi Kādir Shāh, Daryā Khān Husain son of Sayf-ul-Mulk Sher Dil, Muhāfiz Khān Fatujiv, Mujahid Khān Behlim, Malek Naṣṣar, 'Ālam Khān Ludi, Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri, 'Imād-ul-Mulk Malekjiv, Ikhtiār Khān Ṣiddiki, Burhān-ul-Mulk 'Abbāsi, Tātār Khān son of 'Alāuddin, Khān Jahān Shirāzi etc. were in carts. It is not stated in history about his flight to Div, Bahādur got humiliated and the informer was honoured for his valour and advance. Kings of time honoured warriors. They were pleased with disgrace in history when one escapes from sword and jumps from a lion and struggles against flood and to be firm against a mountain but he stumbled against fortune and stumbled against war.

*Verse*

Every one has a period. It passes.
Time does not overcome pleasure.

I heard from Maḥmud Lāri titled Muḥtarim Khān who received allowance as an ḥājib. He used to say, when Humāyun announced his invasion on Div, Bahādur sent me to Rumi Khān. I learnt from him something wonderful though exaggerated in what I relied upon him in evil and dishonesty. He had much trust and honesty in him I blamed him till he was about to be perspired with

* Original Text, p. 256.

shame. I then said to him, "If you were the cause for invasion of Div, it was a trick for return from it. Perhaps, in bowing down, the fortune had raised him. If you rely on him though he was richer than you. It did not raise your dignity. You did what necessity made you do in your carrying a message. If you were not the cause, then leave him. You are not with him in it." He said, "His eyes shed tears and apology was upon his tongue for it was a deed of Satān who is obviously a misguiding enemy. He said, "He called me and made him abandon his design." He said that Humāyun complained of water and climate. He found Rumi Khān on the way. He said to him, "From here to * the sea, the land is unwholesome, sickly climate heavy water. People are not healthy. He turned his reins at the last hour to a healthy place. In the meantime, he received news of Hind as to what happened there. He then returned to Ahmedabad. On receiving news of his return, he ordered Masnad-ul-'Āli, 'Abdul 'Aziz Asaf Khān to prepare for Hizāz. It was during a short time. He entrusted the harem and the treasure and what was in the name of ruler of Rum in shape of presents. He was given full powers to spend the treasure and look after the harem as was possible. He should act every time according to exigency. He should stay in the harem till his order. Masnad-ul-'Āli started with all deposits in unseasonal voyage. He was equipped with ten boats and two thousand government attendants most of whom were 'Arabs of Yaman, Yāfa'. Mahra and the rest Rumis, Habshis as well as Amirs of the Saltanat such as Shams Khān and Kaiṣar Khān.

In 581 (1185), I met Mu'allim Hayut al-Mahri at the Persian port of Hormuz. I heard him saying, "I was a mu'al-lim (an instructor), in the boat which carried the family, treasure and Āsaf Khān. It was a saltanat boat and its name was Daryāsaiā. We sailed from Div in an unseason. I was surprised at the going out of such an equipment. I did not know what hardships we will face on the sea. What shore ended with us. After a month, we reached Mandakh, Khuryā Muryā and thence we travelled by land till we anchored at Jiddah after two months. The boat was not detained for long. That was due to the good fortune of the wazir. After the voyage of Masnad-ul-'Āli, Humayun had returned to Ahmedābād. On this report, viceroy took leave for return to Goa. He left behind a vakil in the house for attendance upon Bahādur. He gave him that island in exchange for 500 Firangis remaining in the stirrup of Bahādur to be with him wherever he might stay and travel. Bahādur was now anxious from the side of Humāyun. He invaded the ruler of Jagat for stopping him from concert of local residents and hoping the Firangis to attack with him on condition. But none came out with him. Ruler of Jagat came for sub- † mission. Bahādur returned to Div. He found the Firangis lifting timber and extending the fort with stone. He kept it secret to himself. He did not protest

* Original Text, p. 257.

† Original Text, p. 258.

to them. It was Kondi Haryāla whose sway extended to the sea. He stopped at Div waiting for the Firangis. It was said, perhaps Allāh will cause something to happen after this affair.

Humāyun was occupied with occurrences in Hind. He had left Mirzā, 'Askari, Mirzā Hindāl and Hindu Beg at Ahmedabād. Yādgār Nāsir Mirzā was kept at Naharwala Patan, while Kāsim Ḥusain Khān was at Broach, Surat and Navasārī. Tardi Beg was left at Chāmpāner. Rumi Khān accompanied him. They went to Surat and Burhānpur and thence to Mandu where the climate was found to be congenial and so he stayed there till the arrival of Mallu Kādir Shāh after an attack on Chanderi. Some of the Mandu amirs in roundabout places were on his side. Muḥammed Zamān came from Lahore to Bahādur due to arrival of Kāmrān Mirzā there. Sher Khān occupied Chunār an invincible fort. He posted his son Kutb Khān there and marched to Bengal and conquered it. Humāyun left Gujarāt for Mandu in 942 ( 1535 ).

*Stir of the fortune*

It so happened that Nuruddin Khān Jahān Shirazi and Safar Salmāni titled afterwards as Khudāwand Khān occupied Navasāri and adjoining places. A relative of Kāsim Ḥusain Khān, 'Abdullāh Khān ruled over it but he fled to Broach. Surat then came under their control. Khān Jahān travelled by land, while Khudāwand Khān by sea to Broach. Kāsim Ḥusain Khān was confused. He left it. 'Abdullāh Khān proceeded to Chāmpāner. Broach was occupied by Khān Jahān and Khudāwand Khān. Siyāsat Khān occupied Khambhāyat. Bahādur's 'Āmils went to their respective charges of the kingdom. The Mughal 'Āmils fled to Aḥmedābād. Yādgār Nāsir Mirzā came to Aḥmedābād leaving an amir by name Ghadnafar from his side at Naharwala Pattan. He marched to Div with three hundred horses and submitted himself to Bahādur. He pacified a large number of Mughals for him. He incited them to march on Aḥmedābād. Daryā Khān and Muḥāfiz Khān were at Raisin. Both came out from it to proceed to Div. They met them near Patan. They* vacated it and followed them, overtook them and controlled the whole region. Every one of them wrote to the Sultān to enter everywhere except Aḥmadābd and Chāmpāner. A large number of soldiers were to be assembled for march on Aḥmadābād. In the meanwhile, all scattered soldiers gathered together and assembled the local residents under the banner and marched to Aḥmadābad and joined those who had written to him. He encamped at Sarkhej and paid a visit to Kutb may his grave be sanctified and distributed alms in charity. Mirzā 'Askari and his companions encamped opposite to them at Asāwal. He gave preference to it and rode to Chāmpāner. Bahādur pursued him in his wake, crossed Sābar from the side of Majhuri. Sayyed Mubārak Bukhāri was

* Original Text, p. 259.

in command of the vanguard. Both the armies faced each other at Maḥmudābād. As a result of war, Baburi Burj was built and its relics remained till early years of one thousand. It was victory of Bahādur. He got down from his horse and prostrated before God out of thanks. His followers were to make their appearance. The soldiers ran to come to the river Mahi. It was time for sea side. Water became dominant. Those who went, went. The amirs assembled at Chāmpāner. Tardi Beg descended from the fort and met them. They said, " Disperse with what you have in hands. We want something from the treasury to spend upon the army and fight with Bahādur. He ascended the fort for their engagement. He learnt from one of them that they had decided upon capturing them and took whatever there was in the fort. They then intend to go to Agra against Humāyun. Tardi Beg stopped and sent some one to them to inform them to empty the treasure and return to houses for consultation. It was impossible. They learnt that Bahādur had crossed the river. They all rode towards Agra. Tardi Beg alighted and moved to Mandu to inform Humāyun what they had intended against him and to clear the region for Bahādur. He apologized for muluk and amirs who entertained doubts for Rumi Khān. He turned to his wazirs and promised them good prosperity for the kingdom. They met to think about the Firangis. They fled away from the Mughals due to certain doubts on the night of 21st Shawwāl, * 941 (1534). The Mughals fled and left Gujarāt on 3rd Zilhajj, 942 (1535). The Mughals remained in Gujarat for thirteen months and thirteen days.

Poem

Perhaps the affair was wicked, it then was easy
Similarly, time is sweet and bitter.
In like manner, calamities overtake men
A calamity passes and a calamity settles

———

How many nights pass in hardships?
Suckling child gets old.
When one enters upon the morning
'Help from God and victory is nigh.'

*Martyrdom of Bahādur*: In the year 943 (1536), the Sultān returned with what was of territory under his control except Mandu. With the descent of Humāyun with confidence due to his rise of a star, he adorned Mallu Qādir Shah with a robe, invested him with an authority of amir and sent him to Mandu. Tardi Beg was there. When he met him, he informed him as to what happened to his brother who was divested of obedience and control in the capital. He went to Agra from Mandu in all haste. Qādir Shah thus gained

* Original Text, p. 260.

ascendancy over Mandu. He recited the Friday sermon in the name of Bahādur. He established absolute authority by recitation of the Khutba. The Sultān resolved upon the war with the Firangis. He encamped at Sarkhej. He sent Safiul-Mulk Hājib to Div with a threatening letter asking them to have practised breach of faith. Manhamka Filkās was there. He met him, held an assembly and treated him with humility. Their great men closeted with him, took him in confidence in drink, he transgressed the limit and lost his senses. He then questioned him about Bahādur as to how he was with them. He replied that he left him when he talked of conquest of the fort in his room. The Firangi became cautious. He wrote to the viceroy that Bahādur had recovered his kingdom except Div. He reported to him what his hājib (emissary) had said to him and had marched to it. The Sultān arrived at Div. Alvalandor also arrived and anchored at the Turkish port. He sent a man to Bahādur to deceive him in his arrival to him as to congratulate him for his victory but that he was unable to come due to indisposition. Bahādur wrote to him not to trouble himself by moving. The viceroy assembled counsellors and said to them that* Bahādur had dispensed with us. We have not fulfilled the condition. He has power over us to prevent us from defending the fort. He had promised to appear before us. The day has come to us. We have no power over him tomorrow. Let us be prepared for him.

It is popularly said about Bahādur that on his arrival at Div, he was reported that there was a man at Manglore who was an innovator in religion (heretic). He is the famous shaikh Ibn Saburi who prevents the utterance of the kalima of evidence. He ordered him to be brought into his presence. He questioned him about his so doing. He replied "There is no formality for reciting it on me. He ordered him to recite it. He refused to recite and said, "I know and my Lord and none else." He ordered for his expulsion, and said, "make it recite it or else cut off his neck. When he refused to repeat and the executioner stood before him, he said, "say to the Sultān that he would be murdered on the third day after the first day" and it so happened. The date of his murder was 3rd Ramzan of the year. Even now, his followers in Manglore talk about his character. God knows the mystery of his creation. None except He knows. It is stated in Mirat-i-Sikandari.

The Sultān departed in a boat inspite of the fact that his counsellors dissuaded him from so doing. But he refused as death had come. Khwāja Ṣafr entered with him in a boat. The viceroy rose to receive him but he had pretended illness and that he was not in a position to move from his place. The Sultān gave his sword to him. When he sat near him, he appeared to be sleeping in a state of wakefulness. He stood up from the assembly. The viceroy requested him to wait for the presents. But he did not wait and got into a boat.

* Original Text, p. 261.

The viceroy hinted to his boatmen to fire. It was to wave up the sea. It made him frightful. The Sultān fought with what was with him till he was hit by a spear and he fell into the sea and something attracted him. He dived like a * pearl and his rising place was paradise. Those who were with him in the boat fought but got martyred. Firang Khān threw his sword at Alvarandor, it cut him into two pieces and sent him to hell. The boats approached the shore but the army dispersed them by cannon fire. They remained at Nawānagar at a distance of three farsakhs from Ghogha and met Muḥammed Zamān. When Safr obtained knowledge of the incident, he was wounded by a dog in the boat of the Sultan. He saw what he knew and hid it. He was informed about it and a promise that he was a merchant at Div was taken from him. It is stated in the Akbar-nama that Bahādur was in several boats, when he met the chief amir of the Firangi ports. He was not indisposed; he repented. He was in an assembly. He got up to come down to the boat but the viceroy stood on his way to request him to wait for as much time as to show him certain presents. He said to him to send them after him and advanced to the side of the boat. There was the Firangi Qazi who stood on the way to prevent him from getting into the boat. When he came near him, he told him in a commanding manner to stop. Bahādur could not bear it, drew out his sword and killed him. He jumped into the boat but the Firangi boats were at a distance from him. When they saw him, they approached and surrounded him. He fell into the sea. He and Safr. But Safr was seized by the hand by one who knew him. Bahādur sank in the sea of death and those who were with him also got ruined. Amir Kamān who knew the event found a chronogram in "Bahadur-killing Firangis". Muḥammed Zamān wore black garments as he believed himself to be the adopted brother of Sultān Bahādur. It was believed by the residents of Gujarāt that he was adopted by the mother of Bahādur. Accordingly, he, many a time, claimed to be of the same blood with Bahādur among the Firangis. He made them of accord to recite the Khutba in his name at Div. The Khutba was recited in his name for several days in the Safar masjid when 'Imād-ul-Mulk attacked him. It was in the blessed city of Aḥmadābād that he fought with him and defeated him. He was the son of Humayun's sister Sultān Begum. He went to Humāyun at Agra to give him a book "'Asrāt-i-Muḥammed Zamān" and to conciliate him with that book. That book was in his hand when he came out of Div. He got † nothing by his going to Agra and received any favour.

'Imād-ul-Mulk instructed the amirs and āmils who were near Div and Junāgadh to administer the kingdom, and defend its frontiers. He returned to Aḥmadābād. He and Ikhtiār Khān Siddiqi agreed to nominate Muḥammed Shāh, ruler of Āsir as Sultān and invited him by continual messages. He accepted it but he knew the desire of one who was in his territory. He was

* Original Text, p. 262. † Original Text p. 263.

Maḥmud son of Latif Shāh in the famous fort of Babkol ( Bayāwal ? ) in Burhānpur. They agreed upon his saltanat and sent some persons to bring him. It so happened.

Bahādur was a good, brave, valiant, murderous and generous Sultān. There was none in the dynasty as courageous as he as well as broad-hearted. He was inclined towards joy and enjoyment of society. He did not avoid joking and did not lament for it. He expanded his kingdom. His Khutba was recited in Gujarāt, Deccan, Burhānpur, Mandu, Ajmer, Siwālik Parbat, Jālor, Nāgor, Junāgadh, Khanbhāyat, Rāisin, Ranthambhor. Chitor, Kālpi, Baglānā, Idar, Rādhanpur, Ujjain, Mewāt, Satwās, Ābu, Dasur ( Mandsur ) and last at Bayāna in the event ( death ) of Tātār Khān b. Ālam Khān Lodi. A tanka in his days meant twenty-one dakars. There never passed upon his tongue in generosity less than one lac of tankas. This was in relation to men of hilarity. The amirs met and agreed to change the tanka to the tanka of the day to spend it on generosity. He did not see extravagance in generosity. His extravagance consisted in construction of Khalji pond filled with rose-water to take bath in it for coolness and to get into it with Bhupat Rāi son of Salādi Purabiya. He was in the greatest comfort, nap, he did not desire anything other than that. When it is said as to what was the secret in his death at the hands of the Firangis inspite of the help of God to him and recovery of kingdom, the answer is that it was probable for any one to meet with this fate in war for it did not fit in with plan of God. It was so destined for him. Hence it happened what was to happen. Secondly, it was an occasion for repentance and submission to Allah, the Holy. He gave him everything that he needed. His * authority came to an end when he commingled the world with the next. May he enjoy rank and asylum with God. Date of his death is found from " Murder of our Sultāu Bahādur. "

Fāzil Bukhāri gives date of his death in his " Jame'-ut-Tawarikh " in the following lines :

Bahādur Shāh, the Ghāzi Sultān
Whose authority extended from the moon to the fish
Suddenly, in this vast sea
The boat of his life sank.
The statement of Kayāni
That his adequate praise cannot be sung
When I sought his chronogram, wisdom said
Date was " Abandonment of kingship ".

* Original Text, p. 264.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### *Saltanat of Abil Futuhāt Sa'duddin Maḥmud Shāh b. Latif Shāh b. Muzaffar Shāh*

Abul Futuhāt Maḥmud Shāh b. Latif Shāh b. Muzaffar Shāh b. Maḥmud sat upon the throne of saltanat in the early part of Rabi' I, 944 (1537) at Aḥmadābād. He was restrained by the vikālat, efficiency and training of 'Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad Afḍal Khān al-Banbāni and the Khalji Ibn-i-Dāwood and the absolute vice-royalty of Ikhtiyār Khān Ṣiddiqi and the ministership of 'Abdul Latif Ṣadr Khān. Really speaking, Imād-ul-Mulk Sultāni was the Nāib, vakil and wazir. Apparently, he held the manṣab of Amir-ul-Umarā of the army. Whatever he suffered, in general, damage and captivity at the time of the first attack of the Mughals, he later on distinguished himself among the amirs and the army. The independent amirs of different places, the frontier armies and the subordinate revenue-collectors (āmils) and residents of villages became secure against calamities. They were in fear of him. They met in hours of leisure and * mutually helped to make amends for the past losses. Bahādur was with them. He was powerful enough to resist the Mughals and he recovered his kingdom from them. Those who died as debtors, he covetously recovered from them what they owed. Those who died in exile he saw that they were paid without bias. Those whose hardships were over, were 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Muḥammed Zamān. There was dispersion among the rest till Maḥmud sat upon the throne. He was of the age when he failed to distinguish between a well-wisher and a mischief-monger. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk was mature in age, full of intelligence and beneficence. They made him a nāib. He was a teacher. He was appointed a wazir among all these different persons. He was welcomed as a wazir. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was devoid of imagination. He was a symbol of the sword. After some time, Fatujiv Muhāfiz Khān and Daryā Khān Husain said to him that his order was not of any meaning in the presence of Ikhtiyār Khān. He did not act in conformity with reason, nay, he called him privately and ordered to kill him and his brother Muqbil Khān. But he did nothing. It was not good for Ikhtiār Khān. If he had dismissed him, he would have remained alive. Hemistich: For an ugly day and strong teeth. The deceased belonged to the Qāzi family of Nadiad. He was born and bred up in it. He was employed in the state service, and served it with distinction. He rose to the rank of a favourite of the Sultān. He was distinguished for intellectual attainments, shrewdness and sagacity. There was no despair. He was second Ibn-i-Qurrah. He was well-versed in intellectual, narrative, mathematical, arithmetical and astronom-

* Original Text, p. 265.

ical sciences as well as in poetry, enigma, logic, philosophy. He led a detached life. He was an assemblage of government of the world and faith. He was a clear grace ( a manifest virtue ). During the regime of Muzaffer bin Maḥmud, he was sent as an emissary to the city of Lâd and met its Sulṭân. He was very* near to him. He attained to martyrdom in 944 (1537). He left a son whose name was Dâwood Khan. He did not inherit any of his qualities for which he had become famous. He was noble and proficient in the art of music. When he died in 970 ( 1562 ), he was buried in the manusoleum of his father and grandfather. From among his children, Farid Khān attained to fame. He was the son of his patron's daughter 'Abdul 'Aziz Masnad-ul-'Âli Âṣaf Khân. She met him when he was in the prime of youth. There were affection and attachment between the two to a very large measure. May God shower His mercy upon all. The Wazir Ṣadr Khan was very much affected by the murder of Ikhṭiâr Khan. He felt disgust at 'Imâd-ul-Mulk. He said to him, "A lesson is to be learnt from his murder. I will kill them with a lesson from me to you." Their life was sedition and manifest misguidance. He dismissed him from ministership which he assigned it to Daryā Khân Husain. He informed the Sulṭân about it. He made utmost efforts and conciliated him with kindness till one day he learnt from him the bad intention of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk with regard to himself. Daryā Khan hoped for absolute power for himself. When he learnt it from him, he took him into his confidence for freedom from him.

In 945 (1538), Sulaimân Bâshâ ( Pâshâ ) of Turkey arrived with a large navy to drive away the Firangis from Div. He wrote to Sultān Maḥmud for help in men and money. He ordered for preparation whenever the need arose in company of the great amir Safr Sultāni Khudāwand Khān. After a meeting, he planned for fortification. Had he been courteous, he would have received what he desired, but he was harsh and obstinate. Neither any one was inclined towards him nor was any one on conciliatory terms with him. He did not complete anything. He made no use of his intelligence. Khudāwand Khān was afraid of him. He wrote to the Sultān what he saw. The counsellors met and decided to leave him. A reply was sent to Khudāwand Khān to rely upon him on what was best. Time for the opening of the sea had approached. The supplies were cut off to him. He became short of money and was despaired of help. Khudāwand Khān contacted the leading Firangis. He had become cautious from him. He had written to his vakils at Surat to pull the boats to the vicinity of Div. There were boats for embarkation. When the roads became clear upon distance from Div, he embarked in a boat to go there. He sent to the Bâshâ reports about the Firangis and march to Surat. But the Bâshâ paid† no heed to it even though he had Sulaimāni cannons on the shore. Eight of them were hawâi ( worth discharging ). He announced on the shore about his

* Original Text, p. 266. † Original Text, p. 267.

departure. He spent his night in wood ( boat ), rose up personally and proceeded to Yemen. He left behind him some men of his party such as Āgā Farahshād Turki titled on the occassion of the victory at Idar, Fateh Jung Khan; Nāsir Habashi and Wali-ush-Shurta at Ahmedabad titled Habash Khān noted for ill-naturedness of the Bāshā. He was Mujāhid Khan who had gone to Nawānagar situated at a distance of three farsakhs from Div. He was apparently to help the Bāshā but internally to defend its frontiers. He carried the cannons to the fort of Junāgadh. They were still there in the year 970 ( 1562 ). They were by way of caution against the Firangis of Div especially the Hawāi cannons. They spent maunds of gold in breaking them for Shihāb, the Ghori king. It was in this year and in times of Amin Khān Ghori, no cannon remained.

The Sultān went out a hunting. He went to a distant place from the city. He wrote out the mandate of saltanat and sent it with 'Umda to 'Imād-ul-Mulk and therein was an order for going out to his region which was to be implemented. It was from Daryā Khān.

Ṣadr Khān accompanied with him to Morbi. Daryā Khān returned with the Sultān to the city and immediately started for Morbi. 'Imād-ul-Mulk heard about it. He said to his companions, " Had I known about this movement ( step ) on the part of my patron, I would have made good manners of a servant necessary for the master but it was from Daryā Khān. There was no fear in him. He then prepared himself, came out and fought in the plain of Bajānah. It was a hard fought battle when Ṣadr Khān was killed and 'Imād-ul-Mulk fled to Burhānpur. Daryā Khān pursued him with the Sultān as far as Dāngri in the district of Burhānpur. A battle took place on the frontiers between the Sultān and Mubārak Shāh which resulted in the victory of Mubārak Shāh at the outset and then Maḥmud gained a victory. 'Imād-ul-Mulk went to Mandu. Peace was concluded between the Sultān and Mubārak Shāh. Maḥmud returned to Aḥmadābād. Daryā Khān assumed absolute power. * Every one was afraid of him after this dealing with 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He then narrowed down the power of Maḥmud and put restrictions on him. Maḥmud continued as a king with no power over anything.

Chīr Jīv, the sparrow-hunter was in the service of Maḥmud. He did not care for any one and did not allow Daryā Khān to have access to the Sultān. One day Maḥmud called him in privacy, confided him with a secret and ordered him to get a horse ready at midnight under such and such a turret. He stood there with a horse. Maḥmud held the horse's whip and twisted it, rode upon it and proceeded to Dhandhuka. It was under the control of the great amir 'Ālam Khān Lodī son of Mir Muḥammed 'Ālam Khān. It was at a distance of thirty farsakhs from Aḥmadābād. When Maḥmud reached his destination and entered through its gate, he informed 'Ālam Khān about his arrival. He went

* Original Text, p. 268.

to him in all haste. Maḥmud was yet on his horse when his servants—a party of Habshis joined him. He kissed his stirrup and walked along with him till he entered the house. The Sultān got down. 'Ālam Khān stood in attendance upon him along with members of his family. The Sultān was sleepless and tired on account of his hurried journey. He took a bath, meals and slept with ease. 'Ālam Khān wrote to Naṣiruddin Ulugh Khān about the Sultān's arrival. He was at Junāgadh. His daughter was the wife of 'Ālam Khān. He also informed the thānadar of Pāli, Mujāhid Khān Behlim and also his minister, Tātār-ul-Mulk al-Ghori. The brother of Tātār Khān, Jamid Khān, Malek 'Abdullah were summoned by the Sultān. When they arrived, they prepared themselves for the war and started for Aḥmadābād. After the departure of the Sultān, Daryā Khān isolated the enemies. All the maleks of saltanat and attendants did the same. He ordered them to assemble around him. He sent with his vakil what belonged to the Sultān such as the canopy, the sun, the horses, elephants etc. and submitted resignation with salām. When the vakil crossed the boundary of Sarkhej with those objects, he met Fatu Jiv Muhāfiz Khān on the way intending to go to Aḥmadābād. He was at Biramgāon. He asked him, "Where do you go with all these?" He informed him about the matter. He returned with him to Aḥmadābād and called Daryā Khān a rebel. He tightened his armours, doubled his burden to die for the Sultān and started * with him to fight. They met at Dorkah, a hard battle was fought and Daryā Khān gained a victory. He pursued those who had faced him. Similarly, 'Ālam Khān defeated his army, made efforts in his search till the army commingled with his army as if they were one army, crowded together at the gate, entered the city with him in a state of negligence of his men and announced to plunder the house of Daryā Khān. They were very few to repulse them. Daryā Khān received this news. He was in one direction and the Sultān and those who were with him in another direction. He was perturbed about his house and invasion of the city. He retreated from the battle-field flying from the Sultān and Burhānpur was before his eyes. He did not intend to go there and Muhāfiz Khān had become mad for that. His condition was a proof of the command of Allah the Holy wherein it is revealed, "Oh! would to God, I had not made such and such a person as my friend. He had misguided me from the Book after it came to me and Satan has forsaken the man." The Sultān then entered the city. He received news about Muhāfiz Khān about his departure with him whom he nominated as Sultān at Chāmpāner. The daughter of Khwājh Ṣafr Sultāni was married to him. The Sultān marched to Chāmpāner. Muhāfiz Khān garrisoned himself within the fort. He sent Ṣafr to him with a promise of safety on his coming down from the fort. The Sultān returned to Ahmadābād. He raised the status of Chir Jiv by the designation

* Original Text, p 269.

of Muhāfiz Khān Fakr Jiv. Nuruddin Burhān-ul-Mulk al-Banbāni was appointed a minister. 'Ālam Khān was raised to the rank of Deputyship of the saltanat. He attained to great dignity. During his days, 'Imād-ul-Mulk returned from Mandu to Broach when he was its governor. 'Ālam Khān became despotic in his authority. He took a house like the house of the Sultān surrounded by gardens outside the city at Jamālpur gate. People of the world assembled around him and really speaking, he surpassed Daryā Khān in authority as well as his master in regard to state matters. Maḥmud was only a king in name. Muhāfiz Khān was near the Sultān sitting among the amirs in the Diwān and 'Ālam Khān did not like it. It so happened that his brother Ashja' Khān killed him at his brother's suggestion. The Sultān was upon the throne but * did not see any one helping him except a dagger which was in the middle. He took it out, hit it on the stomach. If any one had seen it, he would have snatched it from his hand but he did not die. With that, he was much affected, blood gushed out. It was a great affair for those who were present. The mamālik of the Saltanat gathered together. Self-respect was near demanding justice. He was not safe but of long life. Maleks and amirs waited for a difficult interval. His life extended with rebuke and reproach. He was kept away from the Sultān's sight. His wounds were treated and healed. His external wound healed but internal was not healed. He was not free from it till a long time. Retribution for retribution.

After this event, 'Ālam Khān resolved upon dethronement of the Sultān or blinding him. He strengthened his side by winning over most of the courtiers. Maḥmud received the intelligence of it. He abstained from food, society and rest. The maleks heard about it. They gathered around him and questioned him about giving up eating the food. He was short in speech. When they pressed for the reply, he said that he had heard of his being blinded. How can one be disposed to eat and drink under such circumstances? They said "speech of the enemies is a wound of nonsense. So long as swords are in our hands, we † shall lay down our lives for you and no harm will accrue to you."

Then the taster of food presented himself, he ate and they ate and they parted. They requested him to rest. They spent their day having gathered around him. At night, it so happened that it was the turn of Mujāhid Khān from the side of 'Ālam Khan (to keep watch). Tatār-ul-Mulk and his brother, Khwāja Ṣafr and Qarā Ḥasan presented themselves with him. One of the maleks went to Khwāja Ṣafr and met him secretly and requested him to see the Sulṭān. Both went to the Sulṭān. He complained of what was to happen to him and asked him about the plan to be adopted in leisure. He drew near to him, stood and sat by his side. He sent for Mujāhid Khān and talked to him.

* Original Text, p. 270.

† Original Text, p. 271.

The Sultān met Mujāhid Khān, reported the matter to him, he drew mildly towards him and said to him, "I am your slave and in your obedience. How can harm be done to you? We shall sacrifice ourselves for you." Mujāhid Khān sent for the wazir Tātār-ul-Mulk, his brother, Ṣafr, Qarā Hasan and discussed the matter among themselves. They decided to execute the plan at his house with the rise of first dawn. They passed the night waiting for the morning. When it was morning, the Sulṭān showed himself to the maleks, they got ready and went with him with canopy over his head and a naqib announcing in the city to plunder the house of 'Ālam Khan. 'Alam Khān was unaware. The Sulṭān came to the city-gate. People had gone to his house running like wolves and humming like bees from a wall and a door. Within a very short time, they plundered his house including wood of the ceilings. 'Ālam Khān came out on horse-back in a naked state and his women had no power over his deposits and other things. The sultan returned to the Dār-us-saltanat followed* by Nāsir-ul-Mulk Sultāni. He went to Pattan and then to Broach. There he was joined by a special party. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was at Broach. He met him. He then returned. This was the cause of his death. Formerly he belonged to his group. His offence was doubled. The Sultān sent him from Broach to Surat as a captive where he was butchered. This happened in the year 947 (1540). After this event of 'Ālam Khan, the Sultān received Mujāhid Khān and his companions and raised their ranks. Mujāhid Khān attained to the rank of Deputyship of Saltanat as was 'Ālam Khan. Ṣafr was titled Khudāwand Khān and he was to have Surat in addition to his charge. Burhān-ul-Mulk continued for some days as wazir. He was titled Muharram bin Safr Rumi Khān. Similarly, he raised the rank of mamālik of the kingdom and titled such as 'Abdul Karim I'timad Khān, Bilāl Jhughar Khān, Abu Mahaldār Khān, Burhān-ul-Mulk resigned wizārat followed by his brother 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Afzal Khān bin Maḥmud. Mujāhid Khān al-Bahlim, the Deputy was granted safety by the Sulṭān from calamity. The maleks were granted comforts. I'timād Khān was distinguished with nearness. 'Ālam Khān met Daryā Khān Ḥusain at Mandu. Both of them returned to Rādhanpur. They agreed about the sovereignty of 'Alāuddin Fateh Khān b. Fateḥ Khan Bahru 'Ali Karrah. He belonged to the dynasty of the Sultans of Sind. His mother was the daughter of the Sultān Muzaffar Khān Maḥmud. Maḥmud marched against them on receipt of continuous reports of this nature, put them to rout and Fateh Khān apologized. Both of them then returned to Mandu. Fateh Khān left them and met Maḥmud. Mallu Qādir Shāh was the ruler of Mandu. The Khutba was recited in his name. Sajāwal Khān Afghān invaded him from the side of Sher Shāh. They met him. Qādir Shah came out and fought with Sajāwal Khan and defeated him. He then went to certain direction and they to another direction. A hard battle was

* Original Text p. 272.

fought and Sajāwal gained a victory. Qādir came to Sultān Mahmud and Mandu passed on to Sher Shāh. After the victory, 'Ālam Khan and Daryā Khan decided to go over to Sher Shāh. Sher Shāh met them in his Diwān.* Both of them were well adjusted with them but did not enjoy the same honour in a foreign territory as they did in their native land and they were not equal to them in fighting except rarely. They were beastly in nature and very cruel in character unlike the men of Gujarāt both in nature and character. They were lenient towards them. They were treated as chiefs by the servants. They went out together from their house as well as with servants and attendants. Those who came across them were afraid of their swords because they cut them into pieces by their swords. They became notorious in the city. Residents were afraid of them and Sher Shāh tolerated them. 'Ālam Khān and those of his community were born in Gujarāt for generations. Their houses were houses noted for valour, swordsmanship and commandership. But Daryā Khān was a slave of the Sultān from heredity. Sher Shāh inquired from them about the conquest of Gujarāt. 'Alam Khan said that it was very easy for him. When he asked him about the number of soldiers sufficient for its conquest for him, he got ready 10000. When he questioned Daryā Khan about it, he repeated the same. It was difficult for him. One day, he said that Ālam Khān had held false estimate of its number. He replied that if it were easy who ousted him from it. The average of the army is possible at 10,000, as pretended. I deem it possible. Sher Shāh remarked that one is a minister for peace while the other is a commander. One is for mending while the other is for sending.

He recited

His arrival was necessarily an increase for me
Everything which extended, ends in length.
And the sword does not recognize who are rich
It shines when it is free from sheath
The word, if not, in accord with the deed
Verify it for it is a false statement.

In the beginning of 953 (1546) preparations for Div were made under the command of Ṣafar Salmāni Khudāwand Khān. The cause of it was the change of a boat for the wazir Abdul Khān at the port of Khandwi. It was meant for Khudāwand Khān. They lost a box full of gold ashrafis. Men of the wazir† summoned the port officers for it. They did not follow its track even on information. The wazir was much affected for its loss. He was certain about its loss at the hands of port-officers. He attributed it to the idea of destroying what he had or to ruin him. It was discussed between him and others in the Diwān during course of conversation. It was from Bāshā who was in Div. They changed conversation to conquest of Div. He went near him and turned

* Original Text p. 273.

† Original Text, p. 274.

to Khudāwand Khān and said to him, "O Ḥakim! go out for conquest of Div. God willing, it will be at your hands. Resolve upon security of ease and safety." He replied to him from the port of Purmin to Mahāim and Tarāpore. Men of this coast and its adjacent places were in risk of maintenance for themselves in boats. They returned. Besides, they were not acquainted with the place as the Firangis were. It happened at their hands. They were a responsibility for Sultān of the kingdom and the Sultān had to care for their safety against the enemy. It was a good reward and a good result. Hence it was proper to stay till all the boats came to his port. He then announced to leave the boat at the shore to be free from voyage on the sea. Now the alightment was at Div. The wazir said, "Good was not delayed. God, the Holy helps the slave in his deeds which are pious and pleasing for Him, and His Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him. We shall gain a victory through good fortune of the Sultān before opening of the sea. Resolve upon the name of God, the Holy." His reply was that mere resolve in such a matter like this and with the Firangis is not possible without sufficient wealth and men. My men had travelled with my wealth in my war-ships but the wazir detained me till safe arrival of the boat. When my men presented themselves with my wealth, I would utilize them for jihād against enemies of God and open a port, God willing, for the Sultān. The wazir was all the while in anxiety for loss of his gold. He was not worried about destruction of the Firangis and conquest of Div. He deviated from path of righteousness. He supplied him with men and money from the treasury as much as he needed. There were foreigners also. In the meantime, Amir Khudāwand Khān bade farewell to the Sultān and arrived at Sarkhej.

He wrote a letter to his vakil Yāqut Bahr Khān a slave at Surat about the matter and ordered him to equip Muḥram Rumi Khān with an army, cannons and treasure. After his arrival he sought help from the saint of Sarkhej * Mawlānā Shihābuddin Qutb-ul-Ahd Ahmad by paying a visit to his tomb and distributing money in charity to the poor. He marched to Div. Bilāl Jhughār Khān-us-Sa'eed was to his right, Qarā Hasan Jahāgir Khān to his left and Muḥram Rumi Khān in front with cannons and four thousand men. Naib-us-Salṭanat Mujāhid Khan Bahlim joined him with his army of Pālitāna and its surrounding places. When Khudāwand Khān arrived at Nawānagar situated at a distance of three farsakhs from Div, his baggage followed him while cannons and warriors went ahead. He was followed by Mujāhid Khān. He was the amir of Salṭanat. Dawlat Khān Daccani and his brother Ḥasan Khān were with him. They were his companions in camp and war. They started with him and halted where he halted. He then planned for action, fortified the fort and posted cannons on both sides. He advanced step by step to the ditch, pressed

* Original Text, p. 275.

it and walked along it. He went before and behind the fort. He had distributed money on the path of God. He became short of money. He wrote to Afdal Khān about it. He came out with the Sultān to Div by way of pleasure but he sent nothing from the treasury to him. He waited for the action and returned after three days of his arrival with Mujāhid Khān. Burhān-ul-Mulk was sent in his place but not money. The Amir wrote to Bahr Khān to be in charge of money and its expenditure in the path of Allāh, to approach the fort. He advanced step by step as if he was creeping to mingle with the advanced guard for defence. He increased the number thereon. Whenever he wanted to give right direction to those who were with him and restrain defence, he personally shouted from the fort. Fear disheartened him from advancement and it was possible to lag behind, there was very little distance between intention and possibility of defence. The cannons were put into action in the fort. Most of the persons were killed. Others died of putrified air. Very few lived alive. Khudāwand Khān had built a stone rampart and discharged cannons. The Firangis fired cannons from near places and made his cannons ineffective. One day, he was sitting under the shade of the bulwark when he felt alongwith men* at the turret that the cannoneer heated the cannon and hit a stone near the rampart, a part of it flew while a part of it hit his head and he died. This happened on Rabi' II, 953 (1546). The strangers and subordinates all gathered around his son Rumi Khān who was a young man with worth in him. He conducted affairs and made efforts therein following in the footsteps of his father. Jahāngir Khān and Jhujhar Khān helped him in it. They both decided that he should prove superior to his father in rank and fame. Jahāngir Khān made a hole in the turret of the fort and filled it with gun-powder. When he did it, he informed Rumi Khān about it. They assembled at the turret for fighting. Persons from all the turrets gathered around him to help him, thus their number swelled. Jahāngir Khān ordered to fire it and thus the turret was damaged and every thing inside began to fly along like birds. Seven hundred of them died. Jahāngir Khān induced them to enter the fort from where there was a hole and Rumi Khān heartened them therein. But Burhān-ul-Mulk, commander of the army delayed it because of lack of courage or being weighed down by humanity. The rest became sad and wasted their trouble. Jhujhar Khān caught hold of a wooden staircase, advanced one night with it to wall of the fort, placed it against it and a party climbed it up and got down from the parapets inside the fort. The bugler was with them. He blew the bugle before others could come to him. The Firangis started their movement on seeing what was inside the fort. They were small in number. They started the war. He saw how Jhujhār Khān climbed the ladder followed by his army so quickly. When he arrived at the parapet, his fort was about to slip from

* Original Text, p. 276.

the wall when he was hit by a gun-shot on forehead and he fell down wit of the ladder on his legs which got broken and thus Jhujhār Khān was ma along with his companions who were inside the fort. This event happ the month of Jamādi II of the year. When the sea opened, the vicero ruler of Goa arrived with great preparation and anchored at the Turkis He came to the fort in a boat, saw the action of cannons, and found th dents weak due to scarcity. He then sought information with regard to ing the fort after Khudāwand Khān. He ordered to blast (break cannons and returned to the harbour and at mid-night, he ordered the d tion of those boats with the cannons. With the rise of morning, he enter fort with 30,000 Firangis and pulled the boats to the shore to throw awa was therein. The Muslim army of aliens gathered around Rumi Khān a confederates around Burhān-ul-Mulk Muhammed Banbāni. The rest tempted in the Firangi war for what was in the army than to face the F except Jahāngir Khān. The Nawroz poured down the sea. The sea b open. The army of the malek got disappointed of what benefits it Khudāwand Khān, Jhujhār Khān and a majority of aliens in the arm died during this period. Rumi Khān was a young lad. He had not battles. He had no experience of warfare. He issued forth with big c to go to Nawānagar. He talked to Jahāngir Khān about his knowledge as well as warriors. Jahāngir Khān was fighting a religious war. He th of the Muslims from what he saw and carried cannons to Nawānagar. Viceroy, on his arrival, ordered to carry the war-weapons and equipme conquest of the forts. Similarly our loads were ordered to be removed. turned to warriors and said to them to liberate our time with sword and a under shade of swords. They gathered around Rumi Khān made him fast and parted from him. Salman Turk, Habshis and other eminent m his community, the attendants of the Sultān as well as Mahra and families met in an assembly. They were approximately 7000 in number. prepared themselves for war, supported themselves with armour and thus pletely equipped themselves. In the morning, Jahāngir Khān wore war-d and dressed Rumi Khān with his hands. He took pity upon his youth tears in his eyes and heaved a sigh with a prayer to God for his safety o his loyalty to Salmān and his family. He then assembled men around Khān and addressed them saying, " Today is the day of wagering ; today day of examination; today is the day of forgiveness; today is the d please the Compassionate; open the doors of paradises ; the houries an will honour you; Ridwān is at the gate; enter it with salutation and p Creatures of God! we shall meet after this day on the day of judgment. hand of God is upon the army, be firm, make haste and seek help with

* Original Text. p. 277. † Original Text, p. 27

ence and you will get rewards of good-doers. You will be alive near God and enjoying delight." Ibn-i-'Ayina related from ibn-i-al-Munkudar. He said, "I heard Jābir son of 'Abdullāh son of 'Umar al-Salmi al-Anṣāri, may God be pleased with them, saying, I went with my father on the Day of Ohad to the Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him. He placed his hands in his hand and removed them. Inform my people for I heard a loud voice. It was from elephant of his son 'Umar or his sister. Prophet of God, may peace and benedictions of God be on him, said, " Why do you not weep when the angels shaded him with their wings." Talha son of Kharāsh related. He said, "I heard Jābir son of 'Abdullāh saying that he met the Prophet may peace and benedictions of God be on him. He said, "Oh Jābir! How is it that I find you in a state of despair?" I said, "Oh Prophet of God! my father has become a martyr. He has left a family. He ows money." He said, "Why don't you feel cheerful when your father met Allāh?" I said, "Is it so, oh Prophet of Allāh?" He said, " Verily, God has kept your father alive. His talk is like hissing. What one talked was behind the screen. He said, "Oh My servant! be obliged for what I have given you." He said, "Oh Lord! reject the world from me. It faced him a second time." God said, "Formerly, it was from me" but in another story it is "They passed into Him without being returned." He said, "Oh Lord! Give me what is beyond me." God, Honoured and Glorified revealed "Think not of those who are slain in God's way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their substance in the presence of their Lord. They rejoice in the bounty provided by God: And with regard to those left behind, who have not yet joined them (in their bliss). The martyrs glory in the fact that on them is no fear, nor have they cause to grieve. They glory in the Grace and the Bounty from God, and in the fact that God suffers not the reward of the faithful to be lost. He was the first who was* killed. Prophet of God said prayers on his behalf, may peace and benediction of God be on him. It is related by Muhammed son of 'Umar son of Yazid son of Sakan al-Anṣāri that when the Prophet of God, may peace and benediction of God be on him saw Uhad war, the enemies approached him but Maṣ'ab son of 'Umair defended him till death. He was followed by Abu Dajana Simāk who suffered many wounds, may God be pleased with them. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him was hit in the face, his front teeth got broken his lips got wounded, fleshy part of his face was injured. He had shown himself on that day between two coats-of-mail. The Prophet of God, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "Who is that man who will like to buy his life for us?" Five Anṣāri youths jumped up—among them was Ziyād son of Al-Sakan. They all fought and Ziyād was the last one to fight. He fought till he was identified till Muslims came back to him. They fought till

* Original Text, p. 280.

amputated. Prophet of God may peace and benedictions of God be on him said for Ziyād al-Sakan that he was near me. He dressed his wounds and made his feet as pillow to recline upon till he died on the Prophet's legs, may God be pleased with him. He made his difficulty easy for him. Muḥammed son of Isḥāk son of Yasār al-Matlabi reported and said, " The Prophet of God, may peace and benedictions of God be on him came out on the day of Badr to incite people to fight. Every one of them said additional prayer along with those who were hit. He said, " He in whose hands is the life of Muḥammed, that none fought that day but the patient, fortunate and God gave him entry into paradise. 'Amir son of Hamām son of Jamuh as-Salmi al-Ansāri said by eating dates he had in his hands, well, well, what is between me and those who entered paradise. I will kill them. He threw away dates from his hand; took the sword in hand and fought till he killed and was killed.

Two persons ran to God without provisions
Taki ( one who fears God ) and the other who acted for the next world,
Patience in jihād ( religious war )
Every provision is exhausted
Except that of Taki, charitable and guided.

The same person reported that 'Akrama son of 'Umar son of Hishām Karshi Makhzumi came down on the day of Yarmuk. He dismounted from his horse and fought a fierce battle and got killed. He was found with seventy-nine wounds of stabbing, wounding and throwing. Khālid took his head to his room and sacrificed himself for him. May God be pleased with them. Hāfiz son of * 'Abdul Bir narrated that 'Umar son of Jamuḥ al-Anṣāri, as-Salmi was lame. It was said to him on the day of Uhad. He had seen 'Akba and Badr. By God, what objection is there for you that you are lame? He took an arrow and darted it. He said, by God, I wish to be an excellent man with lameness. I will be in paradise. When he went to people they took him to the Ka'aba. He prayed Oh God, bestow martyrdom on me. Do not spare wife to be afraid of it. He was killed. His wife was Hind, daughter of 'Umar son of Harām. She carried him. 'Abdullāh carried her father on a camel. Both of them were buried together in one grave. The Prophet of God may peace and benediction of God be on him, said, " I swear by Him in Whose hands is my life that he who swore by God and he was free from oath. This man was 'Umar son of Jamuḥ. I saw him in cheerfulness in paradise with his lameness.

Jahāngir Khān completed his speech and said, " May God give a great reward to His creatures who fight for His sake. May He bestow ranks, forgiveness and mercy upon them. Verily God is Forgiving, Merciful. When compared with them, we are sound in health, strong, with proportionate limbs free from

* Original Text, p. 281.

lameness. Even though we are not of their rank. We are said to be cast away cowards and protected brave men. Here is Khālid son of Walid, may God be pleased with him. When death presented before him, he said that he suffered many states and wounds and that he would die on a carpet. People will call me a coward. He died at Hams or at Madina 11 or 12 Hijra. He recited Fātiha and sent benedictions to the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him. He and they glorified him and walked to his quarters, may God and His prophet be pleased with him. Dawlat Khān Deccani and his brother Hasan Khān were with him. Burhān-ul-Mulk and his companions joined him. After sun-rise, they raised aloft their spears. The viceroy came out of the fort. There were thirty thousand lances and spears. They raised loud shouts; cannons of the fort blazed with fire; sparks of fire flew up from boats; the sky became turbid and dark; piebald brightness of the sun grew musky; just then the party of Allāh marched and they raised the takbir (Allah-o-Akbar); they split up the sky like the trumpet of the day of resurrection with screaming shrill; they brightened darkness with lightnings of spears and swords. When they reached rows of army, they smashed with swords, cut down larynxes with daggers, they rushed forth with fury of lions and advanced between soul and body, they exposed the enemy and attacked one row after another till they reached their banner which was rendered a hollow pen. The cause was that* the number of Muslims was small. The unbelievers were large in number with equipment. Twelve hundred of them were martyred. Rumi Khān and Dawlat Khān included in this number. Seventeen hundred of the Firangis were killed within the fort while in the row eleven thousand and one hundred. Had Burhān-ul-Mulk not stood firm in the battle-field with his companions which was a support to the Muslims but boatmen alighted on the shore who fired their guns which turned his face backwards like sparrows frightened in flight. The rightful people lost the support. It so happened that the boatmen surrounded them like a centre in the circle. They ran to the bridge and assembled in large numbers over it. It was an old wooden structure it broke with their passage and fell down in a ditch. There were iron-pegs fixed in them. Those who fell down in it, got perished. Rumi Khān was amongst them. Dawlat Khān was martyred in the battle-field. But Jahāngir Khān came out from the ditch from a familiar path. He was the last man to come out and saved those who were after him. Those who had fallen in the ditch were three hundred men including Rumi Khān. The number of those who perished was fifteen hundred, wounded were one thousand while four thousand and five hundred along with Jahāngir came out with safety. Jahāngir Khān spent his night at Nawānagar. The aliens gathered around him and rested under his care for a day. The wounded were treated, showed sympathy to all persons by payment of each

* Original Text p. 282.

from the treasury. They spent the night with him. In the morning, they started for Ahmedabad with cannons and baggage.

When he met the Sultān, he reported the event to him. The Sultān wept as he narrated it. When he completed his account, he was hit during course of narration with self-honour. His tongue trembled, got afflicted and confounded. His reason (or intelligence) could not bear it. The Sultān sent for his companions and inquired from every one of them individually as to how he was and what hardship he suffered at the hands of the enemy. He bestowed robes of honour on all of them and appointed Jahāngir Khān an Amir of Cannons* and titled him as Majlis-ul-Mansur Jahāngir Khān that day. Otherwise, he used to address him to that day as Qarā Hasan. He ordered to mould the cannons with which he came with conquest of Div. He ordered port-officers to prevent the Firangis from habitation and movement. He ordered to collect sāl wood to build boats. First of all, the governors of Surat (?) were ordered to build them followed by those of Broach, Ghogha, Daman and Khanbhāyat. Within a short period, five hundred boats were built at different places besides those at the ports. Jahāngir Khān began to mould the cannons. One hundred of them were moulded and on each of them was engraved Jahāngir Maḥmud Shāh. He announced that Muslims and non-Muslims should not work with the Firangis, ply their boats, live with them in Div and carry anything of benefit to them. With this evacuation of Div and separation from it, Nawānagar was populated, the army lived there and a strong fort was built in it. The Sultān summoned Rajab, son of Khudāwand Khān and ordered his vakil Bahr Khān to be present. He had attained to the age of discretion. He was titled Rumi Khān. Everything which belonged to his father and his brother was returned with him. He distinguished him by an addition and permitted him to return to Surat.

*Life of the Wazir 'Ali Bin 'Isā*

Khatib Aḥmad bin Thābit said in his History of Baghdād that 'Ali son of 'Isā was a wazir to Muktadir and Kāhir. He was sincere, religious-minded, scholarly and pious. He was laudable in the kingdom, lavishly charitable as a minister, punctilious in obeying commands of God, recitation of the Kurān, performance of compulsory prayers and observance of fasts. He loved men of learning. He convened assemblies of learned men very often and held debates and discussions with them. Scholars came to him from Persia for the sake of † books. His father 'Isā was similar to him. He was known to me from his youth. He was noted for preservation of secrets, rectitude and integrity. When he ceased as the wazir, a poet, entered upon him when he composed the following verses:

* Original Text, p. 283. † Original Text, p. 284.

Verses

I did not see any fault-finder of yours
Except the envious and many are envious.
Verily you are like rain but its cloud
Is a rain-cloud but its water is pure.

Abu Sahl bin Ziyād al-Katān said, " When he was exiled to Makka, I was with him. We entered it when it was extremely hot and we were about to perish. 'Ali bin 'Isā perambulated the Ka'aba, performed Sa'ay (running between Safa and Marwa) and came back. He fell his own self. It was like a corpse due to heat and fatigue. He severely agitated. He said, "I desire for the sake of God, some cold water syrup." I told him, "Oh our master! You are the owner of the house. What is that which is not in this house." He said, "It is as you say but myself is oppressed to keep this word a secret. I will take rest at Mina." He came out then and then and retired to Masjid-ul-Ḥarām. He had not taken rest when a cloud was formed, it thickened, there was a lightning, it thundered severely and continuously. It then began to pour rain. It became very cold. He hastened towards youths (servants). He asked them to assemble. He said, "We have assembled." It was a great thing from him. They pulled towards him in large number which was a great thing. Residents of Makka also assembled. It was a great thing. 'Ali bin 'Isā had observed fast. He went to Masjid-ul-Ḥarām at sun-set time to say his maghrib prayer. I said, "By God you are fortunate. Inconvenience is vanishing. These are signs of good fortune. Drink ice-water as you have sent for it. I went with him to the masjid with cups full of different kinds of viands and drinks refrigerated. He came forward to drink with those who were near him in the Holy Masjid. We came to him with what was with him. I said to him to drink. People also drank. I drank the quantity of five ratals. I said that nothing was left. He said, "Praise be to God, if you were not with me. I would have desired forgiveness for one who obliged me with ice. I had perhaps responded to him. He entered the house with an oath not to drink but he always insisted on me to drink till he drank from him a small quantity of some kind of drink which strengthened us for the rest of night. It is related by 'Isā bin 'Ali bin 'Isā, the Wazir that Abul Ḥusain 'Umar son of Abi 'Umar al-Kādi came to my father. My father saw a garment upon him. He approved of it. * He put his hand into it for his satisfaction. He asked him, "At what price, oh Kādi, did you purchase this cloth?" He replied, "For ninety dinārs." My father said, "I did not wear a garment the price of which is more than between sixty to seventy dinārs." Abul Ḥasan said, "That is so. The Wazir carries clothes and we cannot put up with clothes. This is narrated by Khatib, may mercy of God be on him.

* Original Text, p. 285.

Abu Bakr Muḥammed bin Muḥammed bin 'Ali Jauhari informed us what 'Isā bin 'Ali bin 'Isā the wazir completing our talk 'Ali bin 'Isa said. It was said by Aḥmad bin Badil, then son of Fadail, then 'Atā son of Sa'eed son of Jubair who related from Ibn-i-'Abbās, may God be pleased with them. He said, "I did not see a community who were better than the Companions of Prophet of God, may peace and benedictions of God be on him. They asked him only thirteen to nineteen questions which were extracted from the Kurān. They are; They ask you about the holy month; they ask you about wine and gambling; they ask you about orphans; they ask you about a menstruated woman. They do not ask those except those which can benefit them. 'Ali bin 'Isā died in the year 335 (945-46) on Friday night. Others state that he died in the month of Zilhajj, 334. He was born in Jamādi II, 245.

In 954 (1547), Afzal Khān fell from the post of the Wazir. 'Abdul Hatim Hamid-ul-Mulk was invested with the authority of Wazir. He was titled Majlis-ul-'Āli Khudāwand Khān." His fall was due to his mismanagement of Div campaign. He showed negligence in financial matters of the state and indifference in praise of the Sultān. He died in a village, the revenue from which was one thousand gold (coins). He had no son. When he died, there was left six months' maintenance for his family. He had 1100 horses, two thousand and more men. He was titled I'timād Khān because the Sultān consulted him in matters of state policy. *

In Rabi' I of the year, the Firangi boats arrived at Broach. They entered the fort due to negligence of its Amir. 'Ali Khān Sayyad Barānhar-al-Manduāli. They set fire to one side of it. It was a prosperous port. The residents fought with them. They fought with them and drove back to their boats. They had anchored near the fort. They saw cannons at the turret so they turned back most of their boats while the rest fled to the shore of Narbada. It flows beneath the fort. It is called Bhādbhut at a distance of seven farsakhs from it. Boats land at this port always. It was not possible for them to alight on the shore. During this time, Sultān arrived alone. It so happened that the Sultān's arrival and the Firangis' landing coincided. They had no knowledge of it. He saw them at the shore and killed many of them. He personally fought and smashed them with the sword. He was in the prime of youth. His horse fell into water and was about to be swept away. I'timād Khān was with him in water. He caught hold of the reins and pulled it with all his strength to the shore. The admiral of Broach heard about this incident. He came out in boats, saw the Firangis and foundered many of their boats. They fled to Div. The Sultān had gone as far as Nimodra after them. He then trod the path to Broach. He did not notice their negligence. He arrived at Broach.

* Original Text, p. 286.

He immediately dismissed the amir. He did not reinstate him during his life. He deprived him of his favours. He said that "he made a mistake in calling a fish, a lion. Verily, you are a jackal. His name was Nahar. Nahar in the language of Hind was the name of the lion." He came out with the intention of jihâd and conquest of Div. The Firangis got perturbed. The Vakil of the viceroy of Goa presented himself with gifts consisting of maunds of gold apologizing for the past and making amends for the future in what consisted the pleasure of the Sultān. The Sultān was firmly determined to implement his resolution. He did not care for arrival of the vakil nor for the presents. In the meantime, Sajāwal Khān had conquered Mandu as stated above. Intelligence was received from Delhi that Sher Shāh intended to invade Gujarāt. He was planning for it. The Sultān became anxious. He summoned counsellors for consultation. It so happened that Sher Shāh, the ruler of Hind was * occupied with some other campaign. The Sultān was thus at ease due to peace with the Firangis and also from the side of Delhi. He therefore ordered for appearance of the Vakil with presents. Peace was patched. The port should belong to the Sultān and the Firangis should not enter the government boats and other things connected with them and the fort. Hence half of tens of boats were under command of the port-officer in times of need. Nāsir Habash Khān proceeded to Div as Amir. He was at Ahmedābād as a Police Officer. He had become famous for establishment of law, order and good administration. Similar was the case at Div. He administered it well. The Firangis became obedient to him. Div prospered during his time. Its residents enjoyed safety and security. Alien attendants numbering six thousand gathered around him with complete equipment and strength. He had a cavalry of 4000. Trade ships numbering 100 had anchored at the port. As a symbol of the prosperity of Div what some of its residents have narrated is that every morning there stopped at the slaughter-houses more than 500 servants of merchants to purchase meat. Such is the case with other things. Prosperity had widened similarly from Purmayāni to Mahāim. Shores were at all ports.

In 955 (1548) al-Masnad-ul-'Āli 'Abdul 'Aziz Āsaf Khān, my patron, master of favour and blessing came to Gujarāt. With his arrival, thanks, nay, glory got added to my name in connection with Āsafi. The call of the Sultān was the cause of his arrival from Mecca. The Sultān was under the deputyship of Mujāhid Khān Bahlim. The Sultān had ordered Mujāhid since the departure of Sulaimān Pāshā, to proceed to Div for a certain policy for defence of the frontier. But he did not go there and remained in Pālitāna with all preparation. He was summoned several times but he put forth false pretences for not proceeding there. He, therefore, one day, complained to I'timād Khān about it. There was some unpleasantness between him and the Wazir Afzal

* Original Text, p. 287.

Khān. He bore it and remarked that the kingdom would not improve without Āsaf Khān. The Sultān called him. It so happened that in that very year, the reliable Amin-ud-din Jhajhhu entered Gujarāt as an emissary of Āsaf Khān to his brother Khudāwand Khān. He was his favourite. I'timād Khān sent * for Khudāwand Khān. He told him that the Sultān had ordered to call Āsaf Khān. How was his plan ? He informed him about the arrival of his emissary and presented him before him. I'timād Khān inquired about Āsaf Khān from him as to how he would come on summons of the Sultān. He said that nothing prevented him except provisions for the journey. He said to Khudāwand Khān to make haste to prepare to send what was more than necessary to Mecca one thousand sacks of Sarkhej indigo for his travel. Each of these sacks will be worth one hundred gold ( coins ) at Mecca. He waited to start on account of the Firangi event. Āsaf Khān utilized some portion of money in preparation and purchased horses with the rest. He left behind his sons, wife and Sirājud-din Umar bin Kamāluddin Naharwāla. He started for Hind. The sea was rough. He diverted his boat to the famous port of Manglore Pattan. His slave had come with him. He was like a son to him. His name was Āqā Yusuf Turki. It was inscribed on the tablet of the boat. The muqaddam of the sea helped him. The chief Amin-ud-din was a partner in it. When he alighted safely on the shore, he prostrated out of thanks to God. When the sea became somewhat calm, he came out of the boat with what was safe with him. Āsaf Khān felt sorry for loss of his books and a shining iron-sword. It was in the stores of the ruler of Mecca, Sultān of Hijāz Abi Yumni Muhammed b. Barakāt b. Muhammed. He was a sincere friend to him. They spent their life in unison without being separated from each other. He also felt sorry for the horse which remained with him. It was a horse of old Arab breed very fast. He felt very sorry for the book "al-Mishkāt" written by Valiuddin, the Khatib of Tabriz. The Āmil of Mangalore appeared in his presence. He missed to write † to I'timād Khān about his safe arrival. Within a week, he arrived by the Sultān's gate and requested him for his needs. He supplied him with as many things as he could. Habash Khān, the Amir of Div personally came to receive him with attendants and men. He was greatly benefited. Mujāhid Khān did not come and he suffered a loss. The emissary of the Sultān arrived and journeyed to Ahmedābād with Āsaf Khān. He halted at Sarkhej to pay respects to the saint. Many persons other than I'timād Khān were appointed to receive him. They all met him in the mausoleum of the saint. All of them started for the capital. He was in an Arab dress. He came to the assembly of the Sultān. He was sitting upon the throne. He got down from it, walked a few paces to meet him and embraced him. He took him by the hand to the throne. The rest sat upon a carpet. Afzal Khān was with them. They talked

* Original Text, p. 288. † Original Text, p. 289.

for about an hour. He then permitted him to live in the house of Wazir Tāj Khān Narpāli. He reserved it for him. He went there with royal attendants, the amirs and I'timād Khān. When he entered the house, the amirs dispersed and I'timād Khān remained with him. While residing there he requested him * to change his dress and to shorten his beard for it was completely full between the shoulder and the chest. On the third day after his arrival, I'timād Khān met him. Both walked up to the Diwān. The Sultān decorated him with a robe, suspended a sword with his own hand and gave a free hand in the kingdom and titled him as Absolute Deputy. He was to have a free hand in administration of the kingdom. He came out with a banner, a drum, cavalry and other paraphernalia walking in front of him as far as his house. In the first meeting, when he presented himself in the Diwan the first thing that he talked about was in connection with the patronage of mamāliks. all the alien attendants, and to bring their number to 12000. There was no need for a chief to repetition of the wazirs. Mandal Habshi was distinguished among the slaves to be the head with the title of Ulugh Khān. Within no time, there assembled men of Mahamara tribe, Yafe' tribe, the Turks, the Habshis, Javanese and the Firangis which completed the number 12000. They were the special attendants of the Sultān who were not to leave the palace nor others should go ahead of them. They had their turns (of duty) when to lower the curtain between the majlis of the Sultān and the councillors. Among them were guards of treasury. They had turn of duty with their amir Ulugh Khān. He had a special majlis. None had to come to the majlis of the Sultān except he. Some of them attended the stirrup of the Sultān with their horses in front when he travelled. Every kind of group had a chief of their own and a head-man ordering others to remain within limit and good-manners etc. Every party walked with shouts of trumpets and drums and other things according to customs of the city. Most of the servants were of the Yāfeh tribe as well as supervisors of cups. The Sultān had implicit faith in them. When they walked in front of the Sultān at a distance none could order them except Ulugh Khān. The attendants had strength and pomp at Dār-us-Saltanat. The Sultān was free because of them, from bias of the amirs. Āsaf Khān then made efforts to raise the rank of Aslān Turk Sultāni and the other mamālik. The Sultān increased their honour and respect. He enjoyed ease and comfort in life. When the Sultān was helped by Āsaf Khān and Khudāwand Khān, they did everything that was † conducive to his welfare and with firmness. He praised I'timād Khān for having called Āsaf Khān. One day, he said to him, "This was a business for me. I thought over the matters. I did not find any one a helper. When I find a large crowd in the diwān I thought they had doubt in me upon me? But now, I possess judgment and am at ease at the plan of Āsaf Khān from all

* Original Text, p. 290.

† Original Text, p. 291.

things. I was afraid of my helplessness and was silent through fear to open the door and it was not possible to close it. There are 12,000 aliens under the control of one slave. There is Āsaf Khān to my side in hour of judgment and assault. None is careless." He then complained about Mujāhid Khān one day. Āsaf Khān said that he stood still when he relies upon the co-operation of some but he had no power and pomp at Dār-us-Saltanat but now, he keeps himself aloof at the first order that he issues. He ordered the Munshi to send him an order of summons and the announcer of the Sultān went with it. He executed the order and came with those who were connected with him to the river Sābar and alighted upon it to request the time of salām of the horsemen and men. He then specially entered alone. The Sultān saw him through the eastern window upon the river. He had prepared himself for review. He advanced on horse-back beneath the window, dismounted from the horse, saluted, and stood at a side. The amirs—Hazabr-ul-Mulk Bahlim, Ghazanfar-ul-Mulk Bahlim, Haibat Khān Bahlim, Tatār-ul-Mulk Ghori and his brother Tatār Khān, Jamid Khān and Langar Khān Dasāria—were in his wake. They saluted standing. Āsaf Khān was with the Sultān. Khudāwand Khān was on the river under the window. He robed them with khil'at and Mujāhid Khān in particular with a sword, a shield and a horse. He then came with a betel-leaf and perfume. Mujāhid Khān returned to his pavilion and Khudāwand to the Sultān's palace. On the third day after his arrival, he called Mujāhid Khān. After his entry into the city near the Sultān's palace it was said to him that he would be retained (captured ?). He left for Pālitāna in all haste and moved with agitated mind to his residence. The Sultān received this intelligence. He was wonderstruck and questioned Āsaf Khān about this move on his part. He replied that he heard what he could not bear as it was baseless. Hence he made a mistake, for obedience drove him to retirement through dread of the Sultān. He cited a holy tradition before the Sultān, "Verily there is a piece * of flesh in the body. When it is safe, the whole body is sound." He who said it, is found to be true. He then sent a wazir to his halting-place to console him with great and small men with him. His territory was to remain in charge of Tātār-ul-Mulk till return of Mujāhid Khān. The Sultān was favourable to him looking to his former services. He was delighted to continue in his region for years. The Sultān's order was issued to him with good offices in favour for his services He then ordered him to return. Āsaf Khān wrote similarly and insisted on his call. After receipt of order, he was to come back when he died. It was said that he died before that. The Sultān regretted upon losing him. He left nothing in his house. He left to the amirs what was with them. He raised the rank of Tātār-ul-Mulk and Tātār Khān as before.

When the auditors were free from taking account of his income and

* Original Text, p. 292.

expense, the Wazir ascertained as to what was in the list. He had taken 6,00,000 Maḥmudis from allowances which were not received by the persons concerned. He represented the matter to the Sultān and asked him as to what was the order. He returned the order to Āsaf Khān. When the wazir appeared before him, he said that it was referred to him. He ordered him to describe it. He took pity upon Mujāhid Khān and prayed for his good. The wazir asked for the order to be placed before the Sultān. He said, " Well, write off the allowances. He was a deputy from me. Was it in my imagination? May he get the reward." He then ordered for renewal of deeds to his people from the former date in the old documents. May God reward Maḥmud! May it be accepted!

In 956 (1539), the Sultān went to Maḥmudabad and alighted in a famous building called " Pushtah Mahal." It was situated on a river called Vātrak.* It was built by Sultān Maḥmud, son of Muḥammed. He found its water sweet and climate pleasant. He stayed there for a number of days. He used to move about to various directions for hunting. From the day he was there, he found the place increased in wonder and joy. He made it his capital. He extended it with buildings. He allotted the land to wazirs, maleks and amirs and ordered them to construct buildings. Within a short time, it prospered and became a city. He named it Sukhiābād meaning a place of happiness. In the meantime, Mallu Qādir Shāh came to pay obeisance to him. He made a mention of a famous building " Āhu-Khāna " deer-house built by Khalji at Mandu. Maḥmud ordered construction of such a building adjacent to Pushtah Mahal. It was done. He made it more beautiful than that of the Khalji by laying it out on principles of trees such as sarāsar, velvet, qatifah and mushajjar (names of different kinds of cloth) from different parts of the earth as high as the calf with branches over them. He made this garment to the measure of calves of plants twice in a year. It was white to the evenness of the spacious wall; it was green as the leaves of trees; and coloured covers of calves out of joy, freshness and embellishment. It excited joy and made delightfully wonderful. Nothing can be added to it. He then collected birds, animals for hunting—wild birds and beasts. He ordered construction of a building at every mile containing all necessary things. There were servants who had not attained to puberty. He rode with beautiful women away from lads. He hunted or played with a polo-stick. He had taught horsemanship to women who rode Arab horses. They sported with him, they chased beasts in this park. They suspended swords, they bore quivers and darted arrows without missing. He made use of compounds of anaesthetics or particles of poison for sexual† potency and retention. He was not indifferent to it any time to root it out. Whenever he was overpowered by lassitude, he alighted, went to an opposite

* Original Text p. 294.

† Original Text, p. 295.

house, took rest for some time and only the emasculated persons—minor and adults—were there. He retired with one woman to a house attached with a bath. He resorted to abortion in case a woman became pregnant or by chance, a child was born, it was slaughtered.

He raised rank of his mamluk of Aslān Turki. Āsaf Khān had servants at Mecca. One of them was Qānib al-Khamarāvi. He was sent with presents to Maḥmud. He had his sword with him. He stood on his right side. Āsaf Khān found him capable. His sagacity did not err. He was reared up by the side of the Sultān. He praised him. He rose high in his estimation. He was titled 'Imād-ul-Mulk. It was a rule of the Gujarāt Sultāns to connect every title with the state. When any one was bestowed a title, he was designated so and so of the state. This title was conferred upon the great slaves of the saltanat. The kings of Gujarāt held the subordinates in contempt similarly or the great ones also unless they had become familiar. They did not regard it as a blemish to assemble them under the flag of the slaves of the state. Such was Kamalat-us-Saif who vied with his father. They did not suffer a tyrant nor bore fault. He raised the lance within the twinkling of an eye, thought it to be an insult to be without the arms which he never separated in any condition. They respected the neighbours, ennobled guests. They protected neighbours, helped them in hours of need, and sacrificed their lives. They respected the guest at any cost. Past and future generations observed this good tradition till the martyrdom of Maḥmud.

The army of Sultān marched to Idar to punish its ruler. He had given up his loyalty at the time of Humāyun's invasion and had continued in this upto this time. His army encamped in his city. The Āmil of the Sultān entered the city demanding tribute. He destroyed the strong and connived at the weak. The amir plundered its frontiers and returned to Maḥmudābād. *

'Imād-ul-Mulk invaded Idar. The great amir Sayyed Mubārak Bukhāri requested him to accompany him in the path of God. He held the rank of an amir. His rank was raised. The Sultān treated him with humility. He showed favour to him and said to him that he was also with him in the path of God. His service-stipend will be expanded from Idar, efforts would be difficult and he prohibited him from taking that course. He advised him to stay with him or he would be raised to the higher rank in amirship. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was with him. He replied that " I am in demand of Amirship but I am in demand of the pleasure of God and the Prophet and then the pleasure of the Sultān." 'Imad ul Mulk was present. He said that, " The great amir sought permission to join in invasion for this reason. I have permitted him. He will not disagree with your order." He then sent for worthy robes, made him a special amir

* Original Text, p. 296.

and bade him adieu. 'Imād-ul-Mulk conquered the fort. The flag was in the hands of Āqā Farahshād. He was the first to enter after 'Imād-ul-Mulk. The flag fluttered over his head. He stood at the house of the owner of the fort. 'Imād-ul-Mulk raised his voice and shouted "Allāh-o-Akbar, Allāh-o-Akbar." He then raised the call to prayer and planted the flag there. Sayyid Mubārak stood by his side in delight. Everyone of them was in this mood due to conquest. Habib-ul-lāh, son of Shams-ud-din al-Kābuli titled Munsaf-ul-Mulk was the Post Master. He was a worthy scholar with wide learning and understanding. He occupied this post and followed the army to record events. He was my father's cousin. He wrote to the Sultān informing him about the conquest. The Sultān was delighted first with the conquest, secondly, because the conquest was connected with his slaves and thirdly, the Malek obtained fame and made him intimate to consult him. His fame was perfected in administration of affairs. The name had done what the body had not done. Farahshād was titled Fateh Jung Khān on account of this service and made a master of a flag and a drum.

One who suspended the sword which 'Imād-ul-Mulk carried and stood with it to his right was Yāqut Sultāni al-Habshi titled Khairat-Khān. He enjoyed* his favour. He sat in a bhail with him when he went out to the market and held his quiver when he was engaged with the sword.

The plate-holder in Hindi davāt-yār was promoted to the rank of an amir. He was titled Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk. Amirs served under him in his charge and twelve thousand horse assembled under his flag. He was posted at Naharwāla Pattan. His authority extended over Jālor, Nāgor, Sirohi and Ajmer. He was sufficiently worthy of amirship in his jurisdiction-charge. He administered that region with sword. The amirs were afraid of him; then what to talk of the armies. His account will be given in his sketch of death.

The slave Ne'mat bin Chālāk Sultāni al-Hindi was promoted. He was titled Nāsir-ul-Mulk. He had 12000 horse under him in his charge. His place of residence was Nazarbār. His authority extended over the frontiers of Sultānpur, Nazarbār to Songhad from the side of Barhānpur and to Kalnah from the boundary of the Deccan. His life-sketch will be given in his account of death.

The great amir al-Masnad-ul-Āli Fateh Khān bin Fateh Khān Bahra,† ruler of Rādhanpur was specially distinguished with favour. His subordinates consisted of subordinates of subordinates. His authority extended over the frontiers of Sind. He belonged to the family of Sultāns. His mother was the daughter of Sultān Muzaffer ruler of Jālor from his side. It was he who brought

* Original Text, p. 297.

† Original Text, p. 298.

Jālor under Gujarāt. At the time of the Mughal invasion, its ruler Khānjiv Jālori disowned loyalty.

Shamshir-ul-Mulk Sultāni was promoted. He was at the fort of Junāgadh. His subordinates were subordinates of subordinates. His authority extended over Div, the fort of Bait and Sind to his side as well as to sea over Ghogha to Purmayāni on one side to Ghogha from one side, Kondi Hariāla from one side and Katebh and Makrā'n adjoining Bangad, Nu'man and Basra. The army of Irāq from ancient times used to enter Hind. They cut off the passages and made them fearful.

Fard Khan Sultāni, the governor of Chāmpāner had subordinates of subordinates. He had 12000 horse under him. His authority extended over Mandu and Chiter.

In the year 957 (1550), 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk met outside the mountain of Sirohi. Both of them resorted to plunder from all sides. The victory was won by 'Imād-ul-Mulk.

*Open revolt of the Rajputs*:—In the year 958 (1551), one of the learned men of Naharwāla Pattan, Yusuf Shihāb started for Ahmedabad from Pattan. It was found that he was murdered on the way by the Rajputs. The Sultān received intelligence about his death. The Rajputs inhabited every village of that region, did not serve the state and raised disturbances from the early part of the saltanat of Muzaffer. They were the Bhil tibes who resided there from ancient times. They were horsemen. Their women did not ride. The Sultān ordered for their expulsion from the kingdom and their killing wherever they were found as well as for occupation of their habitations. The army pursued them and subjected them to general massacre. Mirjān Ahmed Lār al-Habshi titled Diler Khān performed exploits in this adventure. Āqā Bardi Turki, slave of Mu'in Khan al-Multāni titled Turk Khān also played his part. Within a short time, none of this tribe was found in Gujarāt. It was not a wonder as the hand of saltanat as stated, was long.*

Unpleasentness grew up between the Sultān and I'timād Khān and the cause of it was Afzal Khān. Its account is that one day, he rode to the Divān. On the way, he saw Muhammed Jiv ibn-Babu Sultāni with a great cavalcade. He was in the prime of youth. I'timād Khān loved him and he had a free hand in what he owned. I'timād Khān was one of the great amirs and a favourite of the Sultān. He occasionally came out of the palace of the Sultān. He showed favour and love to Muhammed Jiv who lived in his house. He ordered his cavalry and infantry to follow him and had control over his stables and many other things. When he rode, he rode with the vigour of youth and status

* Original Text, p. 299.

with frivolousness exhibiting decoration and glory due to the cavalcarde. There was unpleasantness between Afzal Khān and I'timād Khān as hinted before. When Muḥammed Jiv came near him, he turned aside from the road, stopped transverse as if intending to salute him. One of his companions said to him that the regiment was of Muḥammed Jiv. He pretended not to know him. He said that he thought that he was the Sultān. He then walked on his way and entered the palace. When he settled down in the majlis, he deprived him of the cavalcade and other things concerning pomp and status which led him to think that he was the Sultān. He objected to get down and salute. He was Muḥammed Jiv Bābu. His speech had its effect. He rose up from the majlis. I'timād Khān presented himself. Muhammed Jiv Bābu said to him that this rank had been snatched away and that he would ride with a similar cavalcade this evening to Maḥmudabad. I'timād Khān ordered him to go to Chāmpā-ner in the garb of a faqir and remain there with his spiritual guide Badruddin Jamāl, the sufi of Khwājah Hasan. He executed the order of expulsion but he found his separation difficult to bear and his mind was completely upset. He happened to remain present one day and stopped to live in his house for several days. The Sultān always sent him emisseries to summon him but he abstained from going till unpleasantness became emphatic (definite) in the course of time. He lived in the house on the way to the city. He did not present himself even on the day of the 'Id of Sacrifice. There was his wazifah therein (daily ration, stipend). When the Sultān rode to the place of prayer on an elephant, he sat upon his (elephant's) head without a litter and the turban in his hand. He drove it. The Sultān stopped with his cavalcade at his door* and sent Āsif Khān to summon him. He loved him, talked freely with him and respected him among all the Wazirs and amirs. He went inside, caught hold of him and brought him to the Sultān. He saluted. The elephant lowered down his legs for him to go up. He ascended to the howdah, placed the turban as usual. There was no adornment on the 'Id day. The Sultān then proceeded to the place of prayer. With the stoppage of the Sultān at his door and Āsif Khān an emissary, I'timād Khān showed himself like the crescent of 'Id to the people. With this all, the cause of his martyrdom did not become public.

*Martyrdom of Mahmud* :—In Rabi 'I of the year, the Sultān went to a place where there was plenty of game with goats and leopards. He had invented arrows whose heads were one palm in width and sharpness of edge was like the famous arrowheads except that they were wide and made of steel, polished and shining. Wild cows were hunted by them and what were near them. He rode a horse with them, brought him near the game, circumvented it till it was possible for him to throw it at it and his throw never missed. A beast was kill-

* Original Text, p. 300.

ed. Every year one thousand sharp swords were brought for him from the south, the west and from Egypt and Dailam. He put them at the heels of camels and heads of buffaloes with horns on many of them as well as calves of sheep. He assembled four of them, kept them close together, tied them with iron-pegs strongly around which they moved for quick defence. The broken swords were stored in the arms-store. The knives were made out of broken swords. They were used for slaughtering hunted animals. In length, they were more than half an arm and in width as much as the sword was broken. These knives were kept in every quiver of the game. The knives were not made * from middle of the broken swords. Broken swords were cut into small pieces and they were used as arrowheads only for the Sultān himself. Great effort was made at places where there was doubt about the game. He had a drunkard in whom he had confidence. He ennobled him in hours of pleasure and gladdened him in anger. He was always with him in life and death (happiness and unhappiness). He had built a hole in a wall where he killed persons. Āsif Khān advised the Sultān to turn him out or to finish him to death which he deserved. He felt spite towards good persons in particular. His companions were chiefs as well as ignoble persons. The Sultān despised him and mocked at him yet he would not keep himself away from him. He took an oath in the name of his father for anything which he never fulfilled. By chance, he made a mistake. The drunkard came to him in days of his hunting. He took an oath but afterwards he turned away from it. This drunkard's name was Burhān-ud-din. It was certain for him not to act according to his oath. He resolved to keep himself away, and to live apart. The Sultān always made use of narcotic anaesthetics and poisonous drugs which he planted and nourished or watered them with the blood of cobras such as hemp, and he pressed out its juice in the shape of opium and similar things. He never enjoyed safety at his hand; similarly every one in the Sharāb-khānā. Under such circumstances, Āsif Khān gave him an advice and pressed him severely to act upon it with him and inspite of it, he did not act according to it when he was away from him. His Imām (one who leads prayers) was Kamāluddin. He obtained from drink only in prayer. *Hemistich:* Oh master! Take care of his murderer. It was the custom with the Sultān to observe the Prophet's birth-day with auspicious care. He gathered the leading sayyids and chief imāms, Sufi Shaikhs, pure beings, pious men, sayers of prayers, abstemious persons and true fellows, the faqirs and the poor, a large crowd and a great assemblage. All eminent men were invited to this function from 1st to 12th of the month. Persons assembled recited the Quran and the Traditions of the Prophet and chanted the litany. "There is no god but Allah" and sent benedictions and Salām in a loud voice to the Messenger of Allah. On the 12th night, the whole of the Qurān was

* Original Text, p. 301.

recited on the birth anniversary of the Noble Prophet in accordance with the* traditional authority of the people of the Holy Places which embellished the ears and cooled the eyes. The blessed Sultān remained present at the hour of birth with all respect through ceremony of the birth of the Mercy to both the worlds, may he be ennobled and raised to the minaret of faith. Robes of honour prepared out of costly cloth were brought to be presented to the faqirs on the birth-day. They were first given in order to the elite and the commoners as well as to those of the audience who were detained for it, may benedictions and salāms be on him, on his descendants and companions whom people loved. Sherbets were brought which were prepared out of the drops of sugar-cane of every variety. They were sealed with musk, rose-water and fragrance and basils. Every kind of sherbet was pleasant. The sufis assembled with pleasant voices, musical instruments, who wept among themselves and made others weep, standing and dancing in the expance of the palace till dawn. When the sun rose, the table-cloth was spread out with food. The Sultān moved with the jar and Āsif Khān with a tray among those who were present. He poured water over their hands to be washed. Husām was with them for blessings in service on the birth-day, may benedictions and salām be on him. The maleks and the wazirs spread themselves length-wise at the table. There were rolls of precious cloth to be prepared clothes out of them for all seasons of the year. The amirs were in rows at their places to enjoy trays of food. Desserts were circulated as desired. The table had 12000 dishes. When men of nobility and learning were free from eating and washing hands; betel-leaves and rose-water and other pleasant substances were brought. It was followed by trays of robes, cash, clothes and what was in luck for the people. The Sultān showed himself for farewell. The assembly dispersed with recitation of fatiha and pious incantations. He then went to the palace of decoration to enjoy sight-seeing. Here is brought to him food by way of blessedness from what was on the table. The table is spread out in the palace. Āsif Khān, Sayyed Mubārak and Afzal Khān sat at it. The maleks and the amirs sat down to eat at the place of the first table. After they were free, it was the turn of all servants, attendants and subordinates. All the big pots and cooking vessels were removed at last and arms were distributed. Orphans, needy persons, travellers, faqirs of houses and bazars and men of holy shrines received their share. In this spring, he was on† the hunting ground. He was formerly hurt in feeling from the drunkard. He took an oath of his father that he would do him harm. On his return from the birth-day anniversary, he felt warm. He used narcotic anaesthetics. It did him no good. He complained of heat. He sent for sandal-drink. He got excited. He took another dose. He came out with the jar. He took rounds in the majlis. Heat overpowered him. He found his body heavy and felt weakness

* Original Text, p. 302. † Original Text, p. 303.

and his strength failed to carry the jar. He ordered Āsif Khān to take returned from the majlis to the special palace with him and closeted wi known as Jituli (ṣ). He sent for cold drinks from the drunkard. He b them to him but they were poisoned. His body became greatly heavy slept on a cot. Burhān-ud-din saw him that he did not move. He orde let down the curtain. He was obedient according to his rank in the charge and enjoyed perfect proximity. It was due to this that he made ants sit by turn as usual behind the curtain. None remained within the except himself. In the first 1/6 hour of the heaven of the day, he enterec him, tied his hairs with poles of the cot and slaughtered him and cover with the bed-sheet and came out. He had no doubt that he would Sultān after him. He won over the negro murderer with gold as well as who were his accomplices in murder to acknowledge him as Sultān. passes an order and it is done." In his last days, the Sultān had becom of persons who fought with lion and killed him. He who had confidence strength, presented himself in the Diwān to fight with the lion. The Sult collected a number of negroes for this purpose. The Sultān sat at an el place in a house where there was a lion. A man was called to enter When he was secluded with him, and fought with him, he raised him ir He met him in a room. The room was then closed. Such persons met Diwān. Their number was one thousand. They had their chief. This e of God leaned towards them wherein he lost this world and the nex Sultān was very particular in performance of compulsory prayers. I ordered his imam (one who leads prayers). Syed Kamāluddin to wak up if he was asleep when it was time for prayer. In case he did not w he should sprinkle water upon his face and wake him up by any possible so that the time for prayer may not be missed. It so happened tha Kamāl entered the palace for 'Asr (afternoon) prayer from the gate of t building. When he terminated at Chituli, he saw darkness inspite of th He did not find any one there. He went up to him, saw him with a be over him. He stood at the side of his feet, placed his hand upon it to him up. He did not move. He stood just before his breast, pushed his beneath the bed-sheet. When he felt hot, thin, sticky substance, his han into it. He pulled his hand towards him. He found it to be staine blood. He got perturbed and immediately came out. He did not kno to walk and where to go. The drunkard entered the room in the wake exit from the palace. He found the door open. He pursued in his wal small distance but he did not retaliate as his work was most importan result of his wretchedness otherwise he would have seen him. He car secretly from the place where there was light. It was a building with

* Original Text, p. 304.

windows. Burhān returned from it and closed the door. He met his companions and assigned glorious mansabs, extensive territories and lofty titles. He then began to plan the murder of wazirs. The Imām came out from the palace and saw Mawlānā Abd-us-Samad al-Dabir. He was with 'Abdur Razzāq Razi Khān, son of the respectable malek Miā 'Abd-ul-Wāhid al-Multāni. He informed him about the event. The above-mentioned person heard about it either from him or from Razı Khān. He occupied a high rank in proximity and faith with the Sultān. He was astonished, confused and distressed on account of this calamity. If he spread that news, it would be a calamity to him from the wazirs connected with the guilt at the early hour. He prepared himself for the loss which took place. It was the loss of wazirs due to this greatest mischief. He kept it a secret. There was no doubt in his mind that the murder was due to unpleasantness. After the separation of Muḥammed Jiv Bābu, I'timād Khān remained within his house to the day of Id as stated previously. Afzal Khān* disdained to face I'timād Khān in his house and talk with him in the presence of the Sultān. He heard him but did not respect him. He was much impressed at the sacrifice of Āsif Khān for him and charge of burden to his brother. Burhān was an evidence thereon. There was some thing of it in Āsif Khān's life-sketch. The above mentioned person did not increase in what he had heard and tried to recover. It was based on conjecture and so he remained quiet till what God had wished took place. When he received the intelligence of his death, he felt sorry for his silence and felt very much. He repented to such an extent that he did not repeat repentance. In the early third hour of the 13th night, a call came to Āsif Khān from the mouth of the Sultān. He took a bath, perfumed himself and sat in a pālki. He wore a green robe. He had a drum and a bugle in front of the pālki. He was reciting the Qurān when he entered the palace and came to the elephants posted fot watchmanship. He stopped there as a huge elephant on duty prevented him from proceeding further. Burhān-ud-din pampered the elephant. He behaved with mildness towards the Khān as he had called him and liked to wait near him to take him into confidence. There was none there and the paradise was a few paces distant. He opened the door. Even though the elephant had come in his way, he waited and ordered to stop and then the pālki proceeded further to the paradise meant for those who fear God. He then entered the praiseworthy place where he was surrounded by swords from all sides. He had nothing with him. Even a knife was not legally allowed to be taken in the presence of the Sultān. He resisted severely but his shoulder was cut to pieces. He was immediately overthrown and he achieved felicity of martyrdom. He was followed by his brother Khudāwand Khān. When he entered and saw his brother in a felled position, he groaned, bent down upon his body, and embraced him. Then came Afzal Khān

* Original Text, p 305.

and the curtain was let down. Burhān came to him. He did not doubt in his acceptance. During the interval, he learnt about two martyred brothers. He received order from the Sultān about acceptance of the post of wizārat. He refused to accept it. He came within the curtain, then came out, there was a robe of honour in his hand, he said to him (Afzal Khān) that he (Sultān) ordered him to wear it and that it was said, "It would be sufficient for your * enemies, prepare yourself for wizārat as you were." Afzal Khān was intelligent, resolute, shrewd and accomplished. He reviewed everything and said to him, "Who are my enemies?" He replied, "The Naib Wazir." He said to him, "It is not like that." He refused to wear it until he met the Sultān. Burhān then said to him, "I tell you to wear it when you intend to see the king. I am the Sultān and you are the Wazir." Afzal Khān cursed him. He said, "I join you with them, oh enemy of God." He finished him as he had done with the two brothers.

*Difference between one who is killed by reason and by valour*

I say God the Holy summoned soul to enter into the body of Ādam, may peace be upon him, it refused to enter into impurity of the body being in itself an eternal nicety and self aversion. He then ordered it to come out. It turned into love and affection for it. It was brought into presence. It disputed and refused to come out from it except with aversion. It was then insistence upon death with possibility of life. There was discomfort in it but here it was in comfort. Reason is the greatest thing of which he thinks. Whatever is on spirit is felt heavy. But God the Holy glorified Ādam, may peace be on him. He is disputant in nature with different characteristics till it is spoken of it as 'the greatest world'. Therein what is displayed for everyone of them is dignity in prayer for attainment to perfection. Therefore, when there was between Afzal Khān and Āṣaf Khān what is usually found between two contemporaries so far as different desires are concerned. They do not beautify feelings and conjecture. They are spread among human beings. He had killed him along with his Sultān and came to him with a robe of wizārat. He was.....from that glory though he was wise. Man is honoured or dishonoured by test. Reason professes to seek perfection with steadiness therein. Possible life gets frightened imagining with falsehood to find a way. He is relieved as Bajr Khān is relieved. His information comes as his relation with his murder and murder of his Sultān with him. There is disgrace for the world. I refused to accept his perfection naming it imperfection. Hence patience is exercised in case of death and calamity. He came out from this world free and his name remained till eternity. Lofty praise of 'Abdul Hamid, son of Yāhyā, son of Sa'eed al-'Āmari, the eloquent secretary is previously written as stated by last of literary scholars

* Original Text, p. 306.

Jamāluddin Muhammed as reported in explanation of a pamphlet by Ibn-i-* Zaidun called "Sarh-ul-'Uyun." He was a teacher of boys at Kufa. He then came to him. He associated with him and then broke off with him. Then came the news of Khilāfat. Marwān prostrated before God. His friends too prostrated except 'Abdul Hamid Marwān said to him, "Why did you not prostrate?" He said, "Why should I prostrate when you are with us, that is, with Khilāfat." He said, "Do you draw an omen with me?" He said, "Now. Prostration is good and he prostrated." He was secretary of Marwān during the length of his Khilāfat. He was the first to receive praises for chapters of books and utilized eloquent brevity in some of them while in others there is excessive expiation as circumstances demanded. In regard to brevity, some of the 'Āmils of Marwān guided a black slave to it. He ordered him for acceptance to write concisely. He then wrote, "If I got colour worse than black and eulogised least one for guidance." In regard to proximity, when Abu Muslim wrote an invitation to Bani 'Abbās, he wrote to him, "It is from Marwān, a letter to conciliate him and to guarantee him what is read, no difference took place between friends of Abi Muslim. It was large in size carried on a camel. He said to Marwān, "I had written a book. When he read it, his plan got null and void. If it was that it was destruction." When the letter came to Abi Muslim, he did not read it. He ordered that it should be consigned to fire to burn. He wrote on a sword and threw it to Marwān.

The sword erased lines of eloquence
There left nothing for you for the absentee.

When the demand became severe upon Marwān, and famous routs followed, he said to 'Abdul Hamid, "People are in need of you for your good manners. The wonderful thing with you is that he invites them to good opinion with you. You give them security. They will rise against me. Perhaps you will benefit me in my life or after death in my haram.

He secreted loyalty then displayed perfidy
Who for me with apology extends his support.

He then said, "Oh Amir-ul-Muminin! He who ordered me with beneficial orders for you and made them ugly for me but I exercised patience till God gave† victory on you or death with you. Marwān secretly killed 'Abdul Hamid. He slandered him in the island before Ibn-i-Mukanna'. He was his friend. They suddenly made demand of him. They were in the house. He said to those who entered as to where 'Abdul Hamid was. Every one of them said, 'I'. This created fear in the ruler. Take 'Abdul Hamid if you know him." Saffāh saluted 'Abdul Jabbār, the police officer. He placed a hot tray on his head and he died in 132. The aforesaid wazir compassed his death. The sword shone

* Original Text, p. 307.

† Original Text, p. 308.

between his eyes. He got no respite. The secretary Ḥamid met his death. He was in an open space. Their vakils said that it was good and nice deed. But afterwards, they became weary and followed the path of loyalty. There are the verses of Kātib :

Sorrow is sufficient for me for who loved I saw
Near, none but eyes interpreted.
I swore, if I had seen at the time of meeting us
We were silent and we spoke in privacy.

His prose consists of a recommendation for a person. My letter had the right to reach you as it had the right to reach me. He gave you a desired place and I find him worthy of his need. I permitted his need and he proved true to his hope. He wrote to represent in the manner of Bani 'Abbās the Black in correspondence. It is related from 'Isā bin Maṣ'ab bin Zubair may God be pleased with them. Maṣ'ab said to him when people of Syria had met 'Abdul Malek bin Marwān, the Khalifa in the plain and then they dispersed from him. "Oh my son ! I made your uncle settle firmly. Go to your uncle at Mecca 'Abdullah son of Zubair. Convey my salām to him and inform him with what he saw about the deeds of Syrians with me." He said to him, "Oh father ! I was not to invite you. I advanced upon him and went personally to my uncle and he informed me about your death. I exercise patience with you and fight on your behalf with one who-fights with you." Maṣ'ab said to him, "Oh son ! go and fight with the enemy. I will see you fighting. Be patient on your calamity. I am afraid of you. Be with him what I was to him. He did like that. Accordingly, the way in which he had received information about vicissitudes of* the world to make them fix before his eyes and to be with his praise in the present and the future. He did not hide for man in his fight with equals and behaved with feelings. Hardships become easy for him. In events of the world, he wrote what he saw in life as a disgrace. He advanced upon death and felt with him. He then thought of him. There was severity but not much for him. It was said that imagination is the most severe pain. He was guided to this that one who is killed of reason met feeling, honoured self more than one killed by valour. It is from the famous concise account of Abi Bakr Muḥammed bin Ḥasan bin Darid al-Azdi al-Baṣri, Imām of lexicon and literature. He was born in Baṣra in 223 and died at Baghdād in 321. In his verses, he addresses the world and complains against its hardships. He sent a man to I'timād khān. A wall intervened between his house and that of Āsaf khān. He got down at his house and inquired about him. He was informed that he was in the Diwān. He started thinking. His son Qutub Khān whom he loved most came to him as well as Miā Shaikh Hamid, son of Mawlānā Qāzi 'Abdullah al Sindi who†

* Original Text, p. 309. † Original Text, p. 310.

died at Medina. Burhān tried to win over the attendants. There was no way left to him except that a particular man must be with him. His association was business for him. He was in a royal prison. He was Yâqut Safr Sultāni titled Bahr Khān. He sent a person to summon him in the name of the Sultān. He came to him being freed from prison. He told him, "Will you excute my order?" He replied in the affirmative. How could he refuse to carry out his order when he obtained freedom at his hand. He told him, "I make you the head attendant." He made him wear a khil'at and promised to give him post of Ulugh khān. He saluted him when learnt as to what the world had planned with his master. He came to his service with a staff in his hand. He then sent a man to 'Imad-ul-Mulk. He approached the palace and saw Bahr khān. While walking, he went near him, suggested by his head to reject it and talked in Turki. He took advantage of his inadvertance and came out fleeing to the place of *naubah*, joined 'Imād-ul-Mulk and informed him about the event. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Ulugh Khān, Khairat Khān, mamālik of the Saltanat and all the attendants met together. They opened the stable which was a royal one and distributed horses among the maleks. They opened the arsenal, distributed arms, pulled out cannons. Jahāngir Khān presented himiself to a large gathering. The elephants were assembled. They guarded the treasure. They spent the night in complete preparations till morning. The stable consisted of fifty horses. In the morning, people of the kingdom assembled at the house of I'timād Khān among whom was the great amir Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri. I'timād Khān rode with a great cavaleade to the Pushtah Mahal. When he came to the expanse which was situated between it and the new building adjacent to it, he found 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Ulugh Khān with preparation and* assemblage as long as possible, in pain and mourning, gathered to proceed to Jituli. Muhānuddin (Burhān) was in despair for having murdered the monarch and I'timād Khān. There was none with him in the house except the party of Tiger-killers i.e. lion-fighters. Every one of them was sent for and equipped with arms, horses and gold whatever he could lay hand on. He had spent the whole of it in slaughter of the Sultān. There was nothing in his hand as well as in his knowledge. He won them over for war with what he had under the hand of the king to continue for the day. The decorator presented himself. He had a beard longer than that of Phraoh. He acted at times as an Imām for the Sultān for the prayer. He ordered his beard to be trimmed but he did not leave the growing place with skin of the cheeks. He did so. He then took bath, wore the clothes of the Sultān and his necklace. He sent for his horse and the canopy. When they were brought to him, he rode upon the horse and raised the canopy upon head and his follower-companions were in pomp. Sherwān Khān Bhatti was one of them. They left flesh upon the plank and dispersed

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* Original Text, p. 311.

from him. Mahān was the first to spur and goad and Sherwān Khān made him run fast by a blow and left him among the public. They seized him by legs dragged him upon head in the street and dung-hills and threw him to dogs and pigs, crucified him and burnt him. The crowd got down from horses and came to the place where the Sultān was martyred. They invoked the mercy of God upon him, got ready his coffin and carried it to Sarkhej and buried him in the mausoleum of his grand-father Muzaffer. It was by the side of his father Maḥmud.

> Sultan of Time, King Maḥmud at last
> Redwān ( keeper of paradise ) planted a rose-bush like his stature in the garden.
> When suddenly he was martyred by the sword of event like tulip
> He drove horse of desire towards the garden of paradise*
> The garden wore blue garment in mourning through violets
> And sprinkled blood of petals of rose in mourning for that cypress.
> When I desired the date of his death from the nightingale
> He said, " With a hundred thousand wails there did not remain a rose in garden."

They then held a majlis and I'timād Khān was questioned about the harem of the Sultān. He acted as a tire-woman to them. " Is there any one who has a child or who is pregnant so that we can wait for her delivery ? " He said, " There is a son whose name is Khalil Shah. " They all agreed upon his saltanat. The Police Officer went ahead, on horse-back with all his subordinates. The drum was beaten in front. His house was in the city. He was announced by name with a shout of " Amān, Amān. " It was the second day of the Sultān' burial. They met together and brought him for an oath of allegiance to him. He denied that he was not the person they sought. They hesitated to take oath. It was said that there lived in Ahmedabad a son who was about to attain to age of discretion. He was the son of Aḥmad, son of Muḥammed, son of great Muzaffer. They all agreed to nominate him as the Sultan. They sent 'Abdu Malek Ansāri titled Radi-ul-Mulk—a man of counsel of brilliant mind, an administrator, perfect in thought and intelligence to bring him.

Maḥmud was the last among the Gujarāt Sultāns. After the invasion of the Mughals, Gujarāt had developed and regained its lost prosperity. People repaired to it from different directions· He held the pious in esteem. He showered his obligations on all human beings. The faqirs had become rich during his regime. They were in a position to get agreeable food-sour as well as sweet. He who failed to obtain food, inspite of efforts was supplied in sufficiency through his favour at his call. Helpless men and women were given robes

* Original Text, p. 312.

in winter. They were given more than sufficient, when poverty was recorded by fate on their foreheads. He had issued instructions to his officers to purchase food and robes so that the poor might be happy in this world. If they received intelligence about the sufferings of poor men, they should supply them beds stuffed with cotton to the length of one hundred arms, more and less. They were sent to masjids, inns, serais and at every place. Many of them cut and sold out which was more than sufficient to them. He, therefore, ordered that * a party of such persons should be supplied with fire-wood and fire in public roads. They deserved to make themselves warm to resist cold. If they were inclined to a food of ambergris and musk and other mixtures, it was prepared in ghee and supplied hot to them in a measure of one ser. Sweet food was similarly given to them. When he finished his meals, and found the food delicious, it was sent to the faqirs in the inns. The faqirs ate this food to their hearts' content.

One of his pious acts was that he had dedicated the income of a village, Gandhar port near Khambhayat for the holy places of Mecca and Madina. Its income was one hundred thousand gold (coins). Indigo and textiles were purchased by this amount. They were removed in sultani boats to Ghogha at a distance of one day's journey from Khambhayat with ebb and wind. They were sold at Jiddah including all the necessary expenses incurred. As these were the sultan's goods, no customs-duty was levied on it at Jiddah. The merchants who found them of advantage to themselves, bought them and thus a great profit was obtained out of their sale. During his regime, the residents of Mecca and Madina enjoyed extensive means of livelihood. They were free from debt. The Usmāni (Turk) endowments came with the Egyptian Amir of hajis to help them at the time of hajj and some months of the year; while the Mahmudi endowments freed them from debt for the remaining months. He built an inn at Suq-ul-Lail in the vicinity of the Prophet's place of birth at Mecca. Another building was an ancient flowing fountain with a madresa by its side, a road, an orphan school, unoccupied piece of land and an inn at the gate of Umra. He also constructed a road on the way of Jiddah. In the year of his death, he sank wells on the road of Madina out of the sale of indigo in one thousand sacks. Āsif Khān had written to his vakil Sirajuddin (about it). Āsif was a guide to charitable deeds and pious actions like a doer inciting to action. He was responsible for flowing the fountains of water. This good deed of the Sultān will ever remain in Mecca. The birth-day ceremony at Mecca was the last of his † life. I remember it for the last fifteen years. I and Jamal-ud-din Muhammed Shams Khān son of Āsif Khān were together. He was the vakil of the Sultān at Mecca. My father Siraj-ud-din was the vakil of Āsif Khān and a deputy of Shams Khān on the maktab at the road of the fountain and the road under the

* Original Text, p. 313.

† Original Text, p. 314.

maktab. It had a copper net so big that a big cup used to come out of it. A party of men stood at the mouth of the net with bowls, cups and vaporous drinking vessels. Similar arrangement was on outside of it. When beams of the road were disposed to fermented drink in accordance with habit at Mecca on occasions of joy and pleasure, the announcer announced to them, "May God show mercy to those who went near it and drank it." When the feast of the birth-day anniversary held one day outside the masjid ended, lamps at night on the road presented an appearance of day. The announcer loudly made an announcement. There was none of the public who did not go near it and drink it. Men in charge of drinking-places in particular and the chief of the feast and the spreader informed the Shaikhs of retirement and the sufis. It was a public announcement. It was particularly meant for a party of faqirs and chanters of litany. They held lighted lanterns and censers of fragrance. The first party stood and chanted a particular linany. He did not increase it by reciting a couplet and its reply. He advanced least from ten short paces. They stood a second time with a particular litany (Zikr) of a couplet and its reply and advanced with short paces. They stood who desired this time to show themselves to the Nāzir (Superintendent) of the haram, āfandi, qazis, persons of rank, eminent men at Mecca who belonged to the Prophet's family. They advanced with raised things, great lanterns and candles in trays. Many increased and augmented their number and the censers were made broad with fragrant substances of four ratals when they approached the nobility of the haram, the sergents and the carpet-spreaders, they arranged themselves in a row of big candles. They came near the Nāzir and the other subordinate officers. In the interval, there were tribes near the road carrying bowls of sugar from which they drink showing "God forgave always who came near and drank." They* always hear the reply. An appreciated action on the birth-day of the Prophet. Gold cups were circulated by the carpet-spreaders of the haram in presence of the Nāzir and his companions. Out of regard for Āsif Khān and thanks for his claims: they practised it in the house of his son and his vakil in the maktab. They drink and applaud this innovation. May God forgive the master!

Nuruddin Mawlānā Shaikh 'Ali bin Husāmuddin descended so to say from the sky with piety. He came to see him from Holy Makka. All his desires got fulfilled. One day, he was present at the time of prayer. He was with him. He saw him performing wuḍu (ablutions). He continued with it for a long time. He used plenty of water for washing (hands, face and feet). He learnt about his weakness but he kept quiet till he was free from prayer. He was asked about it. He complained about what he had of evil thoughts. He said to him that he would, God willing, try to control them. He waited near him

* Original Text p. 315.

till time for prayer arrived. When the Sultān stood for wuḍu, the shaikh took a water-jug and performed legal wuḍu. It was out of good manners. Purification became difficult for him with a little quantity of water. He remained with him to observe him. He carried out all that he was ordered. The shaikh said to him, " If you want sunnat (rule of the prophet) to be effective, perform your wuḍu thus and make it necessary that way. May God help you in vanishing wicked thoughts from your mind! It was like that. The shaikh was present at the time of his performance of wuḍu. He washed necessary parts several times. It included blessings of the shaikh which assisted him to strengthen his determination. Evil thoughts got vanished. He washed with as much water as was necessary for his ablution. The shaikh returned to Makka in its season. He lived in the vicinity of an inn in the market of night where its residents spend their night. There is a spacions enclosure which is open for his followers and devotees from Sind. He had a large number of persons to maintain. He helped them in time when requested. The Sultān every year dedicated a large sum of money for his maintenance. His believers also sent him double that. The shaikh lived in Makka with great popularity. The Sultān of Rum received intelligence about him. He, at that time, was Sultān of Islām absolute and Khalifa of Allāh in the whole world. He was Sulaimān * Khān son of Salim Khān son of Bāyazid son of Muhammed son of Murād son of Muḥammed son of Murād son of Aurkhān son of Uthmān. He wrote to him requesting him for duā (prayers). He continued to meet him during his course of life. The shaikh came to Hind a second time. He met the Sultān. He was greatly pleased at his arrival. After a few days, the shaikh told the Sulṭān in majlis whether he would learn what he would teach. He said that he would learn with him. He said, " Weigh your orders in the balance of shariat (religion) to find whether they are in accord with them or not. The Sulṭān thanked him, for his efforts, gave his approval and ordered the wazirs to refer to him in all matters. The shaikh observed deeds and events for days and strove in formulation of laws. He issued those which were in unison with religion and discontinued those which were not. A great upheaval took place in laws and administration slackened. Customs and usages were abandoned. The wazirs felt the need to spend what was in the Treasury. The shaikh had compelled them to imitate the character of Shaikhain, may God be pleased with them. Time was propitious and the subject pious. A short period had not elapsed when his disciple gave up the admonition of the shaikh who was entrusted with the task of investigation of accidental matters. He found him to be most pious in the world, with pure personality, most accomplished in abstemiousness. The shaikh washed his hands off of what he had undertaken. He stayed but did not attend his majlis. When he clung to ' balance of religion, '

* Original Text, p. 316.

'Āmils of the world felt aversion to sit with him and mix with each other for audit and account. His disciples who had faith in him were near him. His greatest companion, on whose uprightness he had faith and who protected himself from doubts and suspicions whose name in short was Shaikh Chela. He ordered him to sit with the 'Āmils, hear them and inform him about the state of affairs after investigation. He sat, heard, investigated, informed and returned to them with reply of the Shaikh. Mutannabi spoke about it.

Oppression is one of the qualities of mankind, if you take
You are full of purity and perhaps you do not oppress.

His self refused but its qualities become similar to those with whom it associates. Only deeds are imitated in the world. It is blind towards them. It carries its owner to the path of misguidance. It does not leave behind two who did not strike; For example, company influences. The wazirs intrigued who behaved* with mildness and pleasure. He detested to drink water from a silver cup. He made it lawful. He steals silver to get it. Then in a case, a woman enters upon him at the instigation of a wazir. She had a jewel-studded ornament to be given as a bride to him. His wife accepted it in his presence. She went to the wazir to inform him about it. He went to the Sultān and told him that all legal and customary affairs had become null and void and religion is not free from fraud of bribery. The shaikh is a man of blessing. He is not an officer of the state. This woman gave bribe to his such and such wakil. The Sultān was reclining against a pillow. When he heard it, he sat erect and said as to where she came from. She was brought to his presence. He questioned her. She told him as to who accepted bribe. The Sultān sent for him and questioned him about that. He denied the charge. He accepted it from her. She said to the wazir to question him. She then said, " I came to you with him." She did it. The Sultān was impressed. He ordered the wazir to revert to old times. The Shaikh received intelligence about it. He came to the Sultān. He did not find his usual behaviour with him. He got up from the majlis. He did not return to his house. He intended to travel to Makka. He set out then to Sarkhej. The Sultān learnt about it. He sent a person several times with a request to return but he did not comply with his request. All the great amirs appeared before him to console him on behalf of the Sultān. The shaikh began to explain them as to what has been said about the world. It is related from the Prophet. May peace and benediction of God be on him that it was not good for any one of you to abandon this world for the next world but not the next world for this world. It was good for you to take from this and this. The tradition permits it. It is out of good manners to miss that which is not sufficient. God the Holy may bless you therein. It is related that a man

* Original Text, p. 317.

blamed the world before Amir-ul-Muminin 'Ali, may God ennoble him. He said, "The world is an abode of truth for one who regarded it as true; an abode of salvation to one who so regarded it; an abode of wealth who increased wealth therein. The revelation of Allāh came down. The angels said their prayers; the prophets were in a state of prostration; the saints had their appointment. They all got profit in shape of mercy and obtained paradise in it. He who blamed the world, caused harm in it, repented for separation, praised self, regarded its joys as joys, and calamities as calamities, as inducement and fear. The blamer of it has to give an account of it to his self when the world deceived you and when you blamed your fathers in calamity and your mothers in dust.

When you meet some day a pious man, get benefit from him
You had a day of bargain, live and get it.

The effect is restraint from censure and sacrifice with provisions and an inducement for gifts, an admonition with a warning; may God reward them for their deeds, increase kindness for them. God gives livelihood to those whom He wishes beyond enumeration. During the time the amirs were with him, the Sultān came to him and requested him for blessings with stay in the kingdom and to work in his world for his next world with his blessed company. He replied, "Verily Makka, ennobled by God, the Almighty, contains places of acceptance and prayers for you, suitable to condition and conducive to good for future. An old adage says that religion and world are two co-wives who never meet." There was convulsion in my heart. I liked to be here. I travelled from Makka to you with grace of God to see you. When I met you, as I stated before that it was through divine grace and disappointment that I suffered disgrace on examination. I learnt with experience that they are two co-wives who will never meet. He obtained the result so soon. I now made it necessary for me to set out for the House of God and pass life in its neighbourhood.

In Makka of time, there was purity for me
With excellent neighbourhood and abode
He lived in ease in neighbourhood of Lord
For that he lived in neighbourhood.

Now, Mia 'Abduṣ Ṣamad will be my substitute in presence and he is in accord with guidance. He is worthy to say prayer. He should be requested for that. I had permitted him for it. His prayer has the effect of being accepted. I admonish you for repentance to God in all states, execution of religious order, honouring members of God, association with the pious for a man is with one whom he loves.

I love the pious though not I from them
Perhaps God will give me piety as livelihood.

* Original Text, p. 318.

Usage of fakr ( piety ) should be respected. God knows to elevate dust it. I swear by God that He led me to fakirs for I will get fortune to: through them. It is in a holy hadis ( tradition ) ; Reduce yourself to with negation and do not fear One who is on Throne by negation. Ṣahihain ( True traditions ). The emigree fakirs came to the Prophet, peace and benediction of God be on him. They said, " Oh Messenger men of the blankets went up to elevated places and permanent bounties : wealth. " He said, " what of that ? " They said, " They pray as w they fast as we fast; they give in alms but we do not give; they ema slave, we do not." The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God him said, " Do you not know a thing which you feel earlier than they; them is superior to you, that is, none of them has done as you had They said, " Yes, oh Prophet of God ! " He said, " They recite " Holy they glory, " God is the greatest " and they recite His praise " Praise God, " after every prayer thirtythree times. Abu Ṣaleḥ, one of the na said, " The migrant fakirs returned to the Messenger of Allāh, may pea benedictions of God be on him. They said, " Our brothers heard abo the source of wealth is in what we do." We do like them. Messenger may peace and benediction of God be on him, said, " That is the favour comes to one Whom He wishes." Call for power and God gives from gift of kingdom. For this, thanks should be offered through charity speaks the truth and He guides on the path. He prayed to God, the Alr moved to the port of Ghogha and thence to Holy Makka.

Mirza Kāmrān son of Babur Bādshah visited Gujarat during his on the way to Mecca for hajj when he composed the following lines :

Fortune plucks bunch of grain from your harvest
Oh field of generosity !

A thousand are in comfort through you in every corner
It is due to your kindness.

I am a traveller, alone and a stranger
In your city.

He wishes to travel but has no provision
Showed his condition.

The Sultan wrote to the boatman Mandal Habshi alias Mushāl to carry Mecca in the boat " Muhammedi " belonging to the Sulṭān and Khwaja S ddin Lāri gave him one hundred thousand Mahmudis under the Sultan's

Three sultans died in the year 961 ( 1553 ). *

* Original Text, p. 319. † Original Text, p. 3

Three sultans died in one year
Hind was the abode of safety due to their justice.
One was Mahmud Shah, the King of Gujarat
Who was young like his good fortune.
Second, Aslim Shah, that mine of kindness
Who was a dear son to Sher Khan.
Third, came Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri
Who was a king-maker in the kingdom of Deccan.
From me, date of death of these three kings
What do you ask? "It was decline of kings."

*A section from the life of Sultān Mahmud as narrated in "Tuhfat-us-Sādāt" by Ārām Kashmiri.*

Mahmud sat upon the throne of Saltanat in the year 943 (1536). He was eleven years old. His mother was the daughter of Behrām Khān of the royal dynasty in Sind. He was born in the year 932 (1525). He made 'Imād-ul-Mulk Malek Jiv son of Tawakkal as Wazir and Daryā Khān Husain was made Majlis-i-Sāmi, a partner in administration of wizarāt. Ikhtiyār Khan was a tutor. He belonged to the category of wise men and scholars. A misunderstanding arose among them that he wanted to kill him and his brother Muqbil Khān and Lād Khān son of Muqbil Khān. It is narrated with regard to his murder that when the executioner placed the rope round his neck to stiffen it, he said, "There is no god but Allah" and was about to complete the formula of evidence, he was raised from the ground and remained crucified till he became cold. The rope was relaxed. At the time of taking it out from his neck, his eyes returned to the state they were in his life and he spoke the remaining part of the Kalima "Muhammed Rasul-ul-lāh and left the world. This event took place in the year 944 (1537). Some of them have recorded the date from "Banāhaq kusht bemujab." (killed him for nothing without any cause). Then Daryā Khān began to establish himself firmly in the office of the wazir. Fatu Jiv Khān, one of the maleks of saltanat saw it. He went out for hunting with the Sultān to the side of Mahi river. He collected an army and wrote to 'Imād-ul-Mulk from the side of Sultān to proceed to his assignment in Jhālāwar. He did so. The Sultān returned to Ahmedabad and after a month, he rose against 'Imād-ul-Mulk. A battle took place between them in the vicinity of Pātri Bajānah in the district of Biramgām. He killed Ṣadr Khān Zubari. He was a pivot among his maleks and captured Sharzat-ul-Mulk. 'Imād-ul-Mulk went to Mubārak Shah of Burhānpur. Daryā Khān marched with the Sultān in his wake to the frontier of Burhānpur and wrote to Mubārak Shāh to surrender him or to expel him. But he did not respond to him. A war took place between *

* Original Text, p. 321.

the two in the neighbourhood of Dāngri. Mahmud was victorious and Mubārak Shāh garrisoned himself in the fort of Asir. He left his elephants behind such as " Bawanbir," " Pāt Sangār " and " Asad. " The Sultān encamped at Burhānpur. 'Imād-ul-Mulk went to Qādir Shāh, ruler of Mandu. Peace was made with Mubārak Shāh on condition of recitation of the Khutba and currency of coinage. The Sultān returned to Ahmedābād. Daryā Khān behaved with all people in a praiseworthy manner. People offered prayers on his behalf. Mahmud was distressed mostly for 'Imād-ul-Mulk till he reaped fruit of his deed. Many allowances were given in his time. Firstly, he was very sympathetic towards deserving persons. The Records of the Sultān contained only the name, fixation and the date. When anyone presented himself before it or heard about him, he was ordered to be paid according to his name. It so happened that a man was to be paid an amount of money. His name was Rasul. The man paid the amount who in his knowledge bore the name of Rasul. The real Rasul came and reported that he did not receive money. The servant was questioned about it. He reported what had happened. He was asked to take back the money from him. Daryā Khān said that he had ordered to give it to him. How can the amount be withdrawn from him. The servant was then ordered to pay the amount whose name was written in the record. He was fond of lemons and joy. His pleasant habits spread among all citizens. There was not a house wherein there was no joy and gladness. He was devoted to pleasure and sport. It is said about the period of wizarat " Khus Hāl. " He continued for five years in it.

Couplet.

When the body of Moon is full of light
Pain of eclipse makes it afflicted.

It so happened that 'Ālam Khān Ludi, Ulugh Khān, Wajih-ul-Mulk Tānk and Alap Khan Khatri were his special associates. They were permitted to go to their respective assignment of territories. They delayed their departure to remain present in the Majlis. It was due to the relationship of Latif-ul-Mulk. He was handsome in appearance and in the prime of youth. Inspite of relationship, he was not allowed to present himself in the majlis of women lest some mischief may arise. Latif-ul-Mulk was always pained on account of his prevention. He met Khān and told him that Daryā Khān had decided to murder him in the promised majlis. Hence I pity your youth and have informed you out * of kindness. Ālam Khan and his companions were taken aback. They said, " We do not know the cause thereof." They were in a vaccilating state to accept the news as true or false. Inspite of this, they remained present in the Majlis though in a sorrowful mood. Daryā Khan tried to cheer them up and

* Original Text, p. 322.

make them delightful but it added only to their grief. He questioned them about the cause of it. They informed him on oath. He inquired about the reporter. They mentioned the name. It spoiled his drinking-place (creed) and permitted them for departure to their respective territory. He summoned Latif-ul-Mulk in the morning of that night and treated him with severity. He ordered his head and beard to be shaved, paraded him on a donkey in the city and put him in prison. He was rescued with intercession. He remained hidden till his beard grew. He then decided to go to 'Ālam Khan and reproached him for what he had conveyed to him out of kindness, and affection. Alam Khan felt ashamed before him. He told him to be patient till he killed him for his sake. 'Imād-ul-Mulk had taken refuge with the ruler of Mandu and lived there with his obligations. Formerly, he belonged to the Khan family of Mandu known as Mālwa. His name was Mallu Khan. At the time of ascendancy of Sultan Bahādur son of Muzaffer over the kingdom of Mālwa, he came over to his party. He was distinguished by the rank of proximity. When Bahādur regained his kingdom from the Mughals, he followed in the wake of Muhammad Shah, ruler of Burhānpur under the order of Bahādur. His son, Langar Khān son of Mallu Khan followed in the service of Bahādur and attained te martyrdom with him at Div. Muhammad Shah came to Malwa in the wake of the Mughals. He then returned to Burhānpur. Mallu Khan established himself independently at Malwa and governed it. Thus there was complete accord between him and 'Imād-ul-Mulk. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was appointed as Vakil of Sulṭān Maḥmud. The canopy of saltanat was sent to him by the Sulṭān. He was conferred the title by Qādir Shah. He was raised from the rank of an amir to that of the Sulṭān. He addressed him in person. He was shown kindness and afforded protection on his arrival. Daryā Khan was much affected thereby. He wrote to him from the side of the Sulṭān reproaching him for giving him shelter and ordering him to send him back or expel him. 'Imād-ul-Mulk replied to him that he had given up the sword and contented himself with aloofness from the world. As he was one of the old slaves (mamālik) of the state he was granted with scarce means of livelihood appropriate to his status. He was free from anxiety of saltanat. He lived there. Daryā Khan waited for his reply. He was not satisfied with it. He came out of the palace and proceeded to Malwa. The* Sulṭān encamped at the building Kahmad Halor (Khamandol). It was built as a pleasure-house on the bank of the Kankariya reservoir. Daryā Khān continued to live in his house at Ahmedabad indulged in his own pleasures. He used to present himself in the Diwān and go back. The Sulṭān was kept under surveilance. He was always under his guard of those in whom he had trust by turn. The Sulṭān was of few words, abundant in patience. He relied upon the fools but did not trust any one. Daryā Khān, remarked after a long period o

* Original Text, p. 323.

authority that it did not enter into his mind and he failed to understand whether he was an exemplary fool or a perfectly wise man. 'Ālam Khān received the intelligence that the Sulṭān was in Khamandol Daryā Khān was in the city. He was secretly communicated to go out to Dhandhuka at thirty farsakhs from the city. Daryā Khān did not allow any one to go to him whom he did not trust except Chir gir, the sparrow-killer i.e. a hunter of sparrows to be with him who was trash, when he sported with him in hunting sparrows. He had grown old in his service and acquired nearness in service. It was not in the nature of such persons to have understanding, sagacity and wisdom. Maḥmud found him trustworthy in preservation of tongue and guarding of secrets. When 'Ālam Khān communicated to him about his coming to him and he heard it from him, he pressed for acceptance and returned to him in a stipulated period. He acted accordingly. On the promised night, he presented himself beneath the wall of his house from the side of 'Ālam Khān who came riding and Maḥmud got down from the parapet to sit down in the bhal driven by two horses in accordance with a custom in Hind to ride in haste like a litter in Rum. The driver of the bhel strove to drive fast while Chir Jiv was on horse-back near the stirrup along with other horses of 'Ālam Khān. Early morning, they reached Jānbu in Jhālāwār. The governor of Jhālāwār was Wajih-ul-Mulk. He stayed with him. He then journeyed to Dhanduka. Both of them met Ālam Khān and alighted in his house. He gathered recruits in preparation and sent for the amirs of different places for performance of ceremonial duties to the Sultān. Mujāhid Khān Behlim, Ulugh Khān Dotāni and Alap Khān Khatri responded. Daryā Khān went as usual from his house to the Diwān. He was informed about the departure of the Sultān. He turned to his companion Fatu Jiv Muhāfiz Khān and said to him, " What do you see* in this event ? " He said, " You did not listen to me when I told you to blind him and place a child in his place so that you may be secure from him upto a particular time. Now listen to me what I say to you before he gathers power and strength. It is possible to raise so and so from the grandsons of Aḥmad b. Muḥammed and hasten to fight with him. " He then raised one of the grandsons of Aḥmad and titled him Sultān Muzaffer and marched with 60,000 horse to Dholka. 'Ālam Khān came out with the Sultān from Dhandhuka with 12,000 horse to Dahurka in the district of Dholka and at a distance of seven farsakhs from it. Both the amirs encountered at Dahurka. 'Ālam Khān was posted on the right wing while Mujāhid Khān was in command of the left wing while his brother Mujāhid-ul-Mulk of the Sultān was in the centre. Wajih-ul-Mulk Tāj, Ulugh Khān Dotāni Afghān and Alap Khān Khatri were with him. On the side of Daryā Khān, Muhāfiz Khān was in command of the left wing. He was brave and it was said that he was a very wonderful man. How he

* Original Text, p. 324.

repulsed his similar opponent. Muhāfiz Khān's brother Shamshir-ul-Mulk was in command of the right wing. Daryā Khān was in the centre with his Sultān. The vanguard of both the armies consisted of experienced warriors. It so happened that 'Ālam Khān and Muhāfiz Khān bore the attack of the vanguard. They fought like two sheep butting with horns till two sky hours. Muhāfiz Khān then fled to the centre. Soldiers of both the centres of armies crowded together with swords. It was a severe fight. The large number dominated over the small one. Maḥmud returned to Rānpur at a distance of ten farsakhs from Danduka to the west. He then went to Kot Pālia at a distance of five farsakhs from Rānpur under Sirohi in the district of Sorath. 'Ālam Khān fled to Sahādah on the bank of Sanbhar river at a distance of seventeen farsakhs from Ahmedabad to the south. Daryā Khān returned victorious to the vicinity of Dahurka ? ( illegible ) Dholka and encamped there. It was the strong fortune of Maḥmud that the soldiers of Daryā Khān came over to the side of Maḥmud. Within two days, 12000 horsemen assembled around 'Ālam Khān. Daryā Khān saw his soldiers deserting him and going over to Maḥmud. He returned to Ahmedabad to his men who closed the door and forbade him to enter. He returned from the doors to the window called Khidki Parambur, broke it and entered from it. He conciliated his men with gold. They took it during day* time and went over to Maḥmud at night. The Sultān marched to Ahmedabad. Daryā Khān became afraid of the citizens. He took the treasure and harem in company of Muhāfiz Khān and repaired to the fort of Chāmpāner and ordered for defence of the fort till arrival of Mubārak Shāh. He then proceeded to Burhānpur. The Sultān entered Mahmudābād and marched to Chāmpāner and ordered to besiege the fort. Muhāfiz Khān made utmost efforts in defence but it happened as is said :

If you come out against benefactor
It is the crooked sphere that you have to come with inverted head.

The Sultān displayed the highest kind of valour on the day of conquest of the fort. He had a canopy over his head. He had killed a party of men around him. He was steadfast. Afdal Khān tried to turn reins of his horse but he did not obey him and ordered him to raise the canopy to move it to a side to affect ignorance of his station to men of the fort but he forbade the movement. It was the victory. Muhāfiz Khān went up to the highest place on the mountain called Muliyah. Then certain persons came to him who put his hands to his neck and made him stand to the right of the Sultān. He ordered to imprison him in the fort. There was a secret room ( cave ) where Daryā Khān had hidden the treasure and the harem. There were in his harem Patra kind of women which word means young girls who sing and dance. Their

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* **Original Text, p. 325.**

number was more than five hundred the like of whom were not found in the country along with their ornaments and garments. Daryā Khān had invited him one night to his house and pleased him with the festival. It was a majlis where there were singing and dancing. Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri was with him. At the close of the night, Daryā Khān closeted himself with those whom he loved and left the Sultān alone. He then secretely whispered into the ears of the Sayyid and said, " Did you see, he left me and closeted himself." He replied, " Patience. Every one of these will come to the Sultān." When all of them presented themselves in the majlis at Chāmpāner, the Sayyid was present. " He said, " This is what I had said to you in reply. They are in the majlis. " The Sayyid quoted a saying in Persia, " However late, the deer is in claws of the lion. " The Sultān stayed for months at Chāmpāner and then returned to Ahmedabad. 'Âlam Khān was robed and raised to the manṣab of amirship, called the Commander-in-chief. Ashraf Humāyun Burhān-ul-Mulk Banbāni * was appointed a wazir. He was the most pious man and followed the path of religion.

'Âlam Khān interceded on behalf of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He was his friend and his intercession was accepted. He arrived from Mandu to the Diwān of the Sulṭān. He was distinguished with the assignment of Broach. Jir Jiv was honoured with the title of Muhāfiz Khān and promoted to the rank of proximity. When he met with the recklessness of the cup and got intoxicated, he thought that none was equal to him in power. He talked whatever he wished. The amirs felt hurt thereby. In the meantime, 'Imād-ul-Mulk presented himself for bidding farewel for departure to Broach. The Sulṭān turned to him and showed him favour and permitted him to go on travel. Jir Jiv was in intoxication. He uttered some wild words before the Sulṭān in connection with old change and entrustment of the new charge. He said that it was like that. He was Sulṭān ' Alāuddin, brother of Sikander Ludi. He was in the battle of Dahurkah in concert with Daryā Khān. Similarly, Bikan Jiv Shujā ' Khān was also in the war. He supported them with the canopy. Accidentally, the Sulṭān ordered to kill both of them in an arbitrary manner without referring to the Wazir and the great amir and kept it a secret. The administrators were aggrieved thereby. ' Âlam Khān said to ' Imād-ul-Mulk, the brother of Sikander Ludi that he was kept in the murdered state for the three days. He approached the Sulṭān to permit him to bury him. When he presented himself in the Diwān and the Sulṭān wanted to hide him. Muhāfiz Khān asked to enter and to take leave. He laughed in a strange manner. The two murderers and others of his group said, " What have you got to do with it ? March to Broach and invite them to the gallows. " ' Imād-ul-mulk got inflamed with wrath, went to 'Âlam

* Original Text, p. 326.

Khān and informed him of what he had heard from him and said, "If you intend his life to an end, then kill that fool." He bade adieu and started for Broach. 'Ālam Khān, Burhān-ul-Mulk and the amirs met together and agreed upon his murder. 'Ālam Khān rode with arms, stood at the gallows, brought down the dead body and got it buried. He then entered the palace and sat in* its masjid and besieged Maḥmud continuously for three days. On the fourth day, Maḥmud sent Burhān-ul-Mulk to 'Ālam Khān but he was in the masjid with his arms and questioned him about his desire. He replied as he was from the side of the Sultān, he did not rebuke him. We are the Sultān's servants. Jir Jiv sent him to us. He is not a member of the Diwān. Forbid him from sending. The conversation prolonged between the two. Burhān-ul-Mulk and Afzal Khān saw Ālam Khān and both of them said to him that there was much time but neglect it for the present and that they would do it at the proper time what was in the mind. He said, "listen, we salute the Sultān and return." The Sultān showed himself, the amirs appeared in his presence. He sent some one to Muhāfiz Khān telling him to be at his place and that if he came, he would be killed. Pride brought him to the royal presence. The amirs observed ceremonial etiquette and kept themselves standing. The fellow came, he was intoxicated and stood to the side of prop of the throne in a reclining manner. 'Ālam Khān saw him. He hinted to his men. Sāleh b. Hadyah titled Lādat Khan turned towards him. He ran away from him to beneath the throne of the Sultān. One of them caught hairs of his head, pulled him and killed him. The Sultān tried to prevent him from so doing but the amirs were excited with wrath and so none heard the Sultān. He stabbed him on stomach with a dagger, Alap Khān caught his hand and it was slightly hurt. Voices raised. Muhāfiz Khān was dragged by the leg to outside the majlis. The Sultān experienced what he had experienced with Daryā Khān and 'Imād-ul-Mulk.

> Any one who favours a trash, is not a king
> There is a difference between a trash and kingship.

The amirs decided to guard the Sultān by turn—one day 'Ālam Khān and Ulugtim Humāyun Taghāi, one day Shujā'-ul-Mulk brother of 'Ālam Khān and Wajih-ul-Mulk, one day, Mujāhid Khān and Mujāhid-ul-Mulk Behlim. They reduced the Sultān to such a state that he could not play polo except in the palace. Mujāhid Khān was physically strong and pot-bellied. Shujā'-ul-Mulk cut jokes with him. His wazir Tatār-ul-Mulk was much affected thereby. The amirs held consultation and decided upon blinding the Sultān. They became† careful about his exit and waited for a child. They then said, "there is no need to nominate any one to the throne. Let us divide the territory among us. Every one should hold charge of his territory." They thus planned for division

* Original Text, p. 327.

† Original Text, p. 328.

that this territory should be his, that one for so and so etc. No body mentioned the name of Mujāhid Khān. Tātār-ul-Mulk inquired about the share of his friend. Shujā'-ul-Mulk replied, " The belly of Mujāhid Khān, not to speak of territory for him. " At first, Tātār Khān feigned inadvertence at the speech but was much affected. He used to come and go very often to the Sultān. The Sultān conveyed to him intelligence he had from the amirs. It was said by him, " I am pleased with murder but not with blindness. " One night, Tātār Khān came to see him and told him, " I convey to you what the amirs are upon. Mujāhid Khān has 12000 horsemen to follow him. They all will present themselves with arms at the issue of his order early morning. The Sultān will have a canopy over his head. He should announce to plunder 'Ālam Khān and Wajih-ul-Mulk. This was arranged in concert with Mujāhid Khān and his brother at the time of watch ( naubat ) at night. They came to see the Sultān and swore for the same. At the time of last hour of the night, the Sultān rode with a canopy over his head and elephants of naubat in front. When he came out of the palace, the citizens began to pour in from every direction. They talked among themselves that an announcement will be made for plunders. Tātār-ul-Mulk walked ahead with an army. The Sultān joined him at Jamālpur. The people returned with timber of ceilings, and doors. The Sultān returned from the gate to the palace. It is said that 'Ālam Khān spent the night in drink and sport and slept at the close of night with members of his family. There was uproar of the people. He was impure due to cohabitation. He poured cold water over his head, came out of his bed-chamber, rode the horse of naubat and came out of the gate. There were horses in front, he entered among them, killed one of them and came out from their midst. A party of men followed him. Sāleh Muḥammed b. Hadiyat and his brother Shaikh Arzāni Multani were with him. They stood face to face with them but were killed. It was during this interval, that it became possible for him to come out.

*A portion of his life-sketch*:—' Ālam Khān went to Pethāpur. He wrote to Daryā Khān, who was in the Deccan apologizing him for having expelled him and summoned him back to him. He accepted his invitation. Both of them* met at Dai ? Parah ( Baba Piyarah ? ) Daryā Khān said to him that his Alap Khān was at Ankleswar and he might help him in hour of need. If he met him, he might aid him with something. If you meet 'Imād-ul-Mulk, there is no fear. 'Ālam Khān went to Ankleshwar with 500 horse and alighted in his house but he was at Broach. 'Ālam Khān sent a person to him complaining about hunger and asking him to give something to eat. Alap Khān was his friend but not under these circumstances. He refused to send him help. He had, besides, alighted, in his house so they were asked to quit with as much help as they

* Original Text, p. 329.

could get from the host. Alap Khān informed them accordingly. He said to himself, "His alighting in my house, has ruined me as he ruined my house" and reported to 'Imād-ul-Mulk to come. 'Imad-ul-Mulk's return to Gujarat and charge of Broach were due to him. He had to meet him under pressure of politeness. He sent a person to him conveying that his arrival in this manner was not in keeping with the occasion. Now that, this has happened, the meeting should take place at night on such and such a side of the river. They met. In the course of conversation, 'Ālam Khān said to Alap Khān, "I am in this trouble while you are in a state of mildness ( bidding me farewell ). He accepted his welcome as it took place. You are censured. 'Ālam Khān said to him, "we are not censured." I have extricated myself from his claws. You are in it. How will you be spared in safety ? Now the thing has passed, if you wish the life to prolong, we and you agree upon something. I had not killed Muhāfiz Khān but under instruction of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. I have no other guilt except this. 'Imād-ul-Mulk accepted it. Whatever you did, it was an assault of stability. When you killed him, nothing prevented you from guarding yourself. Now the lion is without a chain which should have been in his neck. How can you be in captivity ? Ālam Khān replied that there was no fault in accordance with nature. 'Imād-ul-Mulk gave him the expenses. Alap Khān similarly helped him. 'Ālam Khān went to Daryā Khān. When he met him, Daryā Khān said to him, "But cash of the time." He showed empty hands. The object of the meeting was to make them together from that day and it may become difficult for them now to go to the Sultān. It would have become impossible to unite both of them. The Sultān received intelligence about them and the petition of 'Imād-ul-Mulk for intercession for them followed in its wake. The* Sultān acceded to his request. In the meanwhile, 'Ālam Khān wrote to Sayyid Mubārak to send his brother Safdar Khān to be a guarantee in sending his family. The Sayyid informed the Sultan about it. His family was made safe. His wife and brother were now in his charge. The Sayyid kept Safdar Khān near him and sent his wife to him. In the meantime, SādhuMānek on whom he relied came to him and one night came out with Safdar Khān. The Sayyid was much affected thereby and felt ashamed before the Sultān. The Sultān refused to accept intercession of 'Imād-ul-Mulk and wrote to him, "you are mine in place of uncle but it does not befit you to be near you 'Ālam Khān and Daryā Khān on the bank of river in your region. Come to be immediately after reading the letter. 'Imād-ul-Mulk excused himself for coming due to assembling of soldiers. The Sultān sent a second letter of summons. He replied that he committed an offence when he collected an army without an order of the Sultān. The Sultān was obliged to send the great Sayyid 'Arab Shāh Bukhari to go and bring him by catching his hand. The Sultān rode to the

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* Original Text, p. 330.

Sayyid 'Arab Shāh and gave him trouble to go to 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He replied to the Sultān to act every time according to his advice. But he should not trouble the faqir beyond his power. The Sultān placed his hand on the Holy Book, took an oath saying that he would do no harm to his person, wife, reputation and wealth. The Sayyid turned to Afzal Khān and said that the Sultān was young in age while he was an aged wise man and that he should not trouble him with such matters. Afzal Khān Mianjiv replied, "I also take an oath of the Holy Book and make you easy in mind from side of the Sultān and that he should not hesitate in undertaking this mission of embassy. He should seize his hand and bring him. Sayyid 'Arab Shāh proceeded to Broach. The Sultān marched to the side of 'Ālam Khān and Daryā Khān. Both of them were in Chāmpāner. The Sayyid met 'Imād-ul-Mulk and said to him, " Malekjiv, what did you write ? " 'Arab Shāh comes and seizes him by the hand. " It was not good on your part " I inform you that the Sultān and Afzal Khān, both of them have taken an oath of the Holy Book in my presence and after that you know the movement of people of the world but I do not know that but look to your welfare and start otherwise it is left to you to do whatever you like. There is* no danger to you. 'Arab Shāh, by his arrival, imposes a duty on you. If you agree now, it will be much easier for you in keeping with modesty. Just then 'Arab Shāh stabs his body with a spear and faqir has no power over anything except this." He advanced his view. I have done what I had begun with. 'Imād-ul-Mulk replied, " Mirānjiv, you have grown old. You stand at a door from he who had taken an oath on the Holy Book. If he acted contrary to it, he knows it." He then ordered the drum to be beaten and came out with the Sayyid. His friends met him and said to him, " you inform the Sultān from us. You have now approximately 15,000 horsemen. We go to certain frontiers and a war had taken place between the Sultān and 'Ālam Khān and Daryā Khān. He has invited you tomorrow for peace. He replied, " My life, and my age do not bear resistance to the Sultān. In short, he came to Chāmpāner with nearly 12,000 horsemen in uniform. Sayyid 'Arab Shāh went to the Sultān with him. The Sultān was delighted by his arrival and paid attention to him. The malek made his servants to be present. It so happened at night that a voice which announced from the side of the Sultān was to plunder 'Imād-ul-Mulk. This happened within twinkling of an eye. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was Rustam of the age. He did not talk of riding to Broach. He caught hold of hands of some of his servants and said to them to take him to the pavilion of Sayyid Mubārak. He went there in the darkness of night. He came across a ditch of water on the way. He fell into it as did not know about it. The carriers had gone. In the morning, a seeker of water came to a ditch. He found a man in it. He extricated him. He was found to be 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He told him to

* Original Text, p. 331.

take him to the pavilion of Sayyid Mubārak. Half the life had parted from him. When the Sayyid learnt about this incident to him, he came out and took him to the tent. He asked him to go to the Sultān and plead him his old age. He would travel to Hijāz. The Sultān received this intelligence and was amazed at it. He had no knowledge of it. He made inquiries as to where it originated and who was the cause. A large number of persons perished in the inquiry. Some persons gave information about 'Imād-ul-Mulk. They went hither and thither in getting information about him. Ultimately, it was known that he was with Sayyid Mubārak. He went to him and learnt about the incident of Malek. He presented his request which was acceded to. He permitted Sidi* Birjiv and Sidi Amin Jiv, both of them were slaves of senior Jhujhar Khān. They took him to Khudāwand Khān Safi to salute him and put him in his charge. They had a letter with them for his preparation for hajj to Holy Makka. Both of them made him a prisoner in the days of Ramḍān at the time of breaking the fast. Birjiv gave him a cup of juice to drink. They stood with folded hands before him. Birjiv got frightened. The Malek said, " I am your humblest slave. What is the meaning of showing good manners to a person like me? But there is no remedy against order of the Sultān. He was taken to prison and entrusted to Khudāwand Khān. On 27th Ramḍān, the Malek was martyred. Under order of the Sultān, Sayyid Mubārak went to 'Ālam Khān and Daryā Khān. Both of them had fled away after the war. Hence the Sayyid came back. Nāṣir-ul-Mulk was one of his subordinates. They were going to the direction of ..... They went to Sher Shāh. The Sultān established stern authority after these events and the revolts subsided. Upto this, the matter is narrated by Ārām Kāshmiri in " Tuḥfat-us-Sādāt ". It is translated from Persian into Arabic.

This account is followed by the report of al-Arshadi Mia Sikandar, son of Rafi'-ul-Janāb al-As'adi, al-Amjadi—a combination of sagacity and management —Maulvi Mia Manjhu Akbar, may God make his grave fragrant. He wrote something out of hearsay and something as an eye-witness. Whatever is culled from it, is narrated in the life-account of Maḥmud Shāh. He compared al-Masnad-ul-'Ali, the absolute Nāib, my master and patron with patronage of Abi 'Abdul 'Aziz in his march to Mālwa. His reply was that there was nothing in the least in this kingdom. He had one-fourth of land of Gujarāt called bāṇth under him. It was in control of Rājput Girasia. Its absolute income was fifteen thousand horses. Some of them are Muslim and some Hindu. He showed the order. The Girasias assembled on prevention of that due to exit from the kingdom. They consisted of the girasias of Idar, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Banswādā, Lunāwāda, Rajpipla, Mahi coast and Ḥāvad. The Sultān resolved upon

* Original Text, p. 332.

victory of religion as far as possible. He prepared the amirs to go to different directions with an order for their carnage or expulsion from the kingdom. Their servants and pālki-bearers were to be spared from carnage. The Sultān prohibited celebration of Holī, Diwāli and construction of temples. He widened the* circle of Islām and introduced reforms as far as possible. Unbelief existed as it was. The Sultān fought with votaries of stone-images.

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* Original Text, p. 333.

## CHAPTER XIX

### *Life of al-Masnad-ul-'Āli Abil Kasim 'Abdul 'Aziz Āsaf Khān*

The author has based this biographical account on "Riyaḍ-ul-Riḍwān" written on the life of al-Masnad-ul-'Āli by Mawlānā Shihāb-ud-Din Aḥmad son of Hajr al-Hithami may his grave be sanctified.

*Name and Pedigree*: al-Masnad-ul-'Āli Āsaf Khān was a very learned man who put his learning into practice. He was a man of investigation and a perfect sufi. He possessed all the virtues essential for the next world as well as worldly gifts. He was a fortunate martyr. He was the greatest wazir in the kingdom of Gujarāt. His name was Abul Kāsim 'Abdul 'Aziz. He was the son of 'Allama (a very learned man), al-Mufti-ul-Hujjat (expounder of religious law) Shamsuddin Muḥammed titled Ḥamid-ul-Mulk son of Ruknuddin Muḥammed son of Jalāluddin Muḥammed son of Tājuddin Muḥammed son of Shāhu son of Takodar son of Jām Nanda al-Sindi al-Karashi. I heard it from 'Adwi 'Amari who informed me as having heard from authoritative persons that he was Makhzumi which perhaps traces his descent from Bani Makbzum. It is stated in 'al-Mahdi' who is to come in the last epoch that he traced his descent from Hazrat Ḥusain (the grand-son of the Prophet) may peace be on him and he was Husaini as stated in some accounts. In some other accounts, it is said that he traced his descent from 'Abbās, uncle of the Prophet; hence he was 'Abbāsi, I have stated in my book 'al-Mahdi' wherein I have collected several accounts on the basis of which he belonged to a branch of 'Abbās and a branch of Hasan (another grand-son of the Prophet) may peace be upon him. Hence his real pedigree was that he was Ḥusaini. The hero of this biography was born on Thursday night, twelfth of Rabi 'I, 907 (1501) and also it is in 899 (1494) at Chāmpāner. I say and that is on unanimity of opinion when it is said about his date of birth which can be had from Rahmat-ul-lil-'Alamin according to the Abjad system. He was born in the rooms of his father and brought up there on 12th, Rabi' I, 861 (1457) and died on 1st Ṣafar, 932 (1525). He was engaged in studying different branches of knowledge such as grammar, etymology and eloquence. These branches of knowledge were given precedence as they were current among men of that region as they were regarded as bases of prime importance in understanding difficulties, clarification of hidden meanings, rectification of language and knowledge of verities of eloquence which are found contained in the Kurān. He then devoted himself to the study of religious sciences under Kādi Burhānuddin al-Naharwāti. From all the sciences that he acquired one was that of the Tradition. Kādi Burhānuddin was the son of the

learned scholar who held fast to externals of shari'at. Besides, he was right path. Shahābuddin Aḥmad known as Makhdum Barāi Kabir (grea the beginning, learning propagated through him in Gujarāt as he kne people of Gujarāt very well. He, my father, brother of Makhdum Ish grand-father, sons of uncle, all of them were familiar with local people. I at Naharwala in the year 900..... He then returned to those first sc such as logic, philosophy, usul (fundamental sciences) and medicine. H read with Khatib Abil Faḍl al-Gazruni, the author of Hashia on Baiḍāwi as Syed Abil Faḍl al-Astrābādi, one of the greatest pupils of 'Allāma al-Mul al-Jalāl Dawwāni. His shaikh (teacher) gave preference to him at Holy may God increase its wonders and praised him as is the wont in exaggera paying respect to the learned and the pious men and those connected with to them. He said that he saw that man and met him and that he belon the Shāfai' school of thought. It was an ambiguous problem in boc Shāfa'ism and that he overcame its ambiguity with ease. The problem i a person who says prayer performs as required a prostration of error prostration of deliberate error al-Rāfa' says in his valuable book that on prostrates deliberately is equal to a prostration of error. This was a difi for the theologians agree upon calling it erroneous prostrations. I told hir there was objection for the same. He was of opinion that this order was in small text-books of the Shāfai's but there was no authoritative stat about it in this glorious book. There is reference to subtle, wonderfu investigating problems in it or balancing statements or such other things which are done alone and appropriated on which the Shāfai's depend stated. If it were an objection, it is not imposed upon in other books. I virgin till now and it is not deflowered as they wished. I did not agree tc decision. To split up its treasure is not pardonable and it is not a sym make it lawful. It has reached me from his shaikh al-Jalāl Dawwāni wh said that no problem was hard from my investigation in Rāfai' and Raw then said to him that the permissible prostrations for one who says prayer looked upon as prostrations of error for he performed them as those of er was the basis agreed upon. It is probable that a performer of prayers aba it or does it as required by them as error. When it was deliberate, our fi differed therein. A party of them said that there are no prostrations in int for it is not proper to compel disturbance to a designer of it for its virtue on himself without any excuse. He said that most of the persons prostra he deserves its merit by amends and renouncement of its deficiency on th of one who commits an error. Similar to this difference is the differe scholars in respect *of deliberate murderer. Is recompense better upon* The Shāfai' as well as most persons replied in the affirmative. For it is with mistake and reparation in case of excess. Abu Ḥanifa and laters sai

there was no recompense on him for his offence was more serious than that of unbelief. Its acceptance is upon its supporters and actors who deliberately break fast during the day in the month of Ramḍān. It was vicious for those who did it. This was a clear proof before us. Difference is possible. The assembly then broke up. The Khān, may mercy of God be on him was in extreme joy and exultation on account of it for we saw a person near him with justice and true knowledge worthy of him. He displayed his scholarship at its place which was not equal, nay, not approachable.

He always rose to, by slow degrees, ranks of felicity and perfection. Signs of nobility and good luck displayed themselves upon him so much so that the Sultān Bahàdur Shāh chose him for his hazrat ( presence ). He looked at him with an eye of his greatness. He tended him with his patronage and showed special favour towards him. He recognized his worth for wazirship and invested him with much authority in respect of state affairs. He first titled him as Ḥabib-ul-Mulk ( friend of the state ) and then when the wazir Majadud Din Muḥammed son of Muḥammed al-Iji titled al-Masnad-ul-'Āli Khudāwand Khān became physically weak to discharge duties which the highest post of the wazir demanded of him at a ripe age chose him as a wazir. When he learnt about excessive disposition of the Sultān towards him as well as his increased kindness, he was appointed as a substitute by posting him among servants of the saltanat. He was posted as an officer among those who were conversant with state affairs. He was found to be congenial and agreeable for the kingdom, for magnificence of the saltanat and weltare of ryots. His proximity to the Sultān increased. Perfection became perfect in his eyes which was not attained to by any other person. When the Prime Minister learnt that there did not remain for him any state matter, only the figure remained with him. He tendered resignation of his post as a wazir. Sultān of the great kingdom gave him charge of ministership and titled him as al-Masnad-ul-'Āli Āsaf Khān. He continued in that post till Sultān Humāyun fell upon them. He sent him with harem and treasure to Holy Makka. He reached there in the year 942 ( 1535 ). He had great love for learning and learned men. He was at the landing place near the port of Jiddah when he saw residents of Makka whom he knew, he inquired from them about learned men, their conditions, their researches and their pupils. In this way, he learnt about scholarship and rectitude about every one of them. He wrote their names and thus he acquired knowledge about eminent men and their condition before meeting them. When he arrived there, I did not salute him as was my wont due to my not mixing with people mainly men of the world. This famous Khān was not with us. He was an eminent man of the world and a wazir. He sent a man of my acquaintance to me with excessive kindness and much love till a meeting took place between us. I then became acquainted with his excellent nature, and weighty words and deeds. He was a man of religion

and world. He was a man of wide learning and abundant righteousness. He was not of the nature of men of the world though he was of their shape and form. He was not too much of them. He had an element of Karashi who was of the perfectest element and greatest glory. Added to that, his principles were those of their neighbouring kings. From among them was Jām Nanda, who was the Sultān of Sind. He had thirteen sons. The eldest of them who ruled, died. The rest began to live on a part of the land they had. His grandfather Shāhu was from amongst them. They continued to have children till last of the race Malek Tājuddin. He left Sind fearing a revolt. I say and that was the beginning for him to overpower his brother. He said. He turned towards cities of Mandu and served Sultān Ghiyāthuddin Khalji. He honoured him and held him in esteem till he began to ride among seven hundred kings in great grandeur and with perfectly equipped armed soldiery. When a revolution took place in the region of Mandu, Malek Ruknuddin, son of Tājuddin came to Gujarāt and served Sultān Maḥmud son of Muḥammed Shāh. He was held in great esteem by him. He left many children most of them were wazirs and amirs still living. The first introduction in short comes to an end. Some needful addition follows which I relate.

*Second section of Kuraish*:—He said that there are many merits of them. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him said, " The Kuraish advanced, they did not advance. They learnt from them and they did not learn." These have been narrated by Shāfai' and Baihaki on knowledge from Ibn-i-Shihāb and Ibn-i-'Adi from Abi Huraira, may the pleasure of God be upon them. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him said, " The leaders are from the Kuraish. They have rights on you and for you similar to that is that you are to ask them for mercy, they will show mercy; you are to ask for arbitration and they will do you justice; they will enter into a pact and you are to fulfill it. " Tradition narrated by Aḥmad, Nasāi and Dia-ul-Mukaddasi. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him said, " Kingdom belongs to the Kuraish, magistracy to the Ansārs, call to prayer (azān) to the Ḥabshis and loyalty to the Azdis. " It is narrated by Aḥmad and Tabarani. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him said, " The Kuraish is like strength of two feet to the non-Kuraish." This is narrated by Aḥmad Ibn-i-Hayān and Ḥākim. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him said, " Look to the Kuraishi and take them by their words and spread their deeds, " as narrated by Aḥmad and Ibn-i-Hayān. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him, said, " A spark of the Kuraish is better than a spark of other men. " Shāfai' and Baihaki. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him, said, " God favoured the Kuraish with seven qualities which were not given to others before them and which will not be given to any one after them. God favoured the Kuraish for verily I am from

them. Prophethood is in them. Embassy is in them. Giving water to others for drink is in them. Victory over elephant is to their credit. They worshipped God for ten years without worshipping any one else. God revealed chapters of the Kurān to one among them. None is mentioned in the Kurān except they. For example " For the covenants (of security and safeguard enjoyed) by the Kuraish " Bukhāri in his History, Tabarāni, Hakim and Baihaki. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him said, " Love for the Kuraish is faith, hatred for them is unbelief, love for the 'Arab is faith and hatred for them is unbelief. He who loved the 'Arab, loved me. He who showed hatred to the 'Arab, hated me." Tabarāni in Awsat. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him, said, " God selected the 'Arab from among sons of Ādam and chose Maḍar from the 'Arabs and Kuraish from Maḍar and Bani Hashim from Kuraish and chose me from Bani Hāshim. Hence I am from among chosen men to chosen men. He who loved the 'Arab, loved me. He who behaved with rancour with them, behaved so with me." Ḥākim. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him said, " He who abused the 'Arab is a heretic." Narrated by Ismā'il son of 'Ubaid, son of Rafāa 'Umar son of al-Khattāb, may God be pleased with him said to me that certain persons of Bani 'Adi said to me that they met the Prophet and said that the Kuraish met together; the Anṣārs and the muhājirin heard about it. They said, " One day, a revelation descended on a Kuraish. I went to the Prophet, may peace and benedictions be on him and said, "My community had met for you; they came to you or go to them. He then came out and said, " Is there any one among you from strangers? They said, " We have allied ourselves with you along with our cousins and clients. He then said, " There are ninety oppressions for my friends, from you there is value for those who fear God. I do not know people who come with deeds and they come to me with loads. By God, I am not independent of you from God in anything." This tradition is narrated by Abu 'Abdullāh Muhammed-bin-Ibrāhim bin Ja'far al-Yazdi in his book ' Amāli '. It is a famous tradition quoted by Ismā'il son of 'Abid son of Rafā' from his grandfather Rafā ' son of Rāfe '. In Bukhāri's ' Adab ' it is " People come to me with deeds on the Day of Judgement and they come with loads (of sins) on backs which will be thrown over." It is narrated by 'Umar, may God be pleased with him. He said that the Messenger of Allāh, may peace and benedictions of God be on him gave a sermon to people on unfairness. He said, " Oh men! Am I not better to you than yourselves?" They said, " yes". He said, " Verily I was at the reservoir. I questioned you about two from the Kurān and my family. The Kuraish did not step forward. You destroyed them. There are no descendants of them. With strength of the Kuraish, strength of two legs is lost. You do not understand the Kuraish. They are of greater understanding from among you. I informed you to look

after them with your wealth. In the sight of God, the good the Kuraish, the good the men. A spark of Kuraish is better than the spark of men. "It is narrated by Abu Na'eem in "Hulya". Again it is narrated by him in the same book that the Kuraish are leaders of the 'Arabs; they are leading virtuous men, and chief wicked men. In every respect, you do your duty as it should be done." Suli has extracted that "A man abused a Kuraishi and spoke ill when the name of the Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him was mentioned. He was brought before Hādi son of Mahdi, the 'Abbâsi Khalifa. Hādi summoned theologians of his age. The man was produced before them. There was clear evidence against him for that. The face of Hâdi changed. He bent his face and then raised it. He said, "I heard my father Mahdi as his father Manṣur having spoken who narrated from his father Muḥammed who from his father 'Ali who from his father 'Abdullāh son of 'Abbās, may God be pleased with all of them saying, 'he who insulted a Kuraishi insulted God. You, oh enemy of Allāh! did not bruise to desire that of the Kuraish so much so that you spoke ill of the Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him. Strike his neck." Some of the Ḥāfizes (who have committed the Holy Kurān to memory) state that this tradition is mawkuf (doubtful). It is also said to be marfu '(a tradition whose authenticity is traced from the prophet himself). I have concisely stated traditions about the superiority of the Kuraish.

*Third Section on his being a martyr:—*

Ṭabarāni has stated "A martyr does not find pain of death as one of you finds touch of a pinch." Similar statement is made by Nasāi. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "The martyr gives three things; firstly, a drop of his blood by means of which God forgives his sins. He who rubs dust from his face, will have as his wife the damsel of paradise. When his side fell, it fell into paradise." The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him, "The martyr pleads for seventy members of his family," as narrated by Ibn-i-Māza and Ibn-i-Hayān. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "The earth does not become dry with blood of the martyr till his wives come to him. There is an ornament in every hand of her which is better than the world and all that it contains," as narrated by Ahmad and others. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "There are seven qualities for a martyr in the presence of God; he is forgiven at the first gush of blood; he finds his place in paradise; he is adorned with an ornament of imān (faith); he marries seventy two damsels of paradise; he is set aside from punishment of the grave; he is secure against the greatest lamentation; he places a crown of honour of rubies on his head, which is better than the world and its contents; he intercedes on behalf of seventy persons." This is narrated by Aḥmad and others. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "A bite of an ant is more severe to a martyr than touch

of an arm, nay, it is more palatable to him than drink of cold water on a hot day", as quoted by Abu Shaikh. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "Verily, souls of the martyrs are in bodies of green birds like hanging lamps over the throne of God as gone to pasture from paradise according to wish, till they come back to those lamps. Their Lord informs them about some knowledge. He says to them "Do you desire anything?" They say, "What thing is there that we desire? We pasture in paradise as we wish," as narrated by Muslim. In a tradition as narrated by Aḥmad and others it is stated that "The martyrs are on a river bank at the gate of paradise under green domes. Their livelihood comes to them morning and evening from paradise." The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him, said, "Is there any one who intends to come back to the world after his entry into paradise? Only the martyr desires to come back ten times for death when he sees that favour," as quoted in Aḥmad and others. It is narrated by Amir-ul-Muminin 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, may God be pleased with him that "we were with the Messenger of Allāh may peace and benediction of God be on him and we climbed up a valley. We saw a youth grazing sheep he had. I was surprised at his youth. I said, 'Oh Messenger of Allāh! Woe to his youth! he should be young in the path of Allāh.' The Prophet may peace and benediction of God be on him said, 'Oh 'Umar! perhaps, he will be on the path of Allāh and you do not know it.' The Prophet then said prayers on his behalf and said to him, 'Oh young man! Is there none for you to wail?" He said, "yes. My mother." The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "He would become a martyr by sword if he were to be a martyr. Martyrs of my followers will be from a few sections: they are those who are burnt, choked, ruined, drowned and child-birth, one who is devoured by a beast and one who strove to change his self and to enrich it. He is a martyr," as quoted by Khitābi and others. Ṭabarāni narrates that Ai ṣāis came to the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him. They were weeping. They were informed not to do harm to the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him with loud voices. The Prophet said, "Leave them weeping always while alive. They will necessarily be satisfied. Some of them said, "we see your death on your bed till you die in the path of Allāh with the Messenger of Allāh, may peace and benediction of God be on him. The Messenger of Allāh, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "or there is no martyrdom without death in the path of God. Verily, martyrs are my followers with a short notice." He then mentioned as described above. Ṭabarāni narrates that he who is killed by an animal is a martyr. One who dies of consumption is a martyr according to Ibn-i-Kāne'. Death due to heat wave is martyrdom according to Dailami. Muslim says that one who dies of plague is a martyr. Shaikhen state that one who is killed for his wealth is a martyr. One who is killed for

the sake of religion is a martyr. Nasāi says that one who is killed for wealth is an oppressed person. For him is paradise. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "when a man dies without a child, will be in paradise for his descent being cut off, as narrated by Nasāi and Ibn-i-Māja. I say with confidence in the generosity of my Lord that I return to my birth-place and my birth-place is Makka, may God the Holy ennoble it with holiness as I begin and return here and death hastens on me, it is equal for me. It is nearer than jugular vein. I hope through the blessings of the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him to include me in the list according to this tradition. I am with he who is threaded in it. Khitābi says, "He who died of love and was chaste, died as a martyr. In another tradition, it is stated that he who made love, kept it a secret and lived a chaste life and then died; he died as a martyr. The author prays to God "Oh God, give me martyrdom in your path. Give me death in the city of your messenger." Fāruk, honour of Islām, may God be pleased with him, said, "Call me to you when I am at Madina." This was his prayer which was accepted by God. The Wazir lived a laudable life and died as a fortunate martyr. He met God between these two favours and ornament him with the highest heaven, place of man as choice. The Prophet may peace and benediction of God be on him said that "when God involves the faithful in difficulties, this trial is His Grace for him. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said "Calamities in this world are most severe for the prophets than the pious and then others. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "whatever is stated in the fate of the faithful man, is fixed. There would be no illness, no grief, no sorrow, no harm and no sadness. Complaint against fate is ingratitude and a mistake," as narrated by Shaikhen. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "God looks after his servant, the faithful in calamity as the father looks after the child with welfare. Verily, God protects his faithful servant in the world as an invalid is looked after by members of his family from food," as narrated by Baihaki and Ibn-i-'Asaker.

*Section four : Aman of the world and the Next :—*

May his grave be sactified said, "I had known that he was man of the world from outward appearance but internally, he was a great man of the Next World. Efforts in prayers and devotion were, as not heard of in others, found in him. Such efforts were made in learned men of practice and pious gnostics in the past. You will know that his extensive states and a description of his words and deeds. The world, its abundant wealth, retinue, servants, more or less, are not necessary for personal selves. They are for a party of great companions, may God be pleased with them, in the world. Its extension weakens thought for its control. Such persons were 'Uthmān bin 'Affān, 'Abdur Raḥmān bin 'Awf, Kais bin Sa'ad bin 'Ibādah, may God be pleased with them. Besides,

their hearts were not devoted to it. They neither stored up nor treasured up, nay, they distributed most of it in charity and spent the rest for good purposes. One from them utilized it in various kinds of charitable deeds. He was old and he had emancipated more than thousands so much so that one of them remarked that he emancipated thirty thousand slaves. He spent that amount for one out of various kinds of charitable deeds. From this, it can be conjectured that the world had no value, no status, no love in his heart. They had nothing in their hands and backs except their hearts. It had happened in case of Uthmân may God be pleased with him that he had equipped an army of poverty. He came to the prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him with ten thousand gold dinārs and passed on that amount into his noble hand. They did not attach any importance to the world nor did they think of its loss nor did they abandon reality of piety and abstemiousness. They displayed that their interiors were full of divine knowledge of God, the Great, manifestation of His greatness and His love. Their glance was at Him, Him alone. It is clear from what we said of him and evident from his guidance that the existence of the world was stripped of his hand. He did not feel any loss nay, perhaps, it was perfection therein. What is perfection? There is a statement of Abi Bakr, the sincere, may God be pleased with him that your world is for your place of return, your dirham is for your maintenance and that there is no good in a man without dirham as narrated by Baihaki. Think of these good deeds which I explained to you.

*V On the superiority of a grateful wealthy man over a patient poor man* :—

He said that the Khān was a wealthy man who expressed his gratitude to God for whatever wealth and bounties he had received from him. This is clear from the story of his life. Scholars differ on this question whether a grateful wealthy man is better or a patient poor man ( fakir ) is better. Difference on this is very long. The former is most correct as its most convincing proof is explained in "al-'Ubāb." Shaikh-ul-Islām Ibn-i-Dakik al-'Id said that there was no doubt in it. Those who investigate it, say only that they are equal in performance of what is necessary. Provisions of the fakir are additional prayers of litanies while in case of a wealthy man they are additional acts of alms and charity. A rule is that a deed in excess is superior to that which is less. There is no superiority for the wealthy ( ghani ). But manifest deeds done differ from that, they require superiority of remembrance ( of God ) over alms in wealth. A party of companions ( of the Prophet ) and those who followed them ( tāb'een ) had taken to it ( remembrance of God ). They said, " Remembrance of God is better than alms in wealth. " There is a tradition on it as quoted by Aḥmad and Nasāi. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him said as cited by Umme Hāni, may God be pleased with her ; she said, " I uttered ' God is Holy ' one hundred times and it is equal to release of one hundred slaves

from the children of Ismā'il, may peace be on him. I praised God by uttering 'Praise be to God' a hundred times and it is equivalent to one hundred saddled horses with bridles carrying them on the path of Allāh. I cited 'God is greatest' a hundred times which is balanced with one hundred fettered bodies which were accepted. I recited "There is no god but God" a hundred times and more. He said, "It is equivalent to a quantity which fills the vacuum between the skies and the earth and on the judgment-day, none will be elevated so much as your deed similar to that which you have brought. The patient fakir is more distinguished than the thankful wealthy man. It has no excellence other than what is stated. It is purification of his morals and good austerity with exercise of his patience on his poverty. I said "If we are secure in that without the grateful wealthy man. It needs no excellence. The favoured had distinguished himself with his excellence, nay, he is without the virtues of one who shows favours to those who deserve. Verily we are not sure of being so distinguished with that. On the contrary, the wealthy man, in his opinion, is similarly so. In his ease it is austerity with thanks, and purification of his characteristics of covetousness, stinginess, miserliness and vanity in the world, etc. from strange calamities which if one of them visited the fakir, he would be driven to purification of his morals and he would have tasted sweetness of his poverty. What I recounted and explained keeps off the attention of all sufis, may God be pleased with them, from the superiority of the patient fakir. The pivot of the path is on refinement of self and its austerities with the fakir. Most of the fakirs are rich. The cause of rash embarkation on it, is what I stated to be forbidden by many, nay, it is refinement and austerity in the grateful wealthy man. As far as I know, they are perfect in the patient fakir. Verily, the self knows its nobility and manifests its purity and solace for abandonment, as far as possible, of passions and pleasures voluntarily and not involuntarily. An angelic man's superiority is well-established. The man had established his authority over trials of troubles, disinclinations of passions and desires as well as deceitful tricks of carnality and its snares. Besides, mitigation and allay in prayers to the Nourisher is tolerated, nay, they are firm on them inspite of all obstacles and impediments, in the most perfect state. Hence, the angels are superior to man for they have given up carnal desires. That affair is necessary for them. God has not created them with that desire. They find no hardship at all in devotion to God, on the contrary, it is, in their respect, like breath in our respect. There is nothing in their prayers other than we have in our prayers. Our prayers are complete and perfect. Man is superior to them (angels). Those who adhere to rules and regulations of the Prophet are of this opinion. Those who are very severe only disagree. The Mu'tazaliks absolutely agree or in some respects. It is clear from the story of Hārut and Mārut as mentioned in the verse of the Kurān. God endowed them with passion. They happened

to meet Zuhra (venus) before she was changed into the famous planet. She was the most beautiful woman of the world. God punished them with permanent punishment, as explained in the tradition. None of the commentators had any information on it. They disputed about proof of the story. I have embarked rashly on their dispute with correctness of the tradition. When that is spoken about, I explained what we said that the wealthy man found in him the impulses of greed, miserliness and passion. He was not disinclined towards devotion of his Lord because of them. He was engaged in his pleasures and passions, nay, he was impressed by the pleasure of God and approached Him in every thing. Wealthy persons spent money they had in justice for the soul. They did not keep it back for members of their family. The fakir, on the other hand, had nothing of the kind. Hence patience in poverty was compulsory for him. He was not in need of that superiority as their purity of character did not pass on as their excellence. I preserved it for that was important. It is clear from what we have stated similarly that poverty with patience was the early state of our Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him while his state of grateful wealthy man was at the close of life. The usual custom of God with his prophets and messengers is that their end is beneficient condition and stages. He completed with what was most excellent of nature-wealth with gratitude. It is an argument for poverty with patience to be superior.

*VI Traditions and sayings on patience in difficulties:—*

Tirmizi narrated from the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him that God the Great said, "When I look at my servant with his physical pain or suffering of his son or loss in his wealth, I meet him with good patience and I revive him on the day of resurrection with a balance fixed for him and propagate for him justice. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him, said, "I am surprised at the Muslim. When he is faced with a calamity, he takes it into account and exercises patience for it. When he receives good, he praises God and thanks him. The Muslim is rewarded for every thing including a morsel that he raises to his mouth. These are narrated by Tayālasi and Baihaki. Hākim narrated from Aḥnaf bin Kais that he said "After the speech of the Messenger of Allāh, may peace and benediction of God be on him, I had not heard a speech better than that of Amir-ul-Muminin 'Ali, may God ennoble his face. He used to say that there are ends for misfortunes for every one. There is an end for distress of a calamity. When a wise man is afflicted with a calamity, he should submit quietly to it till period of its passage. He feels it more before its period. Aḥnaf has similarly said

The world sometimes throttles with a necklace
Patience for it and not lamentation and yawning
After a period, there is an opening
Strangulation had increased for the troubled.

*VII Causes for writing this book:—*

One of the causes for composition of this book for the Khān is Elegy and Glory. Best verses should be composed for his virtues and should be put together what are remembered. God has favoured him among human beings with virtues and excellences. Hence, I intended to write about them and treaded this path in the clearest manner. Ibn-i-Sa'eed has narrated from ' Umar son of al-Khattāb, may God be pleased with him when his brother Zaid bin al-Khattāb, may God be pleased with him was killed at Yamāma. He said to Yatmam bin Nawirah, may God show mercy to him, "Oh Yatmam! I wish you to write elegiac verses for Zaid to enable me to weep as you wept for your brother." Yatmam said to him, " Oh Amir-ul-Muminin! If my brother was killed as your brother was killed, I would never have wept. I happened to go to 'Umar in his great mourning which was due to his brother. He forbade everyone who had taken to mourning. He then mourned for his brother. 'Umar used to say " Morning breeze blew and Zaid came with the breeze." He said, "There are many advantages in this story for elegy and verses on death as well as his praise on what is known about his pious life, and generous qualities. There is no criticism on the speaker nor any weight on the hearer, nay, it is a loveable affair. If it were not beloved, likeable and laudable in the opinion of companions, may God be pleased with them when 'Umar may God be pleased with him desired to weep for his brother Zaid. He spoke verses on it with his glory and strictness for truth. Truth speaks through his tongue. Then know that the contents of this book are about the good deeds of this Khān. It is a beloved matter as similar was the case in regard to great companions, may God be pleased with them. Great difficulties took place in his life which occasioned exercise of patience. Such difficulties happen in lives of men. They groan under them and exercise patience to lighten them. Their patience is verified. Members of the family get despaired of. The like of these was seen in case of 'Umar when they diverted his men from mourning. Yatmam said to him what was a warning. He turned to the people and mourned. Composition of verse was not which deterred perfection of man, nay, there are many things which are not contrary to perfection. Imām Muḥammed son of Idris Shāfai, ' may God be pleased with him said,

Were not verses a burden with the learned
I will today be more poetic than Labid.

As came from 'Umar, may God be pleased with him, who did not utter a single verse. He advised an afflicted person to exercise patience and console him. Yutamam saw great sorrow in 'Umar on death of his brother. His example was cited in evidence. He returned to mourning therein. This book reminds one of the great distress suffered by the Khān. Similarly, the Khān forgave

his enemies and envious persons always for what they did until God removed them to the abode of His mercy.

Second cause for composition of the book is as the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, " God does not thank those who do not thank people when they are elevated and appointed. He elevated the first and appointed the second and with the reverse. Meaning in every case is true. But he raised them. We mean, he who does not thank the people who did not applaud him for good done to him, God does not thank him and reward him. When his coffin passed by the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him, they praised him for good. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, " The paradise became necessary for him due to praise of people for him for his good. Another coffin passed by him, they spoke evil of him. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, " Fire of hell is for him due to dispraise of people for his evil. The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him, said, " You, martyrs of Allāh are in His world. " This tradition which we have cited as based on a riwāyat (statement) is elevated by them in accordance with the statement of the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him when he made absence of God's gratitude consequent upon absence of people's gratitude. It is a proof upon good fortune of the Khân that he had gratitude of the people and their praise. They were many and popular among his enemies and envious persons : " Virtue is in the evidence of enemies. " He hopes me with that gratitude of God for him and its reward. Their appointment is meant to be appropriate to the tradition. He who came to him was shown kindness upon hand of kindness. If he did not thank him with a prayer and praise, it was a proof that God did not thank him. He who thanked him, the envoys thanked between him and Allāh, the Great. It is hinted at previously in the address. This matter is important. The book is written in execution of this tradition. It will be permanent for certain thanks to this Khān from whom we have received obligation and charitable deeds which are known only to God, the Almighty. The meaning of ' he elevated the first and appointed the second ' is that he examined the second. God did not reward him and perfect him and the truth of gratitude is in what the poet said

I thrice benefited you with bounties
My hand, my tongue and mind hid them.

The meaning of ' appointment of the first and elevation of the second ' is eternal ruin. It is in accord with the true gratitude of God. Gratitude would be means for His bounties. Thirdly, Muḥammed son of Isḥāk narrated from his uncle Musā, son of Yasâr who said that one day 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, may God be pleased with him was sitting. He said, " Do you remember verses of Abil Lahâm al-Ba li ". None replied in the affirmative. Ibn-i-'Abbās composed his lines :—

My friend supported me about the world. Verily I
See the world. It died for me in the early epochs.
It was death. It had assaulted me with authority
It met me in my grave with stones over me.
It did not spare kings. They cut
Their fingers. World is a slaughter-house.
Ab'ad Ibn-i-Kahtān! I hope safety
For myself or I remain alive for that in hope.

'Umar wept. He stopped. Other persons recited these couplets. Ibn-i-'Adi recited them. There are advantages in them. Affliction is to be met with solace and patience. Every person should always remember death. Many advance traditions. in regard to destroyer of tastes. What is described in short about deed is much. There is not much in deed except its conciseness. This and that 'Umar said while weeping. All recited them. The man should remember in hours of distress what kings suffered in the past. He did not find any relation with his affliction in what others suffered. There is nothing for the man except solace and patience to be remembered for his friend and master who suffered affliction. When he remembered it, he should recite statement of Abil Lahām: Ab'ad ibn-i-Kaḥtān! I hope safety. The other thing for the man is journey to the grave and what happens there. He had become a corpse. Dogs and beasts seek him from what has been protected with earth and stones. He who pondered over it, lightened his distress and prepared pious deeds for himself to be his companions and factors of security. I preserved them and acted for safety. Fourthly, I hope for right pedigree with original righteousness. Fifthly, permanent remembrance and mercy on him for ever, so long the book lasts. He who saw him with nice qualities, abundant virtues, laudable characteristics, generous disposition, pious deeds, and evident states, would bestow mercy upon him and say a prayer. Hearts of the faithful are naturally on love of the pious men chiefly to be from among men of position for their learning. Permanent piety depends upon divine gift, eternal quality, brilliant obligation and manifest favour. It is good for him for that and a nice place of return.

*Evidence on his elevated character:—*

He was, with all his worldly grandeur, a man of extreme humility towards the fakirs, the learned and those connected with learning. This relation was the cause of his abundant obligation to them. Their visits had become frequent to him. It was so great that every one fell attracted to his house to take part in his assemblies. Every noble man, scholar and pious man of Makka was invited by his obligation. They paid visits to him, remained present in his gatherings and took part in religious and intellectual problems discussed in them. There was our shaikh, a gnostic leader with miraculous powers and compre-

hensive knowledge of various sciences and truths. He was Shaikh-ul-Islām, Tāj-ul-'Ārifin ( crown of knowers of divine knowledge ), Abul Ḥasan al-Bakri, aṣ-Ṣiddiki, al-Shāfai ' who never visited any man of the world except for a very rare and important affair. He found fault with those who visited them. When he came to Makka, he met him. He showed increased kindness towards him. He started visiting his house, dining with him and accepting many costly presents from him. When it was noised abroad that the great wazir had control over the treasure of the Sultān to be distributed at his discretion, among deserving persons of all sections. It was proved in several cases that those who disputed on false grounds were given suitable replies to baseless affairs and misguiding vices. There was no fault in its bestowal. Many persons were given help from his money. Those who disputed therein were the Amir Shams Khān and the Amir Kaiṣar Khān. Shams Khān was extremely malignant. When Āṣaf Khān received intelligence about the death of Sulṭān Bahādur he met the Sultān of Hijāz, ruler of Makka, Syed Abi Nammi son of Barkāt and informed him about what he had in his hand of him and of the saltanat and for expenditure. He questioned him as to what was of the salṭanat. A seal was placed on its locks till arrival of news from Hind as to who was the administrator of finance on behalf of the sulṭanat. He accepted the terms. That was immediately done in presence of the Sayyid, Afandi of Makka and Amin of Jiddah. Shams Khān etc. attendants and all subordinates including the administrator Āsaf Khān were responsible for spending money from the boxes belonging to Bahādur. They awaited till receipt of reply from Hind. They protected treasure with integrity without slander of envious persons. A great quarrel took place due to distribution of a small amount and lengthy charges were levelled. These persons were servants of the salṭanat such as Malek 'Abdul Wāhed Multāni, 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, Malek Ibrāhim, Ḥamid-ul-Mulk, Ṭāhir Khān and Khwāja Khalil etc. Ruler of Makka and those who were with him such as the eminent men of Uthmānia government loved the administrator ( Āsaf Khān ). They were all sincere with him. They composed certain verses on this dispute:

> Be patient on craft of the envious
> Even though patience be killing
> Like fire which devours self
> Is not affected by what it devours.

As it comes, he died at Jiddah. Hafiz, may his grave be sanctified said, " I was one day near him. The mamluk of the sultān came to him. He was sent to him by the Nāib ( Deputy ) of Egypt. He was Khusraw Pāshā son of Khairuddin Pāshā. He had a dazzling robe of honour and edicts with glory, respect and honour. That mamluk received the Khil'at ( robe of honour, ), placed it on sides of body, and face, rubbed it with them and left it. After rubbing it, he was requested to wear it gloriously for the sake of the Sulṭān in execution of the

order of his Nāib at Egypt. He refused to wear it on the ground that silk was not permissible to wear. He entreated but he forbade. He did not mind perturbation of the mamluk. Again it was a refusal to one who had sent it. It was harshness and generosity, a sacrifice for the pleasure of God, the Almighty against pleasure of other than He. Besides, he belonged to Ḥanafi sect which had scope for silk; nay, our creed (Shāfai') is strict in case of silk. But there is difference of opinion among scholars about permissibility of royal robes. Māwardi said that great men are permitted to wear for the time is easy for them. He advanced evidence for it in the action of 'Umar, may God be pleased with him with Sarāka when he decorated himself in a side of Chosroes with dress and crown. He permitted to wear gold garments in keeping with fashion of the time. To that extent, it is allowed. Badr Zarkashi said that it was allowed by later scholars. It is a delicate problem. Ḥāfiz said and I say, "When the time is easy, flowing garment is forbidden." Statements of scholars are clear that it depends upon common use and what the time says. The argument in regard to action of 'Umar, may God be pleased with him as stated, does not arise. Under necessity, it was encouraged for display of a great miracle of the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him as stated by Sarāka, may God be pleased with him. "How was that with you when you were in procession of Chosroes and a crown on your head?" The Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him, and his companions, may God be pleased with them were digging a ditch. They were in severest difficulty due to its narrowness and fear. The hypocrites remarked, "Are you not surprised as to how the companions will prepare it against the kingdoms of Persia and Rum. It was clear from their speech as they could not imagine of it. Our speech was without necessity. 'Umar, may God be pleased with him acted as it was a dire necessity. He did not wear the Khil'at out of fear in himself. He felt that harm may be done to himself or to his wealth or to his reputation if he did not wear it. He was not afraid of any of these things. He discarded unlawful dress from himself. He pondered over it and found it to be beneficial. It was a proof of perfection of this Khān, his freedom and his piety. The robe was a present from the sender for him. It was said that he abandoned it out of arrogance. It was so said by the envoy. With all that, he gave up the dress and bore what harm might come to him for it. He exercised patience upon bitter truth and adopted it with resoluteness.

A party of Shāfai' Persian scholars arrived at Makka. He arranged a feast for them on a very grand scale. He invited them as well as learned men of Makka etc. I was one of those who attended it. The speech flowed in that assembly to delicious tobacco water (hookah, hubble-bubble) whether it was lawful to drink or unlawful. Some of these who were present maintained silence. Some of the Persians decided upon its lawfulness with arguments. The Shāfai,

scholars did not explain anything therein. Origin in things is lawful till you know contrary to it. He did not know and he failed to prove that it was intoxicant and not anæsthesia. I said to this speaker, " Are you excused ? It is a characteristic with some of our shaikhs and shaikhs of our shaikhs. There are amongst them those who said without imitation of others that it was permissible. Again, there are others among them who proved therein intoxication or anæsthesia and made it unlawful. They made no investigation in this problem. If they meant to see truth of its legality, it is anæsthesia or intoxicant as explained by most of the Shāfai' scholars etc. All the scholars of the four schools of thought agree upon the unlawfulness of hemp (opium). Learned men deduced illegality of hookah-water from analogy. This conjecture is not proper. When a thing is decided upon agreement or concert, among opponents. I then learnt that, that scholar was from Kazwin. He disputed it as he loved animosity and arrogance. I said to him, " I did not quote it from Shāfai' school of thought. That is in books which they did not read, nor heard about it. Honourable is one who lives with knowledge of unlawfulness of wine and opium. (Ash-Shihāb son of 'Imād, Badr Zarkashi has written a book " Zahr al-'Arish fi'l Hashish. " I have stated it from the Mâlekites. It is found in explanations of Mukhtaṣari son of Ḥājib and Shaikh Khalif etc. What I stated from Hanbalis is in Furu' and Shuruḥ of al-Mukanna'. But the Ḥanafis had no text for it but it is a matter of illegality for them. Some of the Imāms wrote for forbiddance of mare's milk for its intoxication, anæsthesia and tobacco water is stronger in intoxication and anæsthesia than milk of the mare. Nay, great physicians are in concert about it, as for example, the great physician Ibn-i-Sinā in his Kānun etc. At that time, dispute on it was due to ignorance and pertinacity. That man insisted on his stubbornness and pertinacity. The Khān said to him, "It was mere arrogance. I repeated my statement saying that it was intoxication or anæsthesia. It on the whole rests on the statements of scholars. There is no difference of opinion among them that it is intoxication to be abandoned and rejected with greatest pleasure. This is specially so with wine and liquor. They are to be completely renounced and rejected. They anæsthesize reason. They arouse sleep, torpor, madness and anæsthesia. Hence they are undoubtedly unlawful. Ra'ees (Ibn-i-Sina) had explained in 'Kānun' that it was anæsthetic. They are harmful to lungs. He did not doubt about its advantage in sexual intercourse for it produces ear of corn. Hence there is need to take it for one of the causes. Most of the eaters take it with an intention for potentiality in cohabitation. As it was known that the ear of corn is obtained thereby in privacy. It is harmful. It should be remembered by every one as an important matter."

Three books composed by scholars of Yaman on the forbiddance of certain herbs. They are well known in Yaman and Abyssinia. Most of the people eat

them. I saw the Imām of the Zaidis Sharafuddin whether there was any harm in eating these vegetables. He announced a prohibition for their growth in mountains and fields. He issued a strict order for eating and cultivating them under severe punishment. Its cultivation became extinct in this region. The Shāfai 'Scholars then sought a religious decree in Yaman about it. Certain scholars wrote books on it and narrated in them the statements of certain scholars. All of them were unanimous about its forbiddingness. Those books were sent to Makka for appraisal and clarification of that problem. I then came across those books and learnt from the compositions that they relied upon its illegality as there was great harm in them. Their eating resulted in yellowness (paleness) of the face, and weakness of vigour, abundant flow of semen and debility so much so that it was not possible to control it. The eater had to let go his prayer for he failed to restrain incontinence of urine. He could not restrain flow of urine so much so that it flowed into his clothes, his thighs and legs in the masjid and posture in prayers etc. The masjids became impure as well as their clothes similarly. Because of this state, the race was cut off for potentiality being wasted. Women of Ta'az (a big city in Yaman) approached the Sultan 'Āmar bin 'Abdul Wahhāb bin Ṭāher and complained to him about loss of potentiality of their husbands by eating the vegetables in large quantity. The Sultān forbade men to eat them. Their lives became slack and the condition of that kingdom suffered due to slackness of men's power. The Sultān saw that abandonment of their eating was frought with such evil consequences. He saw that it was most advisable to cultivate them and called upon people to eat them. This was the substance of that book. Afterwards I learnt that the writers depended upon their harm. I said that it was essential to turn to physicians before making such statements on the subject. I went to the Khān, narrated to him the story and apprised him about the books to find out what was his opinion in respect of medicinal guidance. I talked to him about medicine and what was proper according to its principles. He said that it was most precautious to pass it for the opinion of one who was proficient in the science of medicine. The physician, Sayyid Muḥammed al-Ḥakim, the most learned physician in Makka was sent for. We informed him about the whole case. He said, "I know Alkât (vegetable). It was in Yaman. Whatever harm is stated in these books is in it. I had heard about it." I said to him to talk about the problem from the point of view of medicinal principles. He said, "It is difficult. Scholars of medicine and other speakers on herbs and vegetables do not mention this vegetable and talk on it. It is not possible for a physician to talk about it without increased information and experience. It maintains equilibrium of two sides and body to stabilize four humours and maintains moderation. When I found these three things, the physician then found that every one born after use of it suffered from anaesthesia or opposite of it. He was free from harm or benefit.

That became a rule. That was observed by physicians in most of the vegetables. They did not take from their statements except by experience with aforesaid restraints. We said to him, "Why did you not make experiments on these vegetables, and pass an order thereon till it is not authoritatively sought?" He said, "That was difficult at Makka for it is not moderate in climate and say that the body exists in moderation. It is not moderate now. During extreme heat, experiment became difficult. Hence nothing could be said about these vegetables." The matter ended there. I then came across an extensive book called "Takhdir-uz-Zāt min akalel Kaftat wa alkāt." Its substance is that eating of these vegetables should be avoided as far as possible. It was firm on illegality before it was religiously proved that there was a thing which was injurious. It was recklessness with religion and extract of rules for practising scholars. Arguments on unlawfulness as validated by the learned men on unlawfulness of hemp from traditions etc. are not there. It is argument without occasion. The scholars probe into the states of hemp. Nothing was produced in several ages till they knew its unlawfulness. They decided among themselves without opposition. The physicians were in concert with them so far as its harm and anaesthesia were concerned. It was not imagined that these unknown vegetables whose intoxication was not known and which failed to produce effects like new drink called Kahwa (coffee). Scholars of Egypt, Makka and Yaman etc. differed therein. Every one said something about it or wrote a book on it without in support of its harm or advantage. Truly speaking, there is no unlawfulness in it. In it there is a defect which is not related to like hot blackness. It was not found to be injurious. This is not its quality. On the contrary, our scholars have expounded that honey is a cure for mankind according to text of the Holy Kurān. It makes its use lawful for eating for there is no harm at all in it.

*On Kahwa (coffee)*:—

My shaikh is an authority and a blessing for facilitating the path and understanding of the meanings of revelation. He is a deep sea of learning and wisdom, pole of the circle of saintship. He is Mawlānā Shaikh-ul-Islām Abil Ḥasan al-Bakri, may his grave be sanctified. Coffee seeds were newly brought in large quantity in the cities of Yaman and Ḥijāj at the close of 9th century. They were pounded into powder, cooked and drunk in a liquid form called Kahwa. Many persons talked about it. Its drinking is permissible. Some scholars of Zubaid composed verses on it. They are nice couplets.

Kahwa of coffee-seeds is a drink, a solace
No delay, Jirjis
Filled in China wares
Eyes of Narcissus.

Bring me in early morning—Darkness fleeing
We drink it with even, odd number—Effusion coming
Said, My Lord! Expand my chest—For drinking.

*His incomparable qualities:—*

He said, "We have never seen among men of position and learned men coming to Makka so devoted to prayers as this Khān. He never spent his day and night except in devotion to God. It was his habit during his residence at Holy Makka. For ten years, none knew him, including the Turks and leader of prayers in the Holy Masjid. He never absented himself from compulsory prayer except for illness. He thus earned innumerable rewards as stated in traditions. When counted their number is so large that it comes to one hundred into thousand raised to three. Besides prayers, he recited the Holy Kurān and perused books on learning such theology, commentary, tradition, divine knowledge etc. He was also benefited by debates and discussions of learned men and scholars in his assemblies. He devoted himself to the study Tafsir-i-Baiḍwi, Kashshāf and marginal notes on it, Talwih, Sharh-i-Mawākif and margins on it, theological works such Hidāya and its explanations, Kanz and its explanations, Majma' and its explanations Bukhāri, Muslim and other books on Tradition with their explanations and margins. He spread knowledge to a very large extent at Makka. Many persons visited him for the solution of their difficulties in religious problems. He is compared to Barmecide minister in point of learning, encouragement to scholars and distribution of charity. Every year, he distributed one hundred and fifty boxes of gold so much so that residents of Makka and their women and servants were dressed in gold. He gave them sumptuous feasts on a very grand scale.

He said his mid-night prayer without a break even in travel. He recited every day one-third part of the Holy Kurān with meditation, sincerity and humility. In the month of Ramdān, he retired to a corner for prayer as enjoined in the Holy Kurān every year. There was a court-yard in the house where he stayed. Its gate was opposite to the gate of the Masjid situated adjacent to Madres-i-Bāstiyah which was in charge of Imām Bukhāri. He supervised it and lived there. There was a distance of nearly twenty paces of an average man between the gate of the courtyard and that of the masjid. During days of seclusion, a carpet was laid out in the Masjid from the gate of the Bāstiyah to the gate of the Duraibah. He sat there in retirement reciting the Holy Kurān along with others on one side of it. His special slaves stood in attendance upon him on one side. He stayed there personally on the road of the Bāstiyah during day-time and went to the masjid at night for additional prayers (Tarāwiḥ) and sat on the carpet till early morning. All sections of people—learned men, scholars, residents of the Ḥaram, inmates of the Bāstiyah, travellers, local eminent men etc. enjoyed meals at his table early morning for fasting. This

practice was also observed at the time of breaking the fast. On the day of 'Id, money and cloth were distributed to all persons. He distributed garments and ornaments so lavishly that men and women of Makka had superfluous money for maintenance and superfluous wearing apparel. On 'Id day, people went to him for greetings whom he feasted sumptuously. The Khān attended upon guests in person and made them eat to their satisfaction.

He had in him all the highest qualities of a gnostic ('Āref) and a ṣufi. He had conquered self and lower instincts by abandonment of all comforts, sport and play as well as epicurism, negligence and falsehood. He acted according to the tradition of the Prophet may peace and benediction of God be on him as related by Abi Zurrin. He said, "Oh Messenger of Allāh! What jihad is best?" He said, "The jihad of a person who strives to conquer his self and desires." Ibn-i-Abi al-Dunyā narrated in connection with taking account of self from Abi Bakr al-Ṣiddik, may God be pleased with him who said, "He who conquered self for Being of Allāh, he put faith in Allāh from his power of conquest." All his actions and deeds were similar to those of saints whose praise is sung in the following verses of the Holy Kurān:—" Persons who are indifferent to trade and sale and purchase for the remembrance of God." "Persons who are sincere in fulfilment of pledges they made with God." "And the servants of God, Most Gracious are those who work on the earth in humility, and when the ignorant address them, they say, 'Peace'." "Those who celebrate the praises of God, standing and sitting and lying down on their sides, and contemplate the (wonders of) creation, in the heavens and the earth; (with the thought): Our Lord! not for naught hast Thou created (all) this! Glory to Thee! Give us salvation from the Penalty of the Fire." "Is one who worships devoutly all night long, prostrating himself or standing (in adoration), who takes heed of the Hereafter, and who places his hope in the Mercy of his Lord?" "Those truly fear God among His servants who have knowledge:—For God is Exalted in Might, oft-Forgiving." "For believers are those who, when God is mentioned, feel a tremor in their hearts, and when they hear His Signs rehearsed, find their faith strengthened, and put (all) their trust in their Lord; who establish regular prayers and spend freely out of the gifts we have given them for sustenance: such in truth are the believers." "And those who strive in Our Cause—we will certainly guide them to Our Paths." "God hath purchased of the believers their persons and goods; for theirs (in return) is the Garden (of Paradise)." "Say the chattles of the world are scanty." "Oh soul in complete rest and consolation! Come back thou to Thy Lord—well pleased and well-pleasing unto Him." "Those who listen to the Word and follow the best (meaning) in it: Those are the ones whom God has guided and those are the ones endued with understanding." "Take and hold these with firmness and enjoin thy people to hold fast by the best in the precepts."

*Mawlānā* '*Izzuddin* 'Abdul 'Aziz al-Zamzami composed a panegyric in his eulogy describing in detail his devotion to God in Ramḍān and performance of Hajj as well as recounting the laudable qualities he possessed. An elegy has also been written on his death:

The earth kisses the servant throughout the year
For you is life with soul in supplication.
Nay, with life, for the residents of Ḥijāz
Hope you are alive after death.
He improves regions and districts
East and West, the wise men perceive it.
With plans in addresses, he widens
Judgment which turns deer with ease and amusement.
He helps in countries and Iṣlām
The pious, the learned and the scholars.
Generosity and knowledge are not humble in their regions
Bright with life from you, they had perfected.
And after approach, safety guides to you
Costly pearls organized in necklaces.
Diffuses, like musk, odour, in praise in space
Makes friendship fragrant upon soul ignorant.
Souls know with it and love
Knowingly and lovingly on the day of trial.
He who praised in dearth, grew up in
Plenty with rain upon it from you in profuse.
Without lightning time came
It was not said to be slow and not fast.
He was not hungry who moved like rain
And came to him and fell on sides.
It got covered with grass after its place of circuit and tended
Members of his family. What a pleasant and good life!
Rain came to me from sea moving upon
Sea but it fell ashamed from that.
It tasted like salt water at the time of drink
It was sweet and delightful in drink
Learning and generosity benefit its shores
For benefit, it is to be drawn when flowed
They prepared holy traditions when
Lies were told by those who narrated with blame.
Till verified by deeds of people
They proved true and ignorant men made mistakes.

His deeds gave evidence when renounced their tradition
In the rise of the sun which does not enrich you with removal.
He was generous who spread his good qualities
East and West and made them exemplary.
I mean Āsaf Khān 'Izzuddin our lord
God honoured him, honour of the enemy was forsaken.
He who took an omen with his auspicious name
He rose in elevation and loftiness over every high.
It was my responsibility with naming
'Abdul 'Aziz as was my right.
His claim with Masnad-ul-'Āli (lofty seat) was no news
In generosity he came with lofty authority.
His title Āsaf Khân Dawlat was not
Except when secretly seen it was not stationary.
His qualities and morals had reached perfection
Least of it in this description was perfect.
He was chief in learning but did not foster it with supreme power
Except he, the wise were misguided by it.
Most brilliant positions were below hollow of the sole of his feet
Eminence and loftiness were proud of him.
His nobleness preserved rank of his learning
It was high with its pinnacle and Suhā (obscure star) was lower.
Oh 'Abdul 'Aziz! God honoured you
Your fame extolled for learning did not become obscure afterwards.
Importance of scholars increased, you raised
With your good judgment as distinct from ignorant men.
When definite study became extensive
In religions, people of the creed acquired as lawful.
There was for people in Makka encouragement
Great (for knowledge); ignorant desired to acquire knowledge.
He who had no learning and knowledge, began to
Acquire learning even in old age.
There was reward for good from your Lord, from
This deed which specialized the nobles.
There came an order to me from your Excellency
With seal of the king of the time on it.
Its subject-matter, may his qualities be permanent
Glory of the malek, the Sultān and the state.
Had appointed the servant (poet) for instructing in madresa
Of brilliant foundation, adjacent to Gate of the 'Umra.
The servant kissed that order, then blessed

With honour and victory for the Sultān and mandate.
Similar good deed came to me for attendants
The Protector rewarded me with good which is trite for him.
With luminous star which is ascribed to Hajr ( Ka'aba )
Good partnership in good which came.
Came with humility in me. I was distressed for it
It obstructed for it did not come to me with justification
From where? To servant of the Sultān of knowledge
By God, if it were not for you, I would not have formed it.
For every good, time instructed me
You are the cause or obtained by me from you.
Allāh gives you what from Him, he hopes
World and Next world and I hope it is done.
I was generally in world of substance for you
I wrote, verily from it wherein I saw no power.
God altered my determination, I inclined to
Umm al-Kā (Makka); to it I travelled.
On land with ḥajis from valley of Zubaid and in
My heart was fire of ardent desire, embers blazed.
Till I entered into it, confidante with them
Responding humbly to God in supplication.
I perambulated the House seven times.
I retracted to foot of Ṣafa (a hillock in Makka) with desire to run
And came to Marwa (another hillock) bright and counted similarly
Seven times to constitute Sa'y (running) perfect.
Day on which Rabb-ul-'Arsh (God) perfected our religion
I stood in 'Arafāt (maidān in Makka) with fear.
With groups and hājis I uttered 'I am ready)
With flames and tears shedding.
So that as said by God sins fall off
And his screen secretly from above closes upon him.
By God, by God, firm faith
If separated, my hajj is not accepted.
I had talked to you about that time in open
God is intimate with them who are in lofty skies.
With prayers for you in that house and in
That time with my efforts I rose in assembly.
Similarly the night gathered, then in morning
And in Mina (place of sacrifice) since hajj is over and journey.
Oh well done! comes to you description of places of prayers for hājis
No exaggeration, we were safe who entered into it,

Manzils with my eyes if you see
With those groups of Allāh who had alighted
Drinking and flourishing for the times passed
With us; afternoon passed at its foot and vacuum.
And you are its sun on auspicious horizon
And learned men and scholars are in your neighbourhood.
And gate of your desire is open for them and with that
Your hands containing beneficient gifts.
Similarly in Makka, they were in safety
And happiness with you, the world was negligent.
When you are secretly and publicly in prayer,
You are not engrossed in sport and play.
Then stay, the night then spread its wings informing
This is your perambulation with near mornings.
Your fast for the month, this was his usage
On Thursday with it two had joined.
Baiḍ (fast on 13, 14, 15 dates of Muslim month) with seclusion for prayer
And forty days in devotion complete.
For you alms from its taxes
I did not praise you for that, most of them blameable.
Generosity, charity, obligation to relations and friends
Upon your hands with lawful drinks.
Or who to him emboldened for the bright ones (sun, moon) of path
Full moon with its brightness and the sun had set.
(He) who desired details of praise for you became helpless in it
Hence accordingly and sufficiently we describe short.
This and the chief Kādi, the crown, our master
Āziz of Umm-al-Kurā, the greatest with him, a man.
I turned to him from him as he accepted me
He turned away negation of hardship from me and removed grief.
I got organized in thread of his service
Along with those over whom he let down shade.
His kindness and obligation prevailed over me
I did not complain of wrong. My time became pleasant and moderate
Similarly, our master al-Kādi Husain, had
Purified souls and did not leave any weakness
God preserve them as hoards as they desire
Remove all harms and calamities from us.
Now for the servant, their third son
Your servants, all of them are noble.
Muḥammed, Abu Bakr and 'Umar

And from Muḥammed similarly, the last produce
Called Abal Ḥusain, his father selected for him
Of the same name, his teacher.
Hands kiss you all
And all of them for you are counted property.
God is always with them for reliance and adherence
They trust Him as is the wont of the trusty.
Then prayer be upon the chosen one who passed
And descendants. No servant returned without receipt.
After seventeen of Rajab
The month valued holy
In year fifty followed by its ninth
After nine hundreds he prepared completely.

He had an obligation of Masnad-ul-'Āli. He was at Makka for fast and hajj. He had something special with him, of repentance, sitting with him, praising him and also in hour of need. When he was in Hind, he every year corresponded with him in verse. He had deemed it necessary to pay him five hundred mishkāls (approximately ½ tola) of gold, a special gift of two hundred mishkāls of gold and generally like others, cloth worth one hundred mishkāls. Besides he wrote to him about his needs. When he received intelligence about his death, he composed elegiac verses for him.

Oh souls! for this event
Mourning has arisen high; it could not be destroyed nor demolished.
What a calamity descended in Hind. It had come down
With its strokes. Every religious man in Hijaz said (funeral) prayers.
It is the greatest calamity. It made
Boats and camels moving on sea and land.
News caught the ear. I heard, I carried it
On roads like unbearable loads of rice.
Disappointment spread over people of Hijāz after hope
Despair after hope is like a thorny shade.
People fell in anxiety and in heat
Excessive, tempers became immoderate.
Every eminent man spoke about kindness
And bounty adorned by scholars of the age.
My ear became deaf with mourning and I heard
Amirs who behaved like intoxicated drunkards.
He was a bringer of good news; with opposite affair that came
Made him swaggered through flight of this calamity.
My life has a combination of two opposites in constitution
And nearness of distance between party and strife.

Sun of human being had set just when it should rise,
Time of the rise of sun became like a child.
My heart screamed with paralysis on hearing news and from
Torpor with disgust, I became inconsolable.
On Āsaf Khān. I found him not separate from me
Or the soul reached from me to end of death.
My grief and grief of learned men is, without exception
On Imām with investigation of national sciences.
On the generous man whose qualities spoke volumes
To the perfect men with what I fostered on hope.
A martyr passed to abode of permanence to see
What his hand sent in advance his pious deeds.
He had prepared for him before death with deeds
To appear before Nourisher, Forgiving, Merciful, Most Generous.
The Skies and the earth wept for him when lost
Mid-night prayers from him without missing in the world.
His fast of thirst made him enter into
Gardens of Eden luxuriant in haste.
His deeds of goodness and obligation give him next day
Residence of pure souls with unchangeable shade.
He had secret prayers for which bear evidence
Places of masjid of Tāha (Prophet Muhammed), the Last Messenger.
And the Holy Masjid and Makkan do not quit
Their hopes of clouds which shaded.
He had many tawāf (perambulations) of the House of Allāh
He had much familiarity with the Gate of Allāh with fright.
With commandments of God, in general, fulfilling
Completion of Hajj functions in perfection.
All places of prayers testify as to how he spent nights
They passed completely with full moon therein.
The sun was there when he performed
Sun-rise prayers at glorious sun-rise.
Irrigating and pasturing for the days that passed
And we were in his bright assembly beside him.
Time precious, his face benumed
With inadvertence from life, his face benumbed.
His life tender with what was near him of bounties
Near attendants with intimacy to them.
The world looked askance at us and we suspected
Fraud when we were engaged
When it turned to us, its direction turned
Its hands from us for giving gifts.

Its wholeness diffused after healing and did
Not content with mourning with stationery effect.
Till we were over-thrown. We stopped fling
Their distress with a purpose for this glorious event.
Āsaf Khān does not reckon our grief
On you is restraint with detail, not concise.
We have lost you. It is loss of spring and would not
We find from you in exchange from loss.
Thousands of us give life to you when you gave life
For our good, not from negligent and base.
Verily, I weep for generosity which shone
Sheltered every one and impressed every friend.
I weep for you for learning and reason which were
Props of world and religion, for prudent man.
And for Ḥijāz and its residents when they lost
One of charity to them from you continuous.
And for fasts and enlivening darkness to
Time of death unfailing and unweary.
Traveller and resident without slackness and without
Helplessness margined him out of helplessness and inactivity.
You were sea of deep sciences and announced liberally
Out of beneficence. Every sea was in dis-grace.
What beneficence you gave lost its dignity by its shortness and deficiency.
The fountain does not contain so much water.
With his death died mention of generosity and wiped out
Mansions and usages of kindnesses.
I blamed the world for his death. It said, "I
"Consider sword superior to knowledge for blame."
I answered the call of death just when it shouted
To him and he went walking to it with slowness.
I strengthend its weakness in ambush. It remained and if
I gave preference to it, it was found in despair.
Verily, it was firm, cautious and stable
Its judgment was result not of fault.
Aḥmedābad is a place of fright
After refusal, it began with fear.
Maḥmud censured people at the outset when he began
To address people before.
Adverse wind of Kanbāyat blew with violence
Calamities blasted interiors of houses and places.
And the fire shot up with coldness of sun from madness
Of waves like the sea full of sand and mountains.

And Div was heavy with tricks and began
Therein seditions rumours of persons of tumult and bastards.
There was no blame on Surat to wear
Dresses of grief after adornment and decoration.
He died and brilliant Sultān of the place with him
On end of death inevitable in eternity.
Similarly, the Khalifa and victory of the Wazir with him for him
Would their death had been early time.
Pain of mourning and time of joy wear
Together. Every one was agitated with national grief.
'Abdul 'Aziz of respect what afflicted him
For gallantry of people of kingdom and states.
Respectable 'Abdul 'Aziz, what suffered
Spiritual guides, students and creeds.
Respectable 'Abdul 'Aziz what suffered
Assemblies of men of debate and dispute.
Our selves were screens for land of Hind
We verified that mourning was in death.
Since we became weak, there came to us breakfast.
The rich open gates of closed paths.
Peoples blame me for you. It they knew
My excuse, they would not heap blame and censure on me.
Everything which the beautiful turns down is accepted
Or would that I was so.
People of Ḥijāz regarded his door bad. Then how many of them
Had secretly received gifts of pride and their progeny.
He gives you and the man covers his face. Say
After covering the face, tears roll down.
His deeds proved true what was falsified not
Names of adversity from sake of generosity at the outset.
Look to his deed and abandon their talks
At the rise of sun which does not enrich you with cast.
He gives you cold clothes out of humility
It removes impurity of disgrace and disappointment.
In honour it is not similar to foolish arrogance.
He thinks that pride uplifts the base.
He was engrossed in learning and good deeds
He was not engaged in sport and play.
He always associated himself with men of learning
They alone were worth association.
They economise wealth in life and with that

Desire houses lofty.
In his presence and absence, he gives them
What is not with them, by God, in hope.
There came to me bright presents from him and they
All came to me without asking.
His praise, nay, thanks in death for I refuse
Increased beneficence of obligation in lavish from him.
Now that he is dead, it is my duty to sing elegy
Truly, for I am dead with his claims.
I was hopeful, this world benefits us
Through him and leaves complaint for forgiveness.
I did not think that the world would deprive him of
Life and so suddenly with murder and assassination.
Right hand paralysed with murder so sudden
With a purpose and dishonoured holy palm with paralysis.
Battle was order of the master and passed
His life which was previously in learning.
He who questions about the date, the hemistich
In reply 'Ankaḍa' (completed, 961–1553), and I stop.
Upon him, by God, I am full of sadness
I say prayer on his behalf till length of life.
I invoke blessings on garden of grave for adornment always
With pleasure and tears from sayer.
There was no sudden event in life
So glorious after this glorious event,
Habit of the world is neither grief nor joy
Rolls over people, high and low.
Descendants of Âsaf Khân, you are in your estates
Stars of elevation and good fortunes pour over you.
You are among them, of Kuṭb Khān for them
Kuṭb upon you, pivot of the affair in perfection.
They are eyes, I forget them and their world
And you are the pupil to those eyes of stinginess.
If your father passed and the morning followed him
Sun of the morning and for him the Brightener is near.
I follow your father and he left his character for us.
He raised as you raised him with load and burden.
Do with what he was pleased and lay foundation
On his nobility with generosity, learning and action.
If you received what you hoped from him and what
In mind you secreted of question and hope.

We surround Bait-ul-lāh (House of God) and strive in
Our prayers for you morning and evening.
Verily 'Abdul 'Aziz Zamzami, for him
Had love for your father in heart always.
He loved him for you out of love for your father
Love and affection would not dissolve for you.
I come to you with a poem which proves true
What I profess and free him from slips.
Mourning and peace to you
Turns from distance in absence with supplication.

In 943 (1536) he prepared himself to go to Makka with the treasure along with members of his family. It consisted of seven hundred boxes. He was accompanied by the amirs, Shams Khān, Kaiṣar Khân, 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, Malek 'Abdul Wâhed Multāni, Malek Ibrâhim, Ṭāher Khān, Ḥamid-ul-Mulk son of Shamsuddin Muḥammed Ḥamid-ul-Mulk etc. more than one thousand soldiers and attendants, such as, I heard Bilāl al-'Āmeri as well as myself. He saw the ruler of Makka Abi Nami son of Barkāt-ul-Ḥasani who became so fond of him that he continued to be his constant companion. Other scholars who enjoyed his society were Mulla 'Abdul Fattāh al-Kazwini, Ḥanafi Imām Syed Muḥammed Bukhāri, and Kāzi Tājuddin Māleki. It was the best period for display of his sagacity and management. He continued similarly in this state till end of his life. In the year of Hajj, I found him in great magnificence. Residents of Makka usually found him in prayers. It was his wont to wear the pilgrim's dress (Iḥrām), make sacrifice, supply provisions and means of journey. His prayers were heard as you hear the cry of pilgrim 'I am ready.'

At the second stay in the year 943 (1536), he stayed with a party of individuals. It was not his good stay as it was at the first time. In 944 (1537), Sulaimān Pāshā arrived at Makka with complete equipment of sea for proceeding to port of Hind known as Div. The Sultān of Turkey had ordered him to expel the Firangis from it. He was accompanied by the Amir Kāim Ḥamzāwi to carry the treasure to Makka via Egypt. The Pāshā proceeded to Div while al-Ḥamâzâwi saw the ruler of Makka where he happened to be the subject of biography and he insisted to take him to Egypt with him. In this matter, Āsaf Khān confessed before the ruler of Makka as to what had happened that he could not stay with him. How was it possible for him to defend against him? He granted him to do as he pleased. al-Hamazâwi was thus fully harmonized. He then looked at the ruler of Makka for what he had. He then gave advice to his vakil Sirâjuddin 'Umar al-Naharwāli, on whom he had confidence what to do during his absence. After performance of the hajj, he went to Egypt in company of al-Ḥamazâwi along with envoy of the ruler of Makka. Among those who accompanied him was the afore-said Ḥanafi Imām. On his entry

into Egypt, he sent to its ḥākim Khusraw Pāshā Hindi textiles and four boxes of gold with 'Umdat-ul-Mulk. He apologised him and went to his palace. The Sultān had gone out for hunting. When he came near, the Sultān sent him a gazelle which he had hunted and promised to meet him in the palace. The Khān went for a sea-ride. He had removed his Hindi clothes. He met eminent men of Turkey. It happened to him what had not happened to any one before. It was not heard of later on also. He shook hands and sat. He conversed without any mediatory. He said to the interpreters, "Say to him that I had specialised you for those things. I had taken them out for you as usual. You shook hands but you did not kiss my head. You placed it upon your eye. What do we mean it." He replied, "I saw hand of saltanat. I found it noblest. I did not give him my hand. I felt bad smell from the mouth. It did not come from within. He spitted it out and raised it to the main limb and placed it on the noblest part. It was out of good manners." I was surprised at his reply. He then said questioning him, "How was the incident in a country where there was a man like you?" He replied, "There is a consensus of opinion that the kingdom is conquered by sword and preserved by judgment. The kingdom of Bani Umayya declined. It did not last inspite of bravest man like Marwān. He exercised patience to the utmost limit. He was titled 'Donkey.' I did not find it in 'Abdul Ḥamid. Manṣur ordered for his murder. He said to him, "I spare you for your letters." His reply was, "Is there anything with which you harmed us?" That happened by their swords. I do not spare you. God may spare you. Know who argues with them. There is nothing. Verily, the kingdom belongs to God, the Holy. Besides, there was no reason for him to make excuses. The ruler of the kingdom acquired regions under his power without any possibility to people of the kingdom. In case of opposition to wishes, people of the kingdom became weak. The enemy became powerful in the regions. The Sultan was greatly surprised. He then said to him that he was much obliged. He questioned, "When you spent from the treasure, you are justified by authority and safe with argument. He then sought permission to send the seraglio of the Sultān to Hind. It was granted. He said that he was safe with regard to amirs of the public treasury at Makka and Jiddah. This freedom was granted. He said to the interpreters to question him something of benefit to him such as amirship of Syria and Aleppo etc. He questioned that one thousand ashrafis would be annually for registering his name in the record of favour. It was done. An account of the said vakil will follow in the book along with what came out of the order about requested rules received from the ruler of Egypt in connection with preparation of mediation for investigation of the seraglio. Amends would be made with the amount spent till the prohibitory order is shown. Details of it are in the book.

In the year 945 (1538) Sulaimān Pashā returned to Makka from Div. Āsaf Khān was there as well as his family. Daryā Khān Ḥusain was the wazir. He waited for the letter of Āsaf Khān written to him in 946 (1539). There were rejoicings for the arrival of an order of Sultān Maḥmud wherein he had expressed thanks for victories. It contained the conquest of port Basi (Bassein) by the Amir Shaikh Muḥammed Burhān-ul-Mulk al-Banbāni as well as prayers for his welfare. There was reference also to sending of desired purchases in exchange for nine boxes of gold with Ḥamid-ul-Mulk and Malek Abdul Wāḥed. The cash amount consisted of eleven sealed boxes with the seal of Bahādur. During his absence in travel in Turkey, ten boxes were spent there. The amount was spent in shape of gifts to the ruler of Egypt, his ministers, chamberlains, reporters besides thirty boxes as present to the Sultān. They were immune from audit and investigation through favour, regard and safety. In the fortunate season of hajj, so many deposits used to come which were not seen by the eye nor heard by the ear. Now we spent npon the amirs, soldiers, retinue, envoys of the saltanat out of purchase of chattels, goods, vessels and utensils of gold and silver. Every year seventy thousand mithkāls of gold arrived from the saltanat for residents of the Holy Places. Out of this amount, twenty-five thousand mithkāls were given annually to the ruler of Makka. Malek Firoz Sultāni died on his return from Madina to Makka. Malek Mukhlis Sultāni took upon himself the allowances of attendants at the gate of the Holy Place. It was an order of the Sultān for Firoz for bestowal of the title Khwās-ul-Mulk. When he found loyalty in him, he titled him Mukhlis in addition to the former title. He was worthy of the Khil'at garments. He was praised for seventy boxes by the Amin. Its expenditure was alluded to before and the rest for amends.

Sulaimān Pashā returned from Div. He was always rough in speech. Many a time, he sent some one demanding some jewels of the saltanat. When he was disappointed with the reply in silence, he connected it with ears of the seraglio. He said, " They will not part with them. Hence the reply is in silence. Were it not for regard of ruler of Makka and strength of his side times out of number, nothing was indeterminate. When nothing came to him from him at the time of his travel to Egypt, he sent an order to Amin of Jiddah preventing him from travelling to Hind. After his entry into Egypt, he first publicised that he was for preparation to Div. Then continuous news poured in with wrath of the Sultān on him. He addressed him, " I sent you for expulsion of the Firangis from Div and victory for its ruler. I did not send you for exercise of authority over the Muslims in Hind as well as not that you did at Zubaid and what you did with 'Āmir, son of Dāwood, ruler of Aden. It was possible for preparation to Div but there should be an order for preparation of boats to Egypt till then nothing would come out from the treasury. Hence it was difficult to come out of Egypt in this year. Besides, precaution is better. This is end

of the letter to Daryā Khān.

In the year 947 (1540), it was preparation for the seraglio and their safe arrival. Details of this are in the account of the Vakil. Āṣaf Khān then determined upon stay at Makka with the family till summons from Maḥmud. It has been narrated by me in the book. I heard about preparation of the seraglio for Hind. After his return from Turkey, Āṣaf Khān sent thing after thing for removal in preparation for Hind to the time of travel. He alighted with the seraglio at Jiddah. It so happened that the Sultān of Makka was hunting with his confidential persons. A messenger arrived from Egypt informing the envoy of ruler of Egypt in his wake for forbidding the seraglio to travel to Hind. He wrote to the Kāḍi Tājuddin in his handwriting about what he had heard. Distance of place of hunting was three days' journey from Jiddah. The messenger knew that he would be at Jiddah in the morning. They saluted the Khān saying that there would be no need during these three days. They would pass. He would be here on the fourth day at rise of morning when he would enter Jiddah. The boat would come out from 'Almin. Raihān Sunni wrote to the Governor of Jiddah from his side saying to him that on passing of three days, he should slacken work for want of a carpenter or implement or water and the boat should be at the harbour on the fourth day....not except himself. He wrote to them, rode an animal with a hawk on hand and kept himself away from the game right and left. The Egyptian Kaṣid followed him. He was not seen except after three days. Kāḍi Tājuddin presented himself in the majlis of the Khān and apprised him with the case. The governor also made his appearance. He met the Khān and went to the shore. On the first day, no artisan, no sailor and no tumult turned up at the port though nearby. They were free to put the boat in order. Next day, there was no wood (boat) at the port. It was without the cargo load. On the third day, there was no passenger to go up and no load to obtain. On the fourth day, it so happened that the boat moved from 'Alamin with the entry of ruler of Makka into it. The cannons were fired in his honour. They were in a large number. He first of all sent a man to rebuke the Khān for travel. When he apologised on the strength of a royal mandate for his call, the governor ordered for equipment of a boat. He wanted to delay it. He failed therein. The boat was like a cloud passing. He then ordered the army at Jiddah who had cannons with them to fire for knowledge of the boat to come back. They followed it. It was evening. They saw it in imagination. They moved in its wake for the night. In the morning, there was only their imagination. The Khān had instructed Malek Ibrāhim and Mukhlis Khwās-ul-Mulk al-Tawāshi (eunuch) and other persons in the boat to fight. First of all, they were helpless due to adverse wind. They then planned to sink the boat with whatever they had. But it came out safely to Hind. Its ruler solaced them. Those who had gone to the shore reconciled the

ruler of Makka. The boat then arrived safely. The family of the Sultān met Sultān Mahmud. Deposits arrived with deposits bearing the seal of (Sultān) Bahādur. From among those who came near, saluted Bahādur by placing hand upon hand of Āṣaf Khān. He said to them, " you are safe. Nothing was lost. I give you instruction in connection with the Ḥarim (ladies of family), Daryā Khān Ḥusain was one of those who presented themselves in the assembly. He was in charge of deposits. Out of....................regard, one hundred thousand mithkāls of gold in boxes came to ruler of Makka. There were cash and textiles of different variety with him at the time of travel to Turkey. It is reported that he said, " He who had power upon him and no knowledge came to his heir. They spoke truth about Allāh. He is powerful and trustworthy.

(*Note* :—Some irrelevant portion is dropped).

## CHAPTER XX

### *Abil Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh bin Latif Shāh*

Abul Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh bin Latif Khān ibn-i-Nizām Khān bin Shakar Khān b. Aḥmad Shāh b. Muḥammed Shāh bin Muzaffar Shāh ascended the throne at Maḥmudabād on 17th Rabi 'I, 961 (1553). The martyrdom of Maḥmud foreboded trouble; a fire arose, its sparks had prepared themselves* to fly and destroy those who were left alive. Stability of the kingdom had to be defended. The great amir Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri taking this fact into consideration, tried to subside the dust of wildness and to extingwish the fire of insurrection. He carried a water-skin over his shoulders to pour water over it and sprinkled it over its places of possibility for avoidance to meet it in the open field. How remarkable was it from one who was the amir, the Sayyid and whose name and tradition were mubārak (blessed)! The great amirs decided to nominate I'timād Khān as Regent of the state with the title of al-Masnad-ul-'Āli. His followers were all the residents including members of his family. His son Sher Khān was appointed Wazir of the State. He had attained to the years of discretion with complete confidence of his father who had appointed him as Vakil. He was designated as Wajih-ul-Mulk. The Sulṭān and the Wazir were equal in age. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was in a position of a Tutor. He had the following of all the aliens such as the Turks, the Habshis and the Persians. He bore the title of Majlis-ul-'Āli. Ulugh Khān Mandal Bārlakā continued to occupy the same post as in the regime of Maḥmud. The attendants who followed him consisted of the tribes of Mahras, Yafa's etc. Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri was the chief amir. He bore the title of Majlis-ul-Ashraf and his followers were all the Afghāns. Muhammed Jiv bin Bābu Sultāni was at Chāmpāner cut off from rest of the world as before as mentioned in the life-sketch of Maḥmud. The Sultān's martyrdom took place on the night of the 13th. At forenoon of the day, he was in the house of I'timād Khān. He was greatly attached to him. He fled away fearing that he would be connected with the murder of Maḥmud. It was verified by his presence at a distance of twenty farsakhs and more when the seeker went and came to the sought at 7 O'clock. In reality, it was a transfer of the kingdom from sulṭān. He met† him, and cooled his eyes by being near in that majlis. He was distinguished by a title and designation more than his worth. They were Majlis-i-Humāyun Malek-ush-Sharq. It was on Sunday and Monday that they met to distribute what was in the treasure. He did not claim anything. I'timād Khān was

* Original Text, p. 391.

† Original Text, p. 392.

specially favoured with jewels. They were within his ken more than gold and silver. They divided all the stores of treasure except that which was left in the name of salṭanat. He came out with the Sulṭān to Aḥmadābād on Tuesday. They continued to live there. Sayyid Mubārak returned to Maḥmudābad and lived there carefree from different sides. During the regime of Maḥmud, he had built houses on the bank of the river from the side of Aḥmadābād. They were connected with him and he named that place, Sayyidpur. He spent a considerable portion of his life there. Ikhtyār-ul-Mulk received intelligence of Maḥmud's martyrdom. He was at Pattan fighting with Musā Khān, son of 'Ain-ul-Mulk Faulādi and his brother Sher Khān. He left them and went to his own region. Similarly, Nāsir Habash Khān, the amir of Div started with treasure for Aḥmadābād.

(In the margin) Tatār Khān Ghori was at Junāgarh from the side of I'timād Khān. Malek-ush-Sharq came out to fight with the Ghori. In the beginning, he came out with designs against Daryā Khān with whom he fought. It was stated that he did not fight. There was a war between him and the Ghori due to the murder of the wazir of Malek-ush-Sharq and the focal point of pomp and majesty of the noted amir Rustam Khān. He suffered a defeat. The Malek left for the Ghori with what he had as well as for his son Amin Khān. Habash Khān conquered Div from the Firangis and planned for its fortification which was completed. It enhanced his prestige and power. Shamshir-ul-Mulk was at Junāgarh in its charge as before stated. I'timād Khān removed him from it for the sake of Tātār Khān Ghori. Fateh Khān was left at Rādhanpur * as before. Similarly, Fard Khān was left at Chāmpāner while Nāsir-ul-Mulk at Nazarbār. Ikhtyār-ul-Mulk came to I'timād Khān. He went to Patan to his succour. Faulādi garrisoned himself within the fort. He became helpless against him. He was an Afghān. He wrote to Sayyid Mubārak about it. Before his reply could come, I'timād Khān decided to wage war. It was a war waged by I'timād Khān and 'Imād-ul-Mulk against Musā Khān. He assigned this portion of territory to him on an understanding with 'Imād-ul-Mulk to take it back from him when he desired with an edict of the State. He then said, "This territory is mine. Now it is from me to Musā Khān." I'timād Khān returned from him with the Sultān to Ahmedābād. The Malek enjoyed might and majesty. Similar was the case with Sayyid Mubārak from the side of Musā Khān. I now turn to give an account of the first disturbance.

In 961 (1553), the army assembled at Ahmedābād. 'Imād-ul-Mulk halted in the house known as the house of Mednirāi, adjacent to the wall of the palace. He was, therefore, always present in the house along with his subordinates. Ulugh Khān was Head of the nauba (watchmen) as Mandal Ulugh Khān was

* Original Text, p. 393.

during the regime of Sultān Maḥmud and mamālik of the state .... or he was a Habshi. They were under command of the malek in attendance of the Sultān. They were not separated from the Sultān even for an hour. The palace was .............. to 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Ulugh Khān as it was to I'timād Khān in the regime of Maḥmud....... subordinates and watchmen in the state were under him and the seal was in his hand.

In 962 (1554), 'Ālam Khān and A'zam-i-Humāyun came to Gujarāt from Delhi. They alighted at Sarkhej. I'timād Khān refrained from seeing them. At the first instance and after a time, he did not go to......Ulugh Khān to them. He entered the capital city of Aḥmadābād and stayed there for some months under order of the Nāib. It was a favour to them. Ulugh Khān was so informed. They should reside under favour as Nazarbār and Sultanpur had been assigned to 'Ālam Khān and Baroda and Asāmara to A'zam-i-Humāyun. They went to their respective regions. A'zam-i-Humāyun proceeded to Nazarbār while 'Ālam Khan stayed at Chāmpāner. Taghluk Khān was summoned. I'timād Khān came to Kāṅkariya with his followers. He said, "we do not* return to the city unless Ulugh Khāh goes out of it." Ulugh Khān fortified himself in the palace with all his kinsmen and I'timad Khān shed blood of this tribe. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came to him to get him back to the city. He refused. The malek returned to his attendance of the Sultan. I'timād Khān moved from Kāṅkariya to Maḥmudābad. Sayyid Mubārak was with him. The malek sent 'Ādil Khān al-Kirmāni to him to persuade him to return but he refused. In the meanwhile, the Malek met Ulugh Khān and said to him, "They are men of the State. They are nothing but this. We should show courtesy to them. It is proper to act in a way to please them." He then proceeded to Biramgām situate at 20 farsakhs from the capital. 'Imād-ul-Mulk went to Maḥmudabad with the Sulṭān to pacify I'timād Khān just to know his mind. When he came near his house, I'timād Khān received him and followed the stirrup of the Sultān to his palace known as "Nashistah". He arranged a feast where all the amirs were present. He approached the Sultān as befitted and returned to Aḥmadābād. The malek received intelligence of Nasir-ul-Mulk Banbāni, the Governor (Ṣāheb) at Navsāri and Alaf Khān Khatri that they had occupied Ankleshwar from the region of the malek. They unnecessarily occupied it. He met I'timād Khān and told him that "A'zam-i-Humāyun alighted at Broach while Alaf Khān occupied Ankleshwar. Nasir-ul-Mulk had stretched his hand in the region as far as Mahāyam (Māhim). What do you say in this respect." He said that Broach was appropriate for the Sultan.

I'timād Khān returned to the city. The Sulṭān continued under the tutelage of the malek for a certain period. He then learnt that A'zam-i-

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* Original Text, p. 394.

Humāyun had encamped at Broach and that Nādod belonged to Bahâul Mulk Sindi. A'zam i-Humāyun overpowered him and routed him after a war. Alaf Khān Khatri dominated over Ankleshwar and adjoining part while Nasir-ul-Mulk widened his hand, in concert with them, to Mahāyam, The malek met I'timād Khān and informed him about it. He replied that Broach should appropriately belong to the Sultān and that Pattan should be his and further that the Sultān was to be under his guardianship as before. The malek accepted it and rode from the palace with the Sulṭān to go to the house of I'timād Khān. He received him, feasted him and advanced before him as was worthy of him. He then came out walking with his stirrup to the palace. The malek remained in his house coming and going to the Sultān very often in his capacity as a * guardian till I'timād Khān came out with the Sultān to go to Pattan. Musā Khān garrisoned himself in the fort and requested him to retain it for him as he did it in the past. I'timād Khān rejected his request. He wrote to the malek about it. The Malek accepted it and said to I'timād Khān, "The kingdom belongs to me and I will influence Faulādi for it." They all started to turn out I'timād Khān with the Sultān to Broach to efficiently manage it and to bring it under control of the Malek. When they came to Aḥmadābād, the Malek went ahead to Maḥamudābād while I'timād Khān delayed in the city. He waited for him for some days and then sent 'Ādil Khān Kirmāni to persuade him to come. When he lingered on, 'Ādil Khān entreated him ( to come ). The malek met Sayid Mubārak and acquainted him with the present state of affairs. He asked him to call I'timād Khān under his order with the help of his son and a party of amirs. The malek marched to Broach. When he encamped at Bānkāner, he received intelligence about 'Ālam Khân for he had encamped at Bānkāner. He intended to fortify himself or turn out the malek but he had in his hands the state materials. 'Ādil Khān presented himself in his majlis. He said to him, "What do you say in what I have heard." He said that "he was 'Ālam Khān and that the most proper step for him was to correspond for peace, or we shall help I'timād Khān." The malek gave him no reply, and said, "We cross the river in spite of him. Come what may," 'Ādil Khan replied in the affirmative for he had Rumis in his army with guns. They followed him with obedience. Every horseman assembled around him wherever was his banner. The malek talked that way and the news spread. 'Ālam Khān learnt about it. He returned to Bānkāner and sent his emissary to the malek asking him for a meeting with 'Ādil Khān. He went to him. When he met him, he found that he was not 'Ālam Khān in conversation. He displayed sincerity. At the time of departure, he came with a Khil'at and a horse. He accepted the horse. With regard to the khil'at he said, "A man like me would not wear a khil'at like that. If you desire me to be in your service, it is not possible for lack of

* Original Text, p. 395.

genus. The malek is such that he who struck his sword and came back to the malek, he was perfumed with saffron by a physician who was kept ready. None of the followers of 'Ādil Khān was spared. He is also in saffron clothes." It was circulated in his absence that he who returned from the war and established connection with the malek.... .. to his house. When 'Ādil Khān met * the malek and went to Daman, some of the great men of the army saw him gladdening him with what was heard but he showed his ignorance of it. He stood before the malek requesting him for the same. He said to him, "If it were so, he was the cause of it. But I...........'Ādil Khān." He got infuriated and said that he liked an act of manliness and that he should be in the cavalry. The malek got ready. 'Ādil Khān advanced and drowned the place of 'Ālam Khān. The malek crossed the river and encamped at Baroda. In the meantime, it so happened that A'zam-i-Humāyun came to 'Ālam Khān and conveyed him the news. He said to him, "What is this that you have heard?......with the Rāi." A messenger came to the malek and sought his favourable inclination and showed ignorance to what had been said by the emissary. The malek said to the Rāi to agree to keep Broach as before. It should not be with Nasir-ul-Mulk. It was settled between him and Changiz Khān. The malek accepted it. He marched from Ankleshwar, crossed the river and alighted at night and Bahāul Mulk........On the morning of the night, Ādil Khān crossed the river with one thousand horse and alighted at Ankleshwar. Alaf Khān fled away from it after a skirmish to......The malek alighted with his followers at Ankleshwar. Nasir-ul-Mulk corresponded for peace on payment of one hundred thousand Maḥmudis and grant of territory which was not in his name in the state records, and further that the malek should march back to Aḥmadābād and dismiss I'timād Khān from wizārat. He talked about the request of Jahāngir Khān. Nasir-ul-Mulk accepted it. The malek returned to Broach from him and said to A'zam-i-Humāyun to go back to his region and help the malek with an army to get Baroda from A'zam-i-Humāyun (?). When he came near, A'zam-i-Humāyun came out from it along with his partisans. The malek captured Bahāul Mulk-A'zam-i-Humāyun fell upon their camp in their moment of negligence and killed Bahāul Mulk in the battle-field. He was buried under a dome. Madad-ul-Mulk fled away. 'Ālikhān Jahāngir Khān was one of them. Humāyun made himself firm at Nādod. In the meanwhile, the malek sent an army to expel him. He learnt from Ulugh Khān that he proceeded to Karkari intending to go to the Deccan. He occupied........Nādod. He sent Changiz Khān and 'Ādil Khān to Ulugh Khān. When they met him in Broach, he was pleased......and delighted. He then sent a messenger to Nasir-ul-Mulk to summon him with the amount with a request to come as promised with him. Nasir-ul-Mulk refused to send the Dirhams. The malek ordered Ulugh Khān and 'Ādil Khān and*

* Original Text, p. 396. * Original Text, p. 397.

Changiz Khān to cross the river to fight with him. Three battles were fought between them and him to exterminate him in the last. They could not manage as ordered as well as in the division of territory. Ulugh Khān and Azam-i-Humāyun met at Baroda. In the meantime, the malek received intelligence about the Sulṭān's going to Sayyid Mubārak. An edict of the call came. He got ready and went out. The malek and his counsellors met. He said "There is no precedent between us and the Afghans as well as there is no attachment. It is proper to take the hand of Nasir-ul-Mulk and remain like men in enmity. The two hands will become one. On this basis, they corresponded with Nasir-ul-Mulk for giving one hundred thousand Maḥmudis and territory to him and to become the Wazir like his forefathers. Nasir-ul-Mulk agreed to these terms and confirmed them. The malek then ordered Bahāul Mulk to go to Nādod and help him with an army. Nasir-ul-Mulk and A'zam i-Humāyun did not respond in...........

Nāsir-ul-Mulk came to Aḥmadābād from Nazarbār. He crossed the river Mahi. Turk I'timād Khān was the greatest malek among the maleks of the salṭanat. He had the city. He came out with those who were with him in the city saying that it was (Kumaid Sayyid) Mubārak came out with him with those who were with him. Imād-ul-Mulk followed him with the Sultān. He did not separate the Sulṭān. He was always present near him. The army of Gujarāt gathered around Nāsir-ul-Mulk after his arrival. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk was one of them. Nāsir-ul-Mulk established himself in the city. He became the Regent of the Salṭānt with the title of Daryā Khān. It was during the regime of Mahmud that Imād-ul-Mulk was the Diwān of petitions (Diwān-i-Ardh). His Brother Kāmil-ud-din Mia ' Abd-uṣ-Ṣamad with the title of Dastur Khān was appointed by him to be in charge of State Records. After the martyrdom of the Sultān he was in service with the malek. It so happened that his wealth* got robbed, he was imprisoned and his house was plundered. Nāsir-ul-Mulk then went with the Sultān to Kumaid and alighted in a plain for war with I'timād Khān. Whenever he intended to wield absolute authority with the Sultān, 'Imād-ul-Mulk performed the necessary duties of shadow (canopy) and the Diwān with him in great dread and awe. He then looked for his murder along with those who were with him. He entered upon him in a majlis of privacy without separating forty men of bravery and double besides. For certain days he was on the point of a war with Sayyid Mubārak. Nāsir-ul-Mulk got ready and 'Imād-ul- Mulk rode with the Sulṭān. Ulugh Khān was in command of the vanguard while Khairat Khān was commander of the advance-guard. Among them, Khairat Khān did not move in the battle-field. He received an order from Nāsir-ul-Mulk to fire his gun straight at Ulugh Khān but he disputed with him like an insane person. Khairat Khān returned to 'Imād-

* Original Text, p. 398.

ul-Mulk, and found him in pain for Ulugh Khān. He displayed that he had killed him but kept it a secret to himself but he had not done it. Nothing resulted on that day of battle between the forepart of the armies of the Sayyaid and the malek. Every party retired to its pavilion. In the evening, 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Jahāngir Khān, Fateḥ Jung Khān, 'Ādil Khān and Khairat Khān met together. After deliberation, they unanimonsly decided not to have Nāsir-ul-Mulk. The malek wrote to I'timād Khān and Sayyid Mubārak not to be in the battle-field in the morning and that they should ride to him with the Sultān before dawn.

[ Sikander narrated in his Mirāt this news that Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk was the Nāib of I'timād Khān in Ahmadabad. He, in concert with Ḥasan Khān Deccani and Fateḥ Khān Baluch seated Shāhu uncle of the present Sultan Aḥmad on the throne during his regime. I say that the present method demands not to have the Nāib from him for I'timād Khān had left the city on the arrival of Nāsir-ul-Mulk and he was not in the city on the departure of Nāsir-ul-Mulk with the Suiṭan. Who should be the Nāib from him ? He said in the Mirāt that Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk wrote to I'timād Khān at the time of the two armies meeting on the river Kāri ( Khāri )....to his sultān.

What he wrote was that Sultān Aḥmad cannot give you any benefit for he is the disciple of Sayyid Mubārak while the saltanat of Shāhu will benefit you and us. I'timād Khān acted according to the contents of his letter. He went to him deserting the army. Sayyid Mirān and Shaikh Māh saw this and communicated this to his father Sayyid Mubārak that he could not get back the Sulṭān. I say, this is so, there was nothing when I'timād Khān had heavy balance of knowledge as he saw. When he hears one who hides these nonsensical words extricating from... His method of narration is indicative of preference to his patron, the great amir Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri due to the favour his* father enjoyed under him in execution of affairs and pleasing the public due to partnership of Masnad-i-'Āli I'timād Khān and Majlis-i-'Āli 'Imād-ul-Mulk who were the pivot and sole representative of the state. If it were so as his method shows but it was not so in keeping with their nature and character. The Baluch joined I'timād Khān while Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk and Shāhu kept themselves aloof from the battle. Ḥasan Khān remained steadfast and died. It had become known about Ḥasan Khān that he was steadfast in war and that he was firm in listening to taunts and bearing blows as he informed about him. I did not narrate anything following in his footsteps. It was proper not to treat his side with injustice by restraining his statement that he was steadfast and that he died enhancing his importance and power. It is said in the Mirāt. After their entry into the city, they divided the kingdom. The Sultān had Ahmedabad

* Original Text, p. 399.

and the territory adjoining to the village known as Haveli, I'timād Khān had Kadi, Jhālāwār, Petlad, Nadiad, Bhil, Radhanpur, Sami, Munjpur and Saurath. Syed Mubārak received Pattan, Khanbhāyat with the adjacent village and distant known as Satāsi. This number is indicative of eighty-seven villages connected with it, Dholka, Dhanduka, Ghogha, Kapadwanj, Champāner, Sarnāl, and Bālāsinor; 'Imād-ul-Mulk's share consisted of Broach, Surat, the village Chorāsi—eighty-four villages, Baroda to Nazarbār and Sultānpur. I say—The port of Surat was assigned to Runi Khān during the regime of Bahādur and afterwards, it went to Safr Khudāwand Khān while during the regime of Mahmud, it remained with him in exchange for......from the provisions of the Saltanat. It then continued as a share of his son, Rajab Khudāwad Khān in his time. During the regime of Aḥmad, it was in possession of Rajab who existed. 'Imād-ul-Mulk stood under his banner. From among the sea-amirs, Āqā Farrukhshād, Fateh Khān, Qatā Hasan, Jahāngir Khān, Mustafā Karmāni, 'Ādil Khān, Rajab Khudāwand Khān, Ulugh Khān Sultāni, Nāsir Darya Khān, Ismā'il Charkas, Asad Khān, Fard Khān Sultāni, were famous amirs during the regime of Maḥmud. It is stated in the Mirāt that the malek assigned Baroda to Ulugh Khān. I'timād Khān enjoyed absolute authority as Wazir. Sayyid Mubārak went to Maḥmudābād and lived in his house which he built during* the regime of Maḥmud. It was in a village of Sayyidpur. After a time, Ālam Khān came from the country which he had from Sher Shāh—the territory of Mālwa to Maḥmudābād. He met the Sayyids. He then came to Ahmedābād with him and tried for a portion of territory for himself. I'timād Khān excused himself in the beginning for what he knew about him. He then assigned Baroda and Chāmpāner to him and A'zam-i-Humāyun from the side of the Syed. I'timād Khān gave Godhra from the share of their owners, to Alaf Khān Khatri who had come with them. He came and met them. I say openly that the malek gave Baroda from his share as it was from them and on supposition, Chāmpāner and Godhra were given to him Jhālāwār was taken from I'timād Khān and given to Ulugh Khān Yāqut. Taghlak Khān, therefore, went to it as stated in the Mirat. He had some of his territory. It was not like that. After the assignment of territory to 'Alam Khān, 'Ālam Khān displayed his service to I'timād Khān as well as his reliance on him. He came to him, alighted in the house of his son Sher Khān, near and adjacent to him. In the meantime, Ulugh Khān seized what did not belong to him from Jhālāwār. I'timād Khān wrote to him many times about it but he was not prevented. He marched against him and did not stop on information of the Sayyid as was his wont. He fought with Ulugh Khān. After his flight, he took refuge with the Sayyid and took shelter with him. The Sayyid interceded on his behalf before the malek to take Bhil from I'timād Khān for him and it was so. I state that

* Original Text, p. 400.

'Alam Khān, after the assignment of territory to him journeyed to him and he denied it afer the event of Tughluk Khān which took place at the suggestion of I'timād Khān and Ulugh Khān proceeded to Jhālāwar while 'Imād-ul-Mulk to Broach as I narrated. I'timād Khān summoned 'Ālam Khān and alighted him in the house of his son and stayed there till he invaded him. After his flight, *he lived in Dholka and then Khānbhāyat and then Karkari. On his crossing* the river, his son Changiz Khān and 'Ādil Khān Karmani met him from the side of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. They all proceeded to Broach. The Sayyid did not meet him for he was not on his way. His eldest son Amir Sayyid Mirān met him, entertained him as a guest, advanced to him sword and a horse at the time of departure as a favour of the Sayyid. They were thus elevated. But his statement is : he pleaded for him. It was not in its place and it was not true. It was not Bhil for life-time. It was wonderful from him in respect of Ulugh* Khān. It was in his honour and not in dishonour of intercession for him. His statement is that 'Ālam Khān made an effort with I'timād Khān to invade Sayyid Mubārak and there was no disagreement between them on this point. I'timād Khān decided upon it but for Tatār Khān Ghori who was on the side of I'timād Khān for his disposition was towards 'Ālam Khān. He disagreed with him. 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Ulugh Khān disagreed upon the invasion of 'Ālam Khān. None knew about it except he and they. The affair came to light on the morning of occurrence. The Sayyid arrived alone with the messenger of Malek Ankas Khān Habshi as was known to him and not as narrated. The Malek and I'timād Khān and the Sultān with them met the Sayyid at Kanir. *On their way back, all of them went to fight with 'Ālam Khān. The Sayyid* communicated blame to 'Ālam Khān for it and opposed him. It was so with him. He then admonished him to go to his assignment (territory) so that peace may be made in this matter of disturbance. For the matter indicated their fall. The Malek did not connive at it. The order came....after him to Ahmadābād. Mubārak Shāh advanced with Tafāul Khān for the saltanat of Gujrāt. He encamped at the village of Bilu Gāon on the river Narbada. Sultan Ahmad came out. Mubārak Shāh retreated on the Sultan's arrival at Rānāpur Kotiyah along with his followers. The Sultān and the amirs arrived at Hanbugāon. In the meanwhile, 'Ālam Khān emerged from the mountains of Pāi which was under him and went to Pattan in distress seeking help from Sher Khān. His brother was Musā Khān. Musā Khān was in the army in the war of the Sayyid. They met together and proceeded to Kadi. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk and Daryā Khān Habshi were in the vicinity of Ahmadnagar. I'timād Khān wrote to them to expel them from those sides, I say that after the fall of 'Ālam Khān, his army stationed itself in the neighbourhood of Dabhoi. It belonged to the Sultān as it lay within jurisdiction of Chāmpāner. Shaikh Yusuf with

* *Original Text, p. 401.*

the title of A'zam-i-Humāyun, Sayyid 'Abdur Raḥmān, brother of Shaikh Khān Bukhāri with the title of Sādāt Khān were there. He was younger in age than his brother. Ulugh Khān Yaqut died in the neighbourhood of Baroda. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk and Daryā Khān marched to repel 'Ālam Khān as stated. The* author of Mirāt narrated it after what was narrated. In the meantime, some of the Habshis killed Taghlak Khān under instruction of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. I said that Taghluk Khān was murdered at the instruction of I'timād Khān and embassy of Malek-ush-Sharq in 962 (1554). His murder was mentioned after the murder of 'Ālam Khān in 963 (1555) Its account follows. I question the knower).

One night, Khairat Khān came to see Nāsir-ul-Mulk. They met together in the Diwān. He appointed Khairat Khān on the mansab of Ulugh Khān and gave him his title. At the last third part of the night, the malek wore arms and so his companions. He then rode out with the Sulṭān. He sent a message to Nāsir-ul-Mulk saying that he should prepare himself for the war for I'timād Khān had advanced on the battle-field. He then went and. Jahāngir Khān started with cannons in front to the battle-field. I'timād Khān and Sayyid Mubārak arrived and met the Sultān. They stood with him under his canopy. The malek advanced and posted cannons against Nāsir-ul-Mulk and similarly faces of horses. Morning had not dawned when the cannons straight-way attacked the pavilion of Nāsir-ul-Mulk. He was so much confused that he did not ride the horse. He then rode and learnt what the malek had done to him. He took courage to plunge in battle but he suffered a misfortune and fled away with a small number of his companions to the direction of Nādod. Other soldiers got dispersed. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk waited for an hour desisted from killing and turned bridle of his horse towards Aḥmadābād. May God spare the believers from warfare! On the third day continual news poured in about Nāsir-ul-Mulk that he slept at right in a village and in the morning was found dead. The Sultān returned to Aḥmadābād. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk arrived at Aḥmadābād and met Fateh Khān there. He had arrived from Rādhanpur intending to collect an army and similarly Ḥasan Khān Deccani. He was at Modāsa. He met them. They agreed upon setting up a sultān and entered into a pact for a near relative of the saltanat mentioning Shāhu. Ikḥtiyār-ul-Mulk stayed at the palace for this reason and noted certain virtues in I'timād Khān and entered into partnership with him to a certain extent. When they received intelligence about the arrival of the army and its near approach, they came out to encounter it. Fateh Khān joined I'timād Khān at night. He heard that Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk had proceeded to a particular direction in the morning Shāhu hide himself after their departure. He happened to run away when he had become known from his shadow for† greatness. Ḥasan Khān stood firm with two thousand companions and it was

* Original Text, p. 402. † Original Text, p. 403.

reported to be four thousand. When he was about to give up fighting, Ulugh Khān advanced and came forward intending as if he were a mountain of iron and cannons in the face shining like lightning, and roaring like thunder. He always rushed further until he was faced by a gun which felled him before he could reach the sword. Besides, some of his companions rushed to him. Many of them fell in the battle-field. It was a rout. Sultān Aḥmed entered Aḥmedābād.

Rajab was the son of 'Ālam Khān, son of 'Ālam Khan Ludi born in Gujarāt in hereditary succession. His native place was Delhi. Similar was the case of Azam-i-Humāyun son of Ulugh Khān. Both of them encamped at Sarkhej with a party of nearly five hundred men. 'Ālam Khān was a man who, in the words of God the Holy, had his efforts misguided in the life of this world and" they think that they are doing good deeds." They were afraid of I'timād Khān; firstly, he refused to give him any power in the state; secondly, he acted through intermediaries. Ulugh Khān came to him under his order and entered with him in the city and met I'timād Khān in his house. He continued to visit him. But he always gave reason for accompaniment with Ulugh Khān. His explanation was that when he ordered him to go to him, he excused himself. When he repeated it, I'timād Khān said the similar thing....the order. When 'Ālam Khān was disappointed of I'timād Khān's favour to him, he relied upon Ulugh Khān. He continued to pay visits to him—both he and his friend. But the curtain was not lifted by their intercourse. They both repented of his majlis of drink. Ulugh Khān loved A'zam-i-Humāyun. He was sociable. He also loved 'Ālam Khān. He supported him in his efforts. Both of them did not request him to increase his sincerity and favour. He said to them to insist on I'timād Khān for his prevention to him and that he was with them. He went to 'Imād-ul-Mulk and represented the exact matter. He supported him about I'timād Khān's help in favours to them. He did. His reply to him was that " When 'Alam Khān was firmly established in power in his region he would open the door of revolt; he should stop him to close it and that would be with the death of men mourned by us. He would lose them in the revolt between us. The Malek is wise and in his knowledge whatever it be, it would be in the* interest of his sulṭān Maḥmud." Therefore, he did not try to get a reply and returned to his house. He instructed them to turn out both of them to Sarkhej. Due to expulsion they had become angry. Both of them went out. Ulugh Khān met I'timād Khān and said to him, " People had known that I had come with them and I had waited for their exit. I refused them till this day except what was ..... Now they had gone to Sarkhej in anger. They are men of mischief. See what is most advisable for the time." He then went to his house from the majlis

* Original Text, p. 404.

and ordered a tent to be pitched among their tents which was done. The Malek received intelligence about Ulugh Khān's tent outside. He sent some one to I'timād Khān to inform him to take it out. I'timād Khān said, "See the proof from words of God, the Holy. 'We sent to them twice but they falsified them. We then honoured them for the third time.'" In the meanwhile, he wrote to them with the letter of Baroda. It was sent to Ulugh Khān. He saw them and gave them the letter and blessed them in their region. Ulugh Khān was the cause of their good and his object was good fortune to them. 'Ālam Khān was in his favour for what may come to him. It was the reward of his deed and "God does not do injustice to any one."

In the year 962 (1554) Ibn-i-Jiv ibn-i-Khilāl titled Tughluk Khān was permitted to go to Modāsa, his assignment. He was noted for his vigour and prowess. People of round-about places had assembled around him and the chiefs sought his view-point and counsel. His father has remarked thus. Other amirs have also said about him. The title of his father was 'Ālam Khān. He was proverbial in respect of his intrepidity. Bahādur Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh was similar to him in this respect. None ever thought of an encounter with him. It so happened that he was murdered without any crime on his part. We tried to find it out. Intrepidity was alone thought to be the offence when it was possible that he did not offend any one and that he had humanity in him or it was probable that there might have been something else as the cause when it was neither purity nor God fearlessness. I thought over the cause of it but I could not connect it with "The near one frightens him and the distant one blames him." He found him in a lion-encounter. He was sought for. It was said that he was in a dense forest, where the path was difficult, like a wild ox. He desired to encounter with him. He went near the lion. He went on a horse. He was fastened with a nail. He seized him by the girdle and called him by* his name among the people. Tughluk Khān said to him, "Who is the lion today, I or you?" People prevented from partnership with him in that encounter. Bahādur then advanced upon the lion with his sword and shouted out to him while Tughluk Khān was to his side (or he was Ālam Khān). The lion advanced towards him. He moved his tail. Tughluk Khān jumped. He advanced upon Bahādur. He jumped a second time. He roared with the lion. He said to him, "to me." The lion understood them. He roared in anger. He deviated from Bahādur and jumped upon him as if he were a stone on a lower plane from above. He seized him by claws and sat upon his shoulders. He would have finished him to death if he had not jumped and struck him with his sword. When he held out his sword from the right shoulder and made him weak and turned to the left and attacked him. He was in excitement of an ox. He shouted with a shrill and sprang with the pain of a severe wound as if soul

* Original Text, p. 405.

was departing from him and caught him by paws and claws and sat upon him It was an occasion for presence of mind to take out his dagger from his wais and stabbed him with it. It was his son ibn-i-Jiv aforesaid mentioned. He was not more than fifteen years of age. He did not desist with prevention from partnership. He gently drew out his sword according to his strength, boldly attacked the lion and wounded him upon the head, twice. thrice and killed him. Bahādur praised him for his youth, stood near the father and ordered him to be carried in a pālki. He was alive added to which was his youth. He placed his hand upon his head. His father was not hopeful of his life. He gave him the fortune of his father and the title. When I'timād Khān gave him permission to go to Modāsā, he had, no doubt, about mischief to be done by him. He talked to his confidential man about it. 'Ālam Khān had gone to Baroda. Tughluk Khān intended to go. There was no revolt. It was wonder. He then closeted with Malek-ush-Sharq and asked him as to how was his murder and who killed him. His reply was " there was friendship and intimacy between me and Ulugh Khān. When I met him, I talked to him about you." He said, " Get up, go to him now. Come back with the reply." Malek-ush-Sharq rode the horse and met him, plunged into talk with him and compelled him to acquaint him with that. He replied to him that " when you meet the Khān, see what it was." They then met together and waited for good omen after an excuse and returned. Then the Malek-ush-Sharq hesitated to visit him for some days. He refused saying that the murder was easy. Whenever the Khān showed * aversion, it was difficult. In short, it was always so with him until he resolved upon his murder. In the meanwhile, he said to him that when he came to bid farewell to the Khān, he should inform him about it. When the day of farewell came, he informed him about it. He sent for the wazir Bilāl Khairat Khān and closeted himself with him, as well as with his second wazir, Sa'ad 'Ali Khān. He said to them, " Qutlugh Khān came to I'timād Khān to bid farewell to him. He had ordered him to murder him. He was in his house. There were two roads. He was pained as to from which path he would go with twenty horse. He waited for it. If one was missed, the second would not be missed. Which of the two? It was easy after raising the hand. He mentioned the names of men singly and called them in privacy and made good promises upon achievement. He sent for betel-leaves, placed them in hands and said, " Who has resolved from amongst you upon acceptance of this invitation? He placed his hand in the tray and took from it. The wazir began to take it. He was followed by his followers. He chose from the hands. He sent for perfume and rose-water. He perfumed them and sprinkled rose-water with his own hands. He stood up to address them with good talk when the spy came and gave information about Tughluk Khān to the effect that he got down from the palace to go

* Original Text, p. 406.

to his house to ride. They came out one by one and he bade them all farewell. He said to them to travel in the name of God. They came out from majlis. They then dispersed in parties. Every one of them went to the side from his road. Bilāl Habshi was among them walking to swoop down upon his prey not knowing what was to be his road. He walked in his wake along the cavalcade of his army. He was sitting in a bhail (a horse-drawn carriage). There was a big elephant in front of him. Bilāl stopped and arrayed his companions in rows behind him. The elephant passed by him as well as those who followed him. A'zam-i-Humāyun, son of Mallu Kādir Manduwāli was among them. Tughluk Khān was last of them. Bilāl and his companions saluted him. He stopped the bhail and inquired about Ulugh Khān. He replied to this query. He then asked him as to where he was proceeding. He replied that he was going to Shāh 'Ālam. He spurred his horse. Like consignees for him, he was the first to wound him with the sword. His companions goaded on their horses and dispersed from him. There was a small number of persons nearly ten behind his bhail. Those who were with the elephant did not turn back except A'zam-i-Humāyun. They grappled with him till he was killed. Tughluk Khān fell down from the bhail. A spear was pierced and his belly was split up. He crawled on his knees to the shop of a shoe-maker situate near him. He helped to ascend it to collect himself. He found it to be a fissure due to a stab. None obeyed him. It was a straight stab of Bilāl. It was a fatal blow. While taking out the hilt of the sword, his hand shook with pain. He went to a side and* joined his companions. This was the event. It was a lesson to officers who pondered over it. What a lesson! between Tughluk Khān in his stoppage for Bilāl! He was surrounded by his men-horsemen, pedestrians not more than one thousand. He was at the shop of a shoe-maker with a disfigured face, thrown in a wounded state, not defended from flies. When he walked on face of the earth, he was mocked at on account of his heavy pressure; he created a quake through awe. He could draw out gently a hair from dough by his strength and prowess, with his cavalry and infantry. There was no protection for the man from the Lord of order. Nothing proved of advantage to him from what he had of a large number of horsemen, footmen and the slaves. Tughluk Khān was carried to his house. I'timād Khān presented himself and felt for him. He was on the last breath of life. While the surgeon treated him, his soul departed. I'timād Khan embraced his son Nāhir-ul-Hilm, consoled him by award of his father's post and title. He then went out with him to the reservoir known as Kānkariyāh and took an oath for not entering the city or removing Ulugh Khān from it. In the meanwhile, Ulugh Khān rode out from his house with a banner, and a drum and entered the palace and garrisoned himself in it. The citizens collected together to kill the habshis and with them were the

* Original Text, p. 407.

abdāls, the qalandars (order of the sufis) and the faqirs. They were in a large number from the last days of Maḥmud. Their number had increased due to alms, and variety of viands. They were always supplied with delicious foods. They were apparently dissatisfied knowingly and deliberately. They blew shells and killed one day the habshis. Ulugh Khān received inteligence of it. He despatched forty of nauba habshis (watchmen) against those who carried on the movement keeping in corners of their intestines the roasted meat of Maḥmud and his saffron-mixed rice. They threw their swords among them but it proved of no account to them. They beat them with sticks. They had similar wooden sticks with them. Most of them were blacks. They therefore stopped and circulated banners, blew shells and prepared themselves to strike with wooden sticks. When they saw the effort, heads falling, blood flowing, they threw away the banners and took precedence over one another in running * to lanes. Had they no strength of that food in them, none would have been saved. No qalandar made his appearance on roads. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came forward to patch up peace between I'timād Khān and Ulugh Khān by going to Sarkhej and then to return to the city. He belonged to Biramgāon. It was situate at a distance of one day's journey from the city. He came out from the palace to it and did not return to the city. His soldiers dispersed in various directions. Adjacent to his territory, there were the frontiers of unbelief. Halwad was one. It was the capital of Raja Mānsingh. He stood up for war. He made preparations for it to make himself secure against it. The chiefs assembled around him. I'timād Khān entered the city. He was in the first revolt. He did nothing. In the second one, he killed one amir and expelled the other. There was the third disturbance. He expelled an amir from the city and caused ruin of another. When 'Imād-ul-Mulk saw that he did not leave the palace, he became like a particle of dust in his eye. He wrote to Nasir-ul-Mulk al-Banbani. He was at Navsāri. He requested him to prepare himself for help and ordered him to seize territory of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Nasir-ul-Mulk coveted it by disbanding his army. He toyed in it. 'Imād-ul-Mulk received intelligence about it. He took leave of the Sultān for going to Broach. It was the capital of his region and it was a nearby place to return. He was granted permission for it. He then saw I'timād Khān and bade him farewell. He issued forth for Broach with cannons and elephants while I'timād Khān established full authority in the city. The Sultān was under his control as Maḥmud was under the control of Daryā Khān and 'Ālam Khān. After his arrival at Broach, 'Imād-ul-Mulk equipped his army against Alaf Khān Khatri. He was near Ankleshwar from the side of Nasir-ul-Mulk. They fought and killed. He then equipped one army after another army to control his region. When I'timād Khān was informed about the assault of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, (he said)

* Original Text, p. 408.

"The grave in old age for you or carve out ( of the kingdom ) what you wish to carve out. The world—white and yellow—is vacant for you." In the third disturbance, he planned to do wrong to one of the opponents from the chiefs. He sent for 'Ālam Khān from Baroda and alighted him in his house. He had enjoyed many favours from him. When he tried to conciliate him, he complained to him in anger in respect of Tughluk Khān's affair. "I do not see Ulugh Khān equal to take revenge for his son from him. 'Ālam Khan did injustice to his side." He said, "I am sufficient for him." I'timād Khān marched against * him with the Sultān. Ulugh Khān received intelligence about it. He was with two thousand men of his own community as well as with other persons. He emerged similarly from the city to the field. Musā Khān Faulādi, the ruler of Pattan came to him alone. He said to him, "You have decided upon war. I am the first to fight along with my companions and neighbours. I'timād Khān does not believe in these circumstances at all. He played a trick with you today and will do the same tomorrow." He then thanked him for his efforts and praised him for his courage. He said to him that the sword was the best arbitrator. He took leave of him to collect his army and to return to him. It was so. I'timād Khān heard about it. He wrote to him to go back. He was his means (of help) during the regime of Maḥmud. He refrained from giving him help. Several months passed. The distance between them was of several farsakhs. He was not advancing upon war with Ulugh Khān. He had displayed to him the fraud through an emissary sent to him to make him understand that his intention in this march was to expel Musā Khān from his territory of Pattan. He was with him whom he liked as well as upon this correspondence between them. The respectable amir Mui'nuddin Afzal Khān al-Multāni stepped forth as intermediary. He fixed peace terms on the coming of his son, Muḥammed Khairat Khān and returned to him with the robe of honour of the salṭanat. It was so. When he published peace terms, Ulugh Khān entered the city. He dispersed his companions particularly and I'timād Khān had marched for a war from the side of Pattan. On the third day of his entry into the city, continuous news poured in about the encampment of I'timād Khān at a distance of two farsakhs from him. He rode out from the city and encamped in a plain with two thousand of his companions. The morning had not yet risen when the army had spread out in the field. It consisted of 50,000 horsemen. 'Ālam Khān advanced for war. Ulugh Khān stood under the banner and admonished his men for patience and victory or help. He asked Ākā Mustufā Rumi, who was in charge of cannonery to wait for an hour to discharge cannons. They were thirty, a large number in such an action without mistake. Use of it meant victory. He had loaded money. Whilst the Khān ordered to wait, Raihān Husaini rushed forth from the row of the vanguard. He was one of the number of unemployed

* Original Text, p. 409.

persons with a party of one hundred men and the row of soldiers was in his wake He rendered the cannons out of work. The Khān advised his wazir at that time to strike a blow at 'Ālam Khān even with a question from him. Wazi Bilāl advanced in row of the vanguard while the Khān was in his wake. H attacked the vanguard of 'Ālam Khān. It was a severe assault. The commande of the vanguard fell in it and the vanguard joined the centre. Ulugh Khā rushed in the centre with his banner and therein was 'Ālam Khān. He reverse to the vanguard of I'timād Khān and killed many Afghāns and joined edge o the sword with the upper lip and rushed to the help of 'Ālam Khān from al directions. He had dispersed the habshis in war to right and left. There wer men among them who when they wounded any one with a sword on the helmet the horsaman cut off a length of the high part of the saddle. If he wounde him in the middle, then a wide piece of the two halves was cut off. The leg were left alone in the stirrup. The rest came down to the ground. First wa Ulugh Khān. He never missed his blow and he did not strike except on th helmet or face of the horseman or the horse. He was followed by Farhā Lurak as-Sultāni, Sa'eed, police-officer of the Diwān, Mirjān Rumikhāni Jhujhār Khān, Ma'mur Khān, Sa'eed Firawn as-Sultāni, titled Afsah Khān Makan titled Sharzah Khān, Hilāl Rumi Khān, Raihān Husaini, Hoshiār-ul Mulk as-Sultāni known as Tawilah, the Wazir Bilāl Fateh Khāni. I hear from A'zam Khan, son of Āsaf Khan. He was the Khān's man. He wa reported to say about such severity. Ibrāhim Rustam Khān issued forth from the army of Malek-ush-Sharq with a regiment consisting of seventy horsemen He joined Ulugh Khān. He did not desist from war with his enemy. Th cause thereof was that he was a messenger of Malek-ush-Sharq to him in the murder of Tughuk Khān. He had pledged with him because I'timād Khān had deceived him and the Malek kept pace with him in his perfidy. He was his accomplice in inflicting blow of the sword. When the forces got multiplied and Ulugh Khān entered upon them he prevented him. He raised the veil from hi face and said, " I am free from what I had promised." (or I have absolved myself from the promise). He then advanced upon him and struck him with a sword. In the meanwhile, there came the canopy of salṭanat. He observed etiquette and turned his horse to a side. Rustam Khān was with him. Fateh jang Khān Rumi stood in the way of his regiment. Daryā Khān Habshi was between him and the enemy. He and his companions proceeded towards Dholka due to kindness and safety. He remained behind him except the elephant ' yādgir ' in the battle-field. It was young. A'zam-i-Humāyun caught † him. Similarly, he took the cannons lying in the battle-field and removed his companions who were killed. Their number was small. Rustam Khān departed from him. He said, " I rebuked the Malek out of loyalty to you. I have come

* Original Text, p. 410. † Original Text, p. 411.

back to you." Ulugh Khān thanked him and proceeded to Dholka. Sayyid Mubārak was with him. He met his son Khairat Khān, and Atal Khān Habshi known as Kādir Shāhi and stayed with him for three days. He then went to Broach. He met 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He was delighted on his arrival. He performed prostration of thanks for his safety. He entered his house with him and enjoyed his hospitality for three days. He then went to Bābā Raihān and pitched tents there. Ulugh Khān did the same. When he collected the army, he instructed it to cross the river Narbada. He had Navsāri and Damman under him from the territory of Nasir-ul-Mulk. The rest of the territory was in possession of his son Changiz Khān and 'Ādil Khān Kirmâni. They got ready with him. Similarly, Bijli Khān had a share with him. When they crossed the river, Nasir-ul-Mulk advanced. He always wished from I'timād Khān in his false promise to throw him from the mouth of a cannon but he neglected it. He had seven thousand horsemen among whom were one thousand and more of 'Abbāsi gang. There was Khan-i-Khānān al-Khatāi from amongst noted amirs. He was in command of the vanguard of the army, nay, he was the axis of the stone handmill. The two armies met at a distance of seven farsakhs from Navsāri. It was a hard fought battle with the defeat of Nasir-ul-Mulk and the capture of Khān-i-Khānān and a surgeon with him. The pavilions stood firm with the battle-field. There came a surgeon for Khan-i-Khānān and 'Ādil Khân. He wanted to kill him while Ulugh Khān defended him. 'Ādil Khān regarded his murder legal with following of the army. He ordered to beat the drum. Khān-i-Khānān was in the tent. Ulugh Khān was occupied with his treatment with a surgeon. When he heard the beating of drum, he rode to his tent to wear arms. 'Ādil Khān ordered his murder in his absence. It so happened. The army marched to Navsāri on the fifth day after the war. They met Nasir-ul-Mulk. All the cannons were dismantled, the girdle was broken and he resolved to run away towards Chakli. He prepared the battle-ground. Khudāwand Khān was a man of confidence. They then assembled around Nasir-ul-Mulk and the 'Abbāsis in particular. They took an oath for his death. They then assembled on the river, took bath and wore gaudy dress, anointed themselves with chameli oil. It was made fragrant with champā flowers found in abundance* in Navsari. Added to it was an oil dripping from aloe-wood, which is called chuh. It was mixed with saffron and made odoriferous with musk, ambergris and a large quantity of camphor as they do it in wedding. Their old men wept upon youth of their sons. The young men laughed in consolation for their fathers.

Similarly, the old and the young had assembled for death. The old men wept for the youth of young men and their young age and took pity upon their bodies. They separated themselves from the mothers. They met for death,

* Original Text p. 412.

It was possible from ignorance. The young men laughed. There was no joy, no delight. It was as it is said : Age laughs but the heart cuts." Although there was lamentation in the beginning upon what they had resolved, there was fear with the old—the fathers and uncles, which happens at the time of death before action of the sword. Mildness and kindness do it. They presented themselves in the Diwān. Nasir-ul-Mulk rode out for the battle and advanced like a slanting flood. It was a severe action. Great efforts were made but at last there was a defeat. Most of the old and young men died in this battle-field. The aliens were completely armed. Among them, there were persons who showed themselves in two armours. The sword did not work and so they could not kill as they could work upon naked bodies. They were described as Egyptians and Westerners. Nasir-ul-Mulk did not raise his banner. 'Imād-ul-Mulk dominated upon what he had and besides over the frontiers of Māhim. It was hinted before that I'timād Khān was in the midst of the third disturbance. He expelled an amir. It was 'Imad-ul-Mulk who expelled him from the palace. He ruined an amir and he was Nasir-ul-Mulk. He resurrected the disturbance, instigated it; it threw him in ropes of his own stratagem. It recoiled upon him. He was expelled from his territory. It was safe. He did not raise his banner at* all. ( After the return of I'timād Khān from the battle of Ulugh Khān to the city, 'Ālam Khān alighted in the house of Sher Khān as he had done before and continued, according to his habit, to come and go in the beginning to establish himself in the wizārat. He then consulted his companions in respect of removal of I'timād Khān and his captivity. They unanimously decided about it. They sought for an opportunity. He personally engaged himself ( to plot ) with the messenger of I'timād Khān taking him out from his house with roughness. When it was known that he would convey the report he came out of his existing house situated outside the Jamālpur Gate. When he disclosed to the wazir with what he was confided in person about his designs, 'Ālam Khān was afraid to be taken by negligence, he garrisoned himself within the fort-wall of the house and continued to pay visits to I'timād Khān till the Sulṭān came out from it to go to Sayyid Mubārak and then joined him. It is narrated in the Mirāt that he garrisoned himself within the fort. He went to pay visits to 'Imād-ul-Mulk, he showed affection and sincerity towards him outwardly saying to him in leisure that the kingdom cannot improve so long as I'timād Khān was there. The Malek replied to him in a tone which apparently showed that he agreed with him. When he said to 'Ālam Khān that he was against it, he turned to I'timād Khān and sought an opportunity from him with regard to a change in Sayyid Mubārak. He made efforts therein. He acquainted I'timād Khān with it and to conciliate 'Imād-ul-Mulk. They went to him. I say that in the exit of 'Ālam Khān from the house of I'timād Khān, 'Imād-ul-Mulk was not in the

* Original Text, p. 414.

city. He induced him for the removal of I'timād Khān. But his efforts were directed in the change of the Sayyid. It was so. At some other time it is as a lesson to come to him ).

In the year 965 ( 1555 ), the Sultān secretly went from the room of I'timād Khān to Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri staying at Maḥmudābād. He gave him refuge. He assembled his party-men to help him. Faulādi and 'Ālam Khān Lodi were of his party. While I'timād Khān belonged to men of duplicity and fraud and not to men of the sword. He went to Modāsa to his party-men. Tatār Khān Ghori was with him. The Sayyid entered the city with the Sultān. He did not believe in a disturbance. He had an inclination for the post of the Nāib ( Deputy, Regent ) and the Wazir. At the time of entry into the city, he issued an edict of the Salṭanat and wrote to 'Imād-ul-Mulk persuading him to come to him. He desired this. He prepared all his party-men for the same. He started from Broach with one hundred cannons in front and forty elephants. Ulugh Khān was in the vanguard with Bijli Khān Habshi Tawāshi. He was* the mamluk (slave); all other habshis were under him in the army of the Malek. Fateh Jang Khān Rumi and Daryā Khān Habshi were in command of the right wing. He held the tittle of Habsh-ul-Mulk. When Nāṣir-ul-Mulk died, he was titled Daryā Khān. Khudāwand Khān Rajab, the spy officer and 'Ādil Khān Qirmāni etc. were in command of the left wing. Changiz Khān followed as a Nāib of his father to Broach. Hāji Khān 'Imād-ul-Mulki and Āqā Alājin were with him as tutors. Kujak 'Ali Khān had his government in Broach. He supervised over the territory. When 'Ālam Khān heard about his arrival and Ulugh Khān had upheld his rights, he was not well disposed towards him. He tried to turn back the Malek to Broach and sent a message to him about it. The Syed's reply to 'Imād-ul-Mulk who belonged to mamluks of the mamālik-us-Saltanat was long and strong in language. He called him as well as his master and said, " How can I say ' no ' to him for accepting it ? I am not for rejecting it. If you have power, do it." 'Ālam Khān became angry and proceeded to his residential quarters of Baroda through which he had to pass. 'Ālam Khān got himself ready and sent a message to 'Imād-ul-Mulk conveying to him, " I have not called you. Pass by Baroda. This is the only way for you to return or to proceed further." He sent to him a stone of a cannon saying to him, " This opens the path." When he was at a distance of farsakhs from it, he ordered soldiers to be armed. When Ashraf 'Ali surrounded 'Ālam Khān at Baroda, he opposed him and wore arms and moved to right and left to take a road upon him. Verily, he did it. His reason took a turn and sent a message to the Malek saying, " I am not for a war and not for prevention on his way. I had conveyed intelligence to you about Ulugh Khān. He was in the vanguard waiting for an order. I took caution. What I conveyed to you is contrary. I

* Original Text, p. 415.

apologise." The Malek smiled in the face of the messenger and said to him,* "What is between us is what is proper for you. We are guest to-day." The messenger returned and 'Ālam Khān went to a direction from the city. The Malek split up his army in the city and came out with it to go to cross the river Mahi and encamped there. He then halted at a distance of three farsakhs from Aḥmadābād and met Sayyid Mubārak. He then went to the Sultān and said to him, "This is your 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Your seal will not improve except in his hand. It was in a thread of silver. Adorn him with it. He went out with him and made a necklace for the Malek saying, may God bless you in it." He then issued directives to all even to the last man. He then turned to Ulugh Khān. He was his adopted son. He begged him for the same manṣab he had, which was done. The Sayyed stood, bade farewell to the Sultān and set out for his capital of Maḥmudabad. I'timād Khān proceeded from Modāsa to Jānbu ( Jambusar ), situate at a distance of twenty farsakhs from Broach and invited Mubārak Shāh, ruler of Burhānpur (to his help). 'Imād-ul-Mulk received intelligence about it. He had crossed the river Tapti. He came out with the Sultān to cross the river of Broach. Sayyid Mubārak, 'Ālam Khān and Ikhhtiyar-ul-Mulk were with him. When they came to Kāsi from Jānbu, Mubārak Shāh had come there with twenty thousand horses. This was his cavalry at Burhānpur. Malek-ush-Sharq joined him and encamped on a side from him. After efforts, an order for peace came. They returned with I'timād Khān and Mubārak Shāh returned to his kingdom. After arrival at Ahmedābād, the Sayyid returned to Maḥmudābād. Similarly, did other amirs. The seal remained with 'Imād-ul-Mulk and he became the Nāib ( Regent ). This was the cause for the return of I'timād Khān to his house. He had power over members of his tribe, as it was before. He was strong with their support and his leadership was safe. Similar was the case with the Malek. He reviewed events of the time. He did not issue any order without their consultation. The Malek made efforts for regard of the Sultān. He ordered Rumi and Habshi mamālik (slaves) of the state to pay obedience to him. They were in a large number more than two hundred. This number included Mahaldār Khān, Sanjar Khān, Hushiār Khān, Habash-ul-Mulk, Sarhān Mukhtass Khān, Āqā Bahrām and Zulfiqār Khān. He increased the number with the amount he had to spend under his authority. He specified as the stable, the kitchen etc. The old departments of the saltanat were Jāmdār Khāna (cups), Sharāb Khāna (drinks) and Tasht Khāna (trays) etc. The Sultān spent his days in comfort. His hopes got strengthened for establishment of authority. The Malek granted him territory and added to it a party of men. They were as they were in attendance upon Maḥmud. They consisted of Amin-ul-Mulk Sharābdar, Nizām-ul-Mulk, Mubāriz-

* Original Text, p 416.

ul-Mulk, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, son of the Rānā Patāi, ruler of Chāmpāner, Sikander Khān, Shaikh Yusuf of Mandu, Shaikh Aslam and Sādāt Khān.* Teghnumā Khān, son of 'Ali Khān Sayyid Barānhar of Mandu was young, strong and brave. He was wounded in the eye. The Sultān got firm in authority. He rode out as he desired to hunting and playing polo-game to jungles with elephants and five thousand horses.

In the year 963 ( 1555 ), Ālam Khān arrived at Aḥmadābād. He made it his special business to pay visits to I'timād Khān. He met him most of the time. He always tried to bring him to a degree of attack on Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri. He wanted to make himself strong by weakening his position. He was making movements and forming plans. He completely brought him to a disturbance and was about to address him a word on it. Disturbance was asleep, may God curse one who made efforts to awaken it. There were three disturbances in succession. It was a fourth one. He blundered in it. It was defective and his leg went wrong. An evil stratagem recoils on its planner. Its account is : it was opened by the alighting of A'zam-i-Humāyun at Broach to turn out 'Imād-ul-Mulk from it as he turned out Nasir-ul-Mulk and to establish himself as the Nāib. He found him in a firm position. He remained in the palace. When he tried for an attack on Syed Mubārak, he prevented A'zam-i-Humāyun to return from Broach and it so happened. He came out with the Sultān, crossed the river Kāri ( Khāri ) and 'Ālam Khān encamped on the ford of the river at a distance of a farsakh from the camp. It was a pause between Tatār Khān Ghori and I'timād Khān and the cause of it was 'Ālam Khān. He met them. 'Imad-ul-Mulk and Ulugh Khān unanimously decided upon this event of 'Ālam Khān. The Malek sent a message to Sayyid Mubārak to console him by informing about the case and asked him to see him in the morning. The messenger was the confidential Ankas Khān Rumi. In the morning, the Malek ordered the drum to be beaten as usual for a march from the manzil and announced to the soldiers to be equipped with arms. The amirs presented themselves. Rows of the army were arrayed and ordered them for help in case of need. He assembled his habshis. Bijli Khān was under the banner of Ulugh Khān. All of them were equipped with arms for war. They abandoned cannons at a place. He had invisible beings with him and not with him. Jognis imply such persons in Hind. Asad Khān arrayed cannons for opposition. 'Imād-ul-Mulk rode out with the Sultān. Sayyid Mubārak presented himself, and stood under the canopy. The Malek sent a message to I'timād Khān. He came in joy that day. People saw that the Malek moved with the Sultān, holding his † hand and returned to his post for the war. He was with the Sayyid under the canopy. The reporter said that when the Sayyid saw a large crowd, he said

* Original Text, p. 417. † Original Text, p. 418.

within himself that it was like Bani Balil. The Malek then joined them. It was to him like as our Lord, the Great has said, " They plan a fraud and we plan a fraud and they do not know. " Just see how was the end of their fraud !" When the Sulṭān had ordered to place his hand on the hand of I'timād Khān and not to leave it at all. He did so. One of them stood on his right and the other on his left. The Malek advanced upon them and sent a message to 'Ālam Khān ordering him for return to his territory. He kept himself away in anger. He showed arrogance and refused to go, He was with three thousand horses. It was not but to fight. He advanced with the army. It was for him to rush in war with fury and wrath. He crossed the river. He cast his eyes at the army of pomp and grandeur. He turned his eye and saw Ulugh Khān in the cavalcade like a star; in pleasure at severance of night; experienced and tried; they were like banners for the earth. It fluttered like the banner of victory. He said to the holder of it, " Who is near him this," pointing out with the hand to him. Karim is equal to him in fighting with the sword. He has power over him. There is none like him in the community. He will not overpower you today. He is my confidante, friend and companion. I lost him for he was prattling like a fox, wicked and dishonourable. He was I'timād Khān. It happened what God the Great had wished. They opened faces of cannons. Stones were falling like torture. (Stones fell like punishment of the day of judgment). Their speed was, I mean, of horses; slanting like flood. In the meantime, there came to him persons with bows. They were rich in straight spears. Hammering was like the roaring of thunders. Besides they were fired all at once and brought them down to the ground. There were persons who did not like to try with fire. They bled from disgrace and died along with companions. Ulugh Khān had arranged his men and extended his wings. He was waiting to stretch it. He did it and terminated it to the station of Isrāfil. First blow of the trumpet was in the hand of Isrāfil. Fright impelled him to raise a cry. He amplified it; they amplified it with the cry of " God is the Greatest." It fell in a gladdened breast and repentent heart. And great prowess. It was a pain which increased in him. It was displayed in armours. Particles of dust fell into eyes. It became strong, pressed down and entered, moved to right and left, and centre of the vanguard and upon centre of the* charge. It slanted from a heavy saddle to assemble upon one who afforded a shelter. He then turned to his saddle. The crowds straightened him with every kind of incivility from descendants of Hām. They consisted of Mirjān Jhujhār Khān, Mirjān Shirwān Khān, Mirjān Muhāfiz Khān, Sandal Ghālib Khān, Tawilah Hoshiār Khān, Raihān Maheldār Khān, Sa'eed Afsah Khān, Bilāl Khairat Khān, Mandal Dilāwar Khān, Miftāh Saif-ul-Muluk, Nāsir Sarmast

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* Original Text, p. 419.

Khān, Yāqub Bāzi Sultāni, Sābit Khān, Farhān Lurak Sultāni, Sa'eed, Police officer of the Diwān, Raihān Husaini, Sa'eed Ansar Khāni, Mirjān Shāmi. If I tried their account, oh hearer, you would lose patience. But who gave an account of it at first, I was first in resolve and alone headed among men of caution. It was then an occasion as this occasion. Nay, it was a distress and an investment with authority. 'Ālam Khān was a good friend in majesty and pomp. They were two strong lions in distress. They were two horns jointly associated together in a difficult race-course. Two opposites had met in the battle-field like two noblemen.

Couplet

When there was no help from God to a young man
Mostly, his effort does not reap the harvest.

He left the battle-field and nominated his successor. His son Qutb Khān among his nobles was killed. His son Pir Muḥammed had become perfect like the full moon at the age of fourteen. He fell from his saddle and was captured. The lion reared a lion. He always made progress in religion and world till he became the chief and was hit by him. It was he who was killed along with 'Ādil Shāh in the war of Suhail of the Deccan. He was an Amir and headed the list of pious men of the age. May God show mercy to them and the Muslims and admit us in paradise by his generosity and honour of the Prophet, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him. Amen! Amen! Amen:

Ulugh Khān paused and embraced Bijli Khān and similarly persons above mentioned, the other famous men and the followers all. He thanked them and praised them and said to them that the sword was for striking and patience is for bearing its blow. He was from you who martyred your enemy for you and forgave him on your behalf. Beneficence to One for whom you martyred the enemies with it. Celebrate victory after this day when you killed this enemy when advancing for my war.....Viramgām with what was your claim from me.* I had pledged with God the Holy not to unsheathe the sword from this time of mine upon a Muslim at all. He then visited Ma'mur Khān. It was said to him that he was one of those who came out in the wake of those who fled, when he was coming with his elephant "Udaigir", he embraced him and said to him as to where he found him. He replied that he had followed 'Ālam Khān and that he saw the elephant while passing with a party. He subdued him and when he went near him, he decided to give the elephant to the owner. A horseman came back from the party. He fought and was killed. A'zam-i-Humāyun was with him. I returned the elephant and left him. Changiz Khān left the centre for his help while 'Ādil Khān and Fateh Jang Khān were to his right and left respectively. Before their arrival, he dismounted from his horse, bowed down

* Original Text, p. 420.

before God out of thanks and rode to a side, embraced, praised every one of his companions and similarly eulogised the amirs and they mostly praised him. They all then went to 'Imād-ul-Mulk. The Malek advanced towards him. It was at a place in a plain, he embraced and Ulugh Khān praised Bijli Khān and reared him in a good manner. He had a wound of a pin. He was safe. He turned to Sherwān Khān. He belonged to Bijli Khān's party. The edge of the sword had scratched his upper lip. He praised him and wished him promotion. He said to him, " How did you fall down from the saddle at the time of giving help?" The day was such. He then informed him about the captive Pir Khān, son of 'Ālam Khān. He was safe with him and had given him a horse from a special stable, suspended him a sword by a trick and praised him for his steadfastness at that age. He turned to him and said to him, " why did he not carry your father upon this? If he had left him safe, no one would have destroyed him from those who were with him." His reply was:

A man loves to give a gift to him
God refuses except what he wishes.

He then robed him and ordered him to be engaged with work and sent him in a party to his father. The Malek then turned to the side of the canopy with Ulugh Khān, saluted him, met the Sayyid and every one of them at last wore a smile. The Sayyid then said to him, "I have taken you on such a day as this as my son. He then quoted the following line

I am a slave to Bilāl first
The Prophet is my grand-father as is said.*
He is a shelter to me in the event of a calamity
Principles are a chief to you.

He then alighted at the camp. I'timād Khān rested at night. The Malek and the Sayyid met and thought of the Sultān in respect of 'Ālam Khān's territory of Chāmpāner and what was adjacent to the frontiers of Mandu as well as to the frontiers of Mahi river and they added to it Navsāri. Thāna, Khanderi, Chakli to Akāsi belonged to Ulugh Khān. Baroda was in possession of Changiz Khān. There was nothing in the name of I'timad Khān. I know the hardships of reports of the narrators. I had stated something which had happened in the beginning of the saltanat of Aḥmad Shāh as reported by the narrator. Kishwar Khān then informed Jauhar 'Ādil Khāni that he did not differ in anything and agreed in many things. The substance of his report was what the fortunate Sultān Maḥmud had cited. In 961 (1553), Nāsir-ul-Mulk, ruler of Nazarbār came to Aḥmadābād. In the meantime, Mubārak Shāh came to Rānāpur Kotiya with a resolve for sovereignty...... (and encamped) on the river Narbada near Broach. 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Ulugh Khān Mandal head of the nauba issued

* Original Text, p. 421.

forth from Baroda with the Sultān. Sayyid Mubārak was with him. After the conclusion of peace, Mubārak went back to Burhānpur from the disturbance. But the disturbance grew between them. 'Itimād Khān was in it. Sayyid Mubārak was on one side and Nāsir-ul-Mulk and 'Imād-ul-Mulk on the other. There was a small distance between the two parties. One day it so happened that Sayyid Mubārak showed himself in the forefront. It was near the two armies. Khairat Khān was in the vanguard of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. There was a war between the two. Sayyid Mubārak's brother's son was killed in it. His name was Sayyid Fidāk. He was a brave horseman on the side of Khairat Khān. On the defeat of 'I'timād Khān, Sayyid Mubārak followed him to Kapadwanj. Ulugh Khān Mandal was killed in that encounter by a gun-shot. It was at the instruction of Nāsir-ul-Mulk. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was affected thereby. But in accordance with the subject-matter of the Tradition, " Seek secret help in your need." 'Imād-ul-Mulk performed a superrerogatory deed and transferred the title from Mandal to Yāqut as well as what was with him of the state including his Mansab of the charge. It so happened. He murmured on taking revenge of Mandal from Nāsir-ul-Mulk which in his pride he revealed it one day.* Sayyid Mubārak had insisted on getting knowledge of it with I'timād Khān in his wake. 'Imād-ul-Mulk rode out with the Sultān. He was always with him. He sent message to Nāsir-ul-Mulk informing him about the arrival of Sayyid Mubārak for war. Changiz Khān started with cannons and 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Ulugh Khān were in his wake. Nāsir-ul-Mulk became anxious for there was authority of the Malek in them in thus granting him permission. He rode out with men of his companions and saw the Malek. When he approached him, he said to him," Go back safely and do not pretend to come to the Sultān ". He then went back to his companions to inform that he wanted to fight. The Malek turned his reins from the side of I'timād Khān and stood face to face with Nāsir-ul-Mulk and discharged the cannons in his face. The Malek, the Sayyid and I'timād Khān met together and fought with Nāsir-ul-Mulk and his few confederates. He then fled to Nādod and after a few days, the Malek received the news of his death in a village Asāi. It was the jurisdiction of Nazarbār and Sultānpur. It so happened that Rāi Dhanyā, the ruler of Lalank, arrived from the side of Mubārak Shah to him and went to him. In the meantime, the Malek restricted himself. He received intelligence of Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk, ruler of Pattan, Hasan Khān Deccani, ruler of Kherālu, Fateh Khān Baluch, ruler of Rādhanpur who had assembled at Ahmedābad for establishing saltanat in the name of Shāhu. The Malek and his companions returned to Aḥmedābād. They alighted on the bank of Khārí at a distance of sixty farsakhs from Aḥmedābād. Three of them had come with their Sultān to it also and alighted on the river from their side. At night Fateh Khān joined I'timād Khān; Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk

* Original Text, p. 422.

left his Sultān, abandoned him while Shāhu fled away from his halting-place. He was saying," I am put to disgrace with that and I did not die." In the morning, Hasan Khān was fighting with his men fully equipped. He had collected not more than four thousand and not less than two thousand. All those persons belonged to his community, severe and strong; he had elephants like mountains moving in front. Hansrāj was one of them. He did not care who fought with him from among the horse, more or less. Jahāngir Khān arrayed the rows in defence on the bank of the river in front of him. 'Imād-ul-Mulk and his companions rode out. Ulugh Khān advanced for war. He crossed the river. There was a quake in the army due to Iqbāl Deccani and his* fury. Cannons did not prevent him from attack. His regiment had a firm basis, row after row. Whenever somebody fell down by a canon, he replaced one by one. They did not keep a vacuum in the row. When Hasan Khān ended with them with the sword, he had many Gujarātis in his army, they fled helter-skelter. It was due to fear. They could not join one another. Ulugh Khān crossed the river, took the sword but he was hit by a gun and died. His companions stood firm after him for some time in the face of Ulugh Khān. They then dispersed and did not come to the battle-field. The Sultān entered the city and continued under the tutelage of the Malek as was Daryā Khan during the regime of Nāsir-ul-Mulk. In 961 (1553), 'Ālam Khān and A'zam-i-Humāyun returned from Delhi to Gujarāt. Dhanyā Rāi had established authority over.......and Nazarbār and Sultānpur on behalf of Mubārak Shāh. This portion of territory was fixed for 'Ālam Khān. Baroda and Champāner were assigned to his friend A'zam-i-Humāyun. Nādod was in possession of Bahāul Mulk Sindi. They both left Ahmedābād for their respective assignments and came to Baroda. 'Ālam Khān stayed there and sent A'zam-i-Humāyun to Nazarbār. He established authority over that portion and lived there. Kishwar Khān was similarly informed. But another person from 'Ālam Khān informed about this domination without the appointment of Nāib of the Saltanat. The circumstances were a proof of this. Kishwar Khān said that when the Nāib of the Saltanat received this intelligence about what was his, he sent message to Mubārak Shāh inducing him to expel A'zam-i-Humāyun. He personally came to it and took possession of it and A'zam i-Humāyun returned to Nādod and seized it and turned out Bahāul Mulk from it to the side of Broach. It was for Imād-ul-Mulk. After some time in the same year, Tughluq Khān's murder took place at the instigation of Masnad-ul-'Āli as narrated by way of warning before, and his expulsion from the city along with his followers to the Kānkariya. 'Imād-ul-Mulk went to him to persuade him to return to it. He was with the Sultān in the city. He refused and said, that "I cannot enter into it unless Ulugh Khan is expelled from it." The Malek returned. I'timād

* Original Text, p. 423.

Khān went with his party to Maḥmudābād. In the meantime, 'Imād-ul-Mulk said to Ulugh Khān for his welfare to go to the seat of his territory for some days and then return. He accepted it, 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent 'Ādil Khān Qirmāni to I'timād Khān to inform him about his acceptance and request for his return.* When Qirmāni met him and informed him with what he was pleased, he returned to the city and lived in the same condition as before. 'Imād-ul-Mulk learnt about the alightment of A'zam-i-Humāyūn in Broach which was near him. Alaf Khān Khatri had encamped there from the side of Ankleswar and he had taken possession of Ankleswar as well as what was adjacent to it from the territory of Broach. Nasir-ul-Mulk al-Banbāni had established himself in the city of Navsāri as far as the sea. He met I'timād Khān and negotiated with him in respect of territory. The last word of I'timād Khān was that it was proper to keep Broach for the Sultān and that he should have Pattan for him. As he was the Nāib of the Sultān, it should be under his charge as it was at the outset. The Malek was satisfied and returned to his house. He rode out with the Sultān at the chosen hour from the palace called Darbār to the house of I'timād Khān who came out to him, saluted him, and walked with the stirrup of the Sultān. The distance between the Darbār and his house was nearly the dart of an arrow. Besides, when he approached the house, he gave a royal feast befitting him. He then presented him with gifts that were ready with him. He then returned walking along the stirrup to the Darbār and continued in his tutelage. The Malek also got down near the Darbār. He was always near him. The Habshi and Rumi mamāliks of the Saltanat were under direction of the Malek. They were always around him and their number was large. I'timād Khān did not like internally to remain in the presence of 'Imād-ul-Mulk but he did so externally. As far as possible, they like to be away from each other. They were independent of the Malek. I'timād Khān went with the Sultān to Broach on its liberation in exchange for Pattan and encamped there. Except for the Afghans, none stayed there. He blessed him for the territory. The Malek met him outwardly but concealed his hostility on supposition of a disturbance to be brewing between the two enemies. He consulted his companions. They said that Broach and its surroundings had an army and trade. That was due to its citizens and the Afghans. Near it, there was a sea. It had also a strong fort. In case of necessity, the fort was away from it and they could hide safely they did not see any benefit in exchange of that place. They should return from it with a secret yearning. Upon this, he sent a messenger to one who had garrisoned the fort of Pattan while fighting. He was Musā Khān, son of A'in-ul-Mulk † Faulādi and his brother Sher Khān who was with him in the fort. It was conveyed to them that there was no fear from them and that the territory would not be taken from them. Hence it was for him and from him to him.

* Original Text, p 424. † Original Text p. 425.

He then sent a message to I'timād Khān saying to him, "I do not desire Broach in exchange. This region is to be for me. You have given it to me in my ownership. If it were for any one other than me, then do not come to it except after a long stay. We will not be safe in it from the disturbance of those who oppose them. Return from this region before taking Broach." He did accordingly. He came to Aḥmadābād to go out with the Sultān with him to Broach. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came to Maḥmudābād and stayed waiting for him. When he delayed, he sent 'Ādil Khān to him to persuade him to move. When he found him indifferent, he left him and returned to his territory. The Malek rode out leaving Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri. He was at his residential quarters of Maḥmudābād. He received intelligence about 'Ālam Khān's collecting an army and encamping on the river Mahi to prevent the Malek from crossing it with cannons and elephants. The Malek talked about it to Sayyid Mubārak. He said to him, "It is your duty to pacify I'timād Khān to move with him to Broach and not to stop 'Ālam Khān from movement. God the Holy will spare you from dependence and help you against the enemy. My son Sayyid Mirān and 'Ali Khān Sayyid Barānbar Mandwāli will come with you as far as the river." The Malek bade him fare well and marched towards Broach and they were with him. On his encampment at Kāser, he received intelligence about 'Ālam Khān that he had crossed the river and encamped there. He collected the army, distributed arms and prepared for war and arrayed the cannons. The distance between the two was of six farsakhs. 'Ālam Khān learnt about it. With the Madads of the Sayyid who had accompanied him, he crossed the river turning towards Bikāner and encamped on the narrow pass there. He sent a message to the Malek begging him for the arrival of 'Ādil Khān to him. He accepted it. When he met him, he overflowed with non-sensical talk and thus he failed to conciliate 'Ādil Khān with threats to separate himself from the Malek and be of his party. He responded to him as a man of community inclined towards the community. "You are an Afghan and I am a Rumi. We will never agree in this manner." He then asked him to apologize to the Malek. At the time of his departure, he brought a robe and a horse. 'Adil* Khān said, "Robe, no; but the horse, yes." He then sprinkled the saffron colour, scented him and gave him a betel-leaf in accordance with the custom of Hind and bade him farewell. He then issued forth journeying to his majālis (companions) and said, "I wanted to prevent the Malek from crossing but he sent his friend for the marriage of his daughter with me. I accepted it and refrained from stopping him. He therefore brought the saffron in the majlis. He spread this report till he joined the camp of the Malek that day. Then a chief of the Rumis came to 'Ādil Khān and said to him, "What is this that we hear?" He said, "What"; he said, he accepted the Malek for 'Ālam Khān

* Original Text, p. 426.

for the marriage of his daughter with him." 'Ādil Khān lost his temper and stood up to the Malek and said, "What news have you spread among the people?" He said, "I have no knowledge of it. Perhaps you are the cause of it for you came to me scented and saffroned." 'Ādil Khān said, "I circulated it, for throwing a doubt of helplessness from preventing you." He then announced in the camp that "Rumi should remain without a gun whether he was a footman or a horseman and that he should be under my flag. Other horsemen and armed men should be under your flag. 'Ālam Khān encamped on the branch of a river and the narrow pass to prevent himself and I will go for the attack of guns and hasten for fire of small cannons and expel him from the branch repeatedly. When he came out to the plain, then you, he and I will be the first to assault him." The Malek did accordingly. The Malek and 'Ādil Khān spent the night with complete arms to attack him with the rise of morning. They agreed to turn out A'zam-i-Humāyun from Broach. He was in possession of it except the fort. When he heard about the arrival of the Malek, he changed his mind. When he met him, he did not like to prevent the Malek and help him out of malice for strength to the Malek. In the course of their conversation, they received intelligence of what the Malek had resolved upon crossing by force and violence. He said to 'Ālam Khān, "This branch will not prevent you from him. Issue forth in the plain before he turns you out from it by the strength of his fire and I will make peace between you." 'Ālam Khān abandoned the path of the Malek and went to the side of the land. A'zam-i-Humāyun marched after getting permission of the Malek and apologized for what was from him in the direction of Broach and from 'Ālam Khān about what had happened to him. He then talked with him about the territory and said, "We agree and you upon liberation of what was in the hand of Nasir-ul-Mulk al-Banbāni half of it for your son, Changiz Khān, half for me and for * 'Ālam Khān. With this agreement, we will own what he will not own. The Malek appreciated his talk and accepted it. A'zam-i-Humāyun returned to his friend with joy with what agreement was from him. The Malek woke up in the morning on the river bank, crossed it and encamped on the plain of Baroda in the direction of his territory. He was cautious against negligence. After taking the army and the animals with comfort, he marched that day to Broach. Bahāul Mulk Sindi was there after leaving Nādod. He trusted the Malek and he was with him now. The Malek entered Broach at night. 'Ādil Khān met him after an hour, brought him to the port, crossed the river for help to the Malek and attacked Ankleswer with the rise of morning. Alaf Khān was in grossest negligence. He prepared himself as far as possible, fought for a short while and fled to Jāmbugām in a wounded state. 'Ādil Khān overpowered him in opposition and occupied what territory belonged to him as far as Jāmbugām. Alaf

* Original Text, p. 427.

Khān went out from the direction of his region. A'zam-i-Humāyun came to Nādod in the wake of the Malek and encamped there waiting for the departure of the Malek to Navsāri, the capital of Nasir-ul-Mulk. The Malek's mind was at ease in respect of Alaf Khān etc. Men of judgment met together and said, "There is relation between us and the Afghāns. The Malek agreed with them upon depriving Nasir-ul-Mulk of territory. It was proper for us to agree with Nasir-ul-Mulk upon what he has as his ancestors were wazirs of the saltanat and we help him now with one hundred thousand Maḥmudis for expenditure at the proper time. We take all this to Aḥmedābād. We will make him wazir to help us." The friends of the Malek applauded him for what was said. Hājib-ul-Mulk went to Nasir-ul-Mulk to inform him about what was decided and begged him for help and to prepare and come out with him. Nasir-ul-Mulk accepted it and promised the payment of amount. Bahāul Mulk Sindi ordered, in accordance with this agreement, to extricate Nādod from A'zam-i-Humāyun. He sent an army to his help. When he approached Nādod, A'zam-i-Humāyun came out from Nādod and went to a side, encamped, deviated from the path to hide his information. Bahāul-Mulk occupied Nādod. In the meantime, he was * with Madad in the pavilion. A'zam-i-Humayun hammered them in their negligence. Bahāul Mulk was martyred. He was fighting on horse-back. Madad fled on account of this incident. Sandal Jahangirkhāni titled 'Āli Khān, one of the Madads, who fought and went out with a wound in palm. Bahāul Mulk was buried that very day at that place. A dome is built over it. I had visited it on my passing by it. In the meanwhile, 'Imād-ul-Mulk learnt about the incident of Nādod. He received intelligence about Ulugh Khān's crossing the river from the ford called Karkari. It was at this place that a war had taken place between him and I'timād Khān. He rejoiced at his arrival and sent his son Changiz Khān and with him 'Ādil Khān Qirmāni to him. 'Imād-ul-Mulk welcomed him in the neighbourhood of Broach. Their meeting took place at the expanse of blessed shrine of the lofty saint of proof, beneficent of miracles Bābā Raihān, may God benefit me through him for ever. After making amends for what had happened with the Madad in war, he prepared an army for Nādod. A'zam-i-Humāyun came out from it and proceeded to Baroda. 'Imād-ul-Mulk then sent a message to Nasir-ul-Mulk advising him to prepare for Aḥmedābād and demanded from him the amount stipulated. His reply angered the Malek. He then crossed the river Narbada and sent Changiz Khān, Ulugh Khān and a party of amirs against him. Nasir-ul-Mulk fought once, twice, thrice but did not stand against him any more. Under order of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, his territory consisting of Daman, Thānā and their ports, Tarābur (Tārāpore), Bassāi (Bassein) and from the side of Navsāri district, was assigned to Ulugh Khān. Ulugh Khān and 'Ādil Khān proceeded to Sārah which was in possession of

* Original Text, p. 428.

Bhirji and conquered it. Then they both and Changiz Khān returned to Broach. They met at the shrine of beneficent of lights, Bābā Raihān, may God benefit through him and may his grave be sanctified. In the meantime, the Malek and Ulugh Khān talked about time and plan. They sought spiritual help from Bābā Raihān. His beneficence pervaded them and they realized their desires. An edict of the Saltanat arrived. It was written by Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri to the Malek for calling him to the place. It was the Sayyid's getting in with the Sultān. It was the farmān of I'timād Khān to him as well as the exit of I'timād Khān from it. The Malek and Ulugh Khān were to co-operate. Both of them rejoiced with the news. They distributed silver and gold coins in charity and returned to the fort. Within a short time, they set out for Aḥmadābād with all the foreigners except officers of the state. On the Malek's army going to Navsāri, 'Ālam Khān and A'zam-i-Humāyun met on the river Narbada to* strengthen Nasir-ul-Mulk. In the meanwhile, they received intelligence at their alighting place about Nasir-ul-Mulk's defeat and his going to I'timād Khān. He had promised him help and induced him to fight in opposition. In the wake of this news, they learnt about the Sultān's going to Sayyid Mubārak. Both of them returned to Baroda. A'zam-i-Humāyun remained behind. His friend proceeded to Aḥmadābād. When Sayyid Mubārak learnt about the arrival of Imād-ul-Mulk and Ulugh Khān, he said, " Either prevent the Turki from coming or leave me and him. " He replied, stoppage, no. They are the mamāliks of the saltanat. They have fury and strength. I do not leave them. They will accept my prevention. But I leave you and him. It is nearer than prevention. "If you be from their men, then wait and see." He got disappointed from the side of the Sayyid. There was a kind of abhorrence between him and Ulugh Khān for war. He set out for Chāmpāner and the Malek arrived to the frontiers of Aḥmadābād. The Sayyid received him and went to the Sultān with him. After their meeting, the Sayyid alighted in the house of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, crossed the river Sābar and encamped at Majnanarpur. On the second day (Monday) the Sayyid had alighted in the house of I'timād Khān. 'Imād-ul-Mulk and the Sayyid met. He then alighted in the Bait-ul-Ma'mur and on the third day (Tuesday), they met in the Diwān. The seal of the saltanat was given to him. The Sultan gave up his guardianship. He obtained leave from the Sultān and returned to Maḥmudābād. The Malek received Regency of the Saltanat. I'timād Khān was at Sāchor. Mubārak Shāh arrived a second time in response to his call for his help to be the Sultān at his words. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came out with the Sultān. Peace was made. Mubārak Shāh returned. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, I'timād Khān and the Sayyid met together. They arrived at Aḥmadābād. After a while, I'timād Khān and 'Ālam Khān decided at Bāba Raihān to expel the foreigners from the city to their land. They then met at the Kānka-

* Original Text, p. 429.

riya reservoir. They said, "We do not enter the city unless you expel the foreigners from it." The Sayyid arrived to them from the city. He repented and sent for 'Ādil Khān and said to him, "Say to the Malek to go out with the Sultān at the first dawn to my tent, submit to him and return." The Malek did accordingly. The Sayyid met the Sultān while the Malek returned to his* city. Other insurgents remained in their places for some days. They then proceeded to Maḥmudābād. They made peace with the Malek for entering into the city and attacking the Sayyid. It so happened. They resolved upon attack of their successor Ulugh Khān internally. Tātār Khan acquainted him with his hatred for 'Ālam Khān. Both of them met the Malek. All the three decided upon peace with the Sayyid and war with 'Ālam Khān. They came out with the Sultān to cross the river Khāri and encamped at it and spent a day. The Sayyid was under the canopy of the Sultān. The Malek arrived with the Sultān to I'timād Khān. The Ṣultān took him by the hand and arrived with him to.. .... the canopy. He was with Sayyid Mubārak. He did not mind his account. It was what was.

The Malek marched with the Sultān to Baroda to the encampment of Ālam Khān. The Sayyid I'timād Khān and Tatār Khān had accompanied him. When he crossed the river Mahi 'Alam Khān came out with his companions, spared by the sword to the famous city, Dabhoi, for strengthening its city-walls. Islām was there from ancient times as it was at Broach, old Baroda, Khanbhāyat and Pattan. The Malek, first of all, alighted at Baroda. Changiz Khān had established his power there. The Sultān sent from his side the two amirs, brothers and sayyids Shaikh Aslim and Sādāt Khān to Chāmpāner. He distinguished Shaikh Yusuf Mandwāli with the title of A'zam-i-Humāyun, a banner, a drum and territory. He was the first in his family to rise to the rank of an amir. It is said that he who found fault with Muwāwiya, may God be pleased with him, in doing good to him was ignorant. He was not from the family of Sayyids. His reply to him was, "we are the time; he whom we raised, became lofty; he whom we brought low, remained lower. He whom we favoured and esteemed, was invested with authority. As it is said, "when God made men fortunate; they were fortunate men." 'Imād-ul-Mulk then marched to Dabhoi. 'Ālam Khān came out of it to go towards Aḥmadābād. He came to his qasba of his district called Kadi. It belonged to I'timād Khān. Sher Khān Faulādi had joined it to his own and kept it under his territory. There were five hundred Afghāns. There was a small number of his men. The Malek received intelligence of their meeting for harm and mischief, he sent the† two amirs, Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk and Nāsir Daryā Khān against them. They met in the maidān. Kadi had abundant trees. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk stopped in it in ambush while Daryā Khān emerged before 'Ālam Khān. There was none of his

* Original Text, p. 430. † Original Text, p. 431.

men. He fled from him. 'Ālam Khān stayed in Matarak and his men engaged themselves in plunder of baggages. The Malek showed himself from the ambush, displayed arrogance for 'Ālam Khān by desiring not to see his face. He stood firm with a small number of men. 'Ālam Khān had a large number of men. When the elephant approached him, he faced him, gave a blow of sword on his trunk which was about to be cut off if it had not stopped firmly on his tusk. The elephant screamed. He had spurred his horse to give a blow a second time but his horse stopped on his legs, touched the earth, the elephant knelt upon him, seized him between his fore-legs, broke his ribs, struck his tusk with a dagger in its origin. He then died. Such a one as he, does not die except like this. And that too in this age. He was brave, intrepid, tyrannical, unjust, assassin, blood-shedding, near evil, away from good, of haughty temperament and lofty courage. I'timād Khān lost him. In the early part of the year 964 (1556), he went out one morning from his camp to Dabhoi to proceed to Sultānpur reproaching 'Imād-ul-Mulk. His mind was obsessed with him. He sent for Mubārak Shāh. He met him at this time and encamped with him. Tatār Khān Ghori separated him and similarly, Malek-ush-Sharq and advanced in opposition to 'Imād-ul-Mulk also. The opposition continued for some months. 'Imad-ul-Mulk conciliated him. He invited Mubārak Shāh of Nazarbār and Sultānpur out of modesty to come and return without anything. He gave him that and Mubārak Shāh returned to Āsir and left a successor, in this territory, the slave (mamluk) of his father Jhujhār Khān. The Malek and I'timād Khan met. The army returned. When he was at Baroda, Ulugh Khān fell ill and his pain became very severe. The army stopped for his death. His son Sa'eed Muhammed Khairat Khān was staying at Broach. The Wazir sent for him. Before his arrival, the year 965 (1557) had set in. He became very weak and died on 17th, Rabi'l of the year. None was left behind from his meeting including the Sultān. 'Imād-ul-Mulk became weary, wept and lamented but exercised* patience, recovered and carried his coffin to Sarkhej and buried him in the neighbourhood of the martyr Bilāl Jhujhār Khān from the side of his face. His son Sa'eed Muhammed Khairat Khān was present at the Zyārat ceremony. Jhujhār Khān was the testator or guardian from the side of his mother. On the second of the Ziyārat, there did not remain a single habshi in the camp who was not present like a mad man. Bijli Khān was among them. He then rode out with the guardian to 'Imād-ul Mulk Nāhiz-ul-Hilm stood before him, embraced him sat by his side. He joined to him and rode with him to the Sultān. He was awarded the title of his father and designation of his father. He was now Majlis-ul-Ashraf-ul-'Āli. His territory was retained with him. The Wazir titled him as Bilāl Falah Khān with his title Khairat Khān. It was as his father had. The Malek then marched with the Sultān to Ahmedābād.

* **Original Text, p. 432.**

There were strong rumours that Nāsir Daryā Khān poisoned him at the suggestion of 'Imād-ul-Mulk.

On 22nd Ramzān, the Sultān went to Sayyid Mubārak and the cause of it was that his friends who had gathered around him were not tried in experience and risen by degrees. They had no experience from the earth to the sky. There was thoughtlessness in it. Every one other than the Malek claimed himself to be the king of Chāmpāner. He rode out with a party of amirs, and a number of elephants. Their iota of meekness amounted to despotism and helped them, nay, prompted them to beguile their friends with the banner and the drum: such was their action. 'Imād-ul-Mulk and I'timād Khān came out after them without delay. Every one of them encamped at Maḥmudābād near each other. Jahāngir and others visited the Sayyid to conciliate the Sultān and to return to them immediately. It was not. 'Imād-ul-Mulk received news of Faulādi's arrival at Sarkhej. It so happened that Haji Khān Sher Shāhi had come to Gujarāt from the Sultan of Hind Jalāluddin Akber Pādshah with five hundred of Sher Shāh's amirs, nobles of the sultanat and chiefs of the state, two thousand of their followers, five hundred subordinates and five hundred elephants with them. They came with Faulādi Musā Khān. He met him as well as I'timād Khān and said to him "We exercised patience today upon the Sayyid. We will lose our patience with him tomorrow." They divided, distributed arms and rode to Sayyidpur the capital of the Sayyid. Cannons were moving in front of them. Jahāngir Khān was sent to inform him that he should surrender the Sultān or keep himself aloof from him, otherwise, they as* the slaves of the Sultān would come to him if he did not come to them. The Sayyid talked with them but the Sultān refused to talk. The Malek then advanced for war, arrayed his forces and I'timād Khān stood firm with him. All of them set out to cross the river to Sayyidpur. The Sultān rode out with his army. The Sayyid also went out with him. His son Sayyid Mirān was by his side and his grandson Sayyid Hāmid b. Mirān was in front. They chanced to face I'timād Khān while the Sultān and Ulugh Khān had to face the Malek. Jhujhār had paused near with him. He faced the canopy. A'zam-i-Humāyun, Teghnumā Khān were in command of the vanguard. Shaikh Aslim and Sādāt Khān were on the Right-Wing while Sikander Khān was on the Left-Wing. The Sultān was under the canopy with armour-wearers (Salāhdār). Amin-ul-Mulk was in the centre with the flag. The Malek turned to his forces right and left. He did not see except a small portion for he had given permission to the amirs to go to their respective territory. He took the spear in his hand and shouted out among his friends right and left. He then cried out "Oh Yāqut Ulugh Khān." Jhujhār Khān heard it. Out of Zeal, he raised a shout of Allah-o-

* Original Text, p. 433.

Akber" among his companions and they shouted out "Allah-o-Akber" once, second time. He and Ulugh Khān were together reins with reins. They then assaulted the vanguard. It was in command of Rustam Khān. From the early part of his life, he was with him. He was the slave of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He was not in war except with Ulugh Khān. Similarly, he was in the front row at this time. His name then was Hasan Āqā. They mingled with one another. It was a wave in between them. The enemy joined the earth. Rustam Khān and A'zam-i-Humāyun fought. They grappled each other, fought with each other and got separated from the saddle. It was a great chaos. Rustam knelt upon his breast. They were immersed in iron. His sword proved ineffective. He then drew out a blade from his boots and stabbed top of the throat with it and it came out of the nape. He ran with his legs and his soul departed. He stood up from him and mounted back of his horse. Teghnumā Khān had fallen. The vanguard fled. The Malek pursued it with his flag and attendants. The Sultān was beguiled because of young age. The affair was great for him. Misfortune weakened him with their killing. He turned his reins and submitted himself to the Malek fearing he might kill him. His plan was undone. He was close to the Right and Left wings. The Malek stopped. His companions assembled* around him. He turned to Ulugh Khān, went near him, embraced him and said to him, "You are Ulugh Khān Sawāi (super Ulugh Khan). Oh! you are like your father and more than he." He added this word to his title. From that day, he addressed him and wrote to him "Ulugh Khān Sawāi." Ulugh Khān praised Hasan Āqā. The Malek summoned him to himself and questioned him about A'zam-i-Humāyun. He then ordered a khil'at, a sword and a horse for him. Ulugh Khān requested him for a title. He said, "Wait from this day, this is the place of Rustam." The Malek then said "Hasan Āqā Rustam Khān." But Sayyid Mubārak. He was blind. He failed to distinguish his relatives from non-relatives, when he rode out for the war and was in the midst of the battle-field. He happened to fall in the hand of master of the halter (groom). He led him. An arrow fell from him. He left the Sayyid going with his horse to the place of slaughter. His companions abandoned him. They supposed him to be dead. They fled away and left him with his horse going where it liked when Sa'eed Naubi, the slave of I'timād Khān saw him; he killed him and left him and informed I'timād Khān about him. He met the Malek and said to him, "good news." Both of them laughed and went to Aḥmadābād in the wake of the Sultān in their day. Martyrdom of Sayyid Mubārak took place on Friday, 27th Ramzān of theyear (965). When Musā Khān heard about this event, he and Hājī Khān returned to his region. The Malek sought the favourable inclination of the Sultān and sent him to the palace. After that, he did not like to collect the army. Only Chāmpāner was left to him as his

* Original Text, p. 434.

territory The Malek continued to remain in the palace as before. I'timâd Khân did not quarrel for anything.

The event of 966 (1588) brought about everlasting separation between 'Imâd ul-Mulk and I'timâd Khân. Its account is: After the first going of the Sultân to Sayyid Mubârak in this year was Regency of the Saltanat for 'Imâd-ul-Mulk and seal which was like the greatest talisman for seizure of authority in one's own hand. Such is the behaviour of the world from examples of 'Âlam Khân, Sayyid Mubarak and Tughluk Khân. Imâd-ul-Mulk was very powerful when Yâqut Ulugh Khân was alive. The statement of God is: "We will certainly strengthen thy arm through thy brother and invest you both with authority, so they shall not be able to touch you: With Our Signs shall ye triumph,—you two as well as those who follow you." The Malek had judgment and steadfastness as well as the sword and motion. When the portion of land* became empty of him, it so chanced one day in the assembly of I'timâd Khân, that there was a talk about the Malek. Tatâr Khân Ghori and Malek-ush-Sharq were present there. The chain of conversation was about Regency and the seal. I'timâd Khân did not like to dive deep into it, avoiding it as it might open the door of mischief to close which was difficult for them. Both of them were reluctant except to keep the Malek separate from them. A man covets eagerly what he is prevented from and likes if prevented, to bring crumbs of dung with manliness. The report came to 'Imâd-ul-Mulk. This talk was continuously narrated. He took caution and his house was adjacent to the palace. He entered into it. Ulugh Khân Sawâi was present with his flag and his drum. Fateh Jang Khân, 'Âdil Khân Qirmani, Jahângir Khân and Nâsir Daryâ Khân were also present. All of them alighted in the palace. The Malek ordered the cannons to get ready. Asad Khân came out from the Malek's house to the maidan with them. The maidan was outside the gate of the house and joined the rings in the chain from chokandi to chokandi. The gunners sat upon them. The Malek sat on a chair with a staff in hand at the gate waiting to see as to what would take place. I'timâd Khan's friends also had assembled in his house. He was averse to disturbance for he knew that it was due to the fault of his friends. When the agitation became severe from them, he said to them, "Why do you raise the disturbance? Why do you now intend to have resolved upon war? You have come out with cannons. You want to expel me. You are from the house with stones and you wish to isolate him". They then sent a word to him to see what would happen. His reply was: "I am deposed. I do not see the doer. The affair has passed. I do not deny it. Leave me and him; if you decide to go to your houses to extinguish fire of evil. People of the city will enjoy security". They did so. It was his appropriate reply. "I will request I'timâd Khân for it. It is between me and him. You will be the cause thereof.

* Original Text, p. 435.

Patience is good and God is One Whose assistance should be sought against the blasphemies ye utter!" In the meanwhile, he ordered them to fire the cannons. In the meantime, there was a slave of a Habshi whose name was Za'ad Marārah, the commander of cavalry and attendants. He was standing at the door. There* was the Masjid of Farhat-ul-Mulk in between him and the cannons. He advanced to the wall of the Masjid from side of the road, either at the prompting of his Satan or at the hint of a mischief-monger . . . . . . Sa'ad Marārah as said to him by his master advanced the mischief and terminated it at the afore-said wall and threw a fire-work which rose in the sky and fell. The cannons began to fire at the Masjid. Sa'ad Marārah fled running to enter the house of his master. Similarly, those persons who had assembled in the court-yard of the house began to run. They dispersed helter-skelter. They did not find safety from cannons anywhere except the side of the palace. They turned towards it. I'timād Khān was turning them away by abuses. He talked with the amirs with what they were unable to answer. This event took place at that time of the decline of the sun. He got down from the palace to set right the cannon. He received a blow from it. He waited with patience till mid-night. The army deviated towards his house. He came out it and went to a distance of seven farsakhs from the city and alighted outside a village called Sāntij. Tātār Khān had no knowledge of it. He then went out in the evening to the gate of the† arms opposite the house of I'timād Khān. Between them, there was a big road. He spent his night there. At the last hour of the night, Rustam Khān Rumi came to the Masjid of arms and threw a fire-work upon it, hit and assembled it. He then went out running from the Shāhpur Gate to I'timād Khān. In the morning, the Malek stopped at the house of I'timād Khān in company of the Sultān and called the public to plunder it. It so happened. He then garrisoned himself in the city and defended the gates. Men of the Malek attached themselves to I'timād Khān with the exception of Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk. He remained steadfast with the Malek. Musā Khān, Sher Khān and Hāji Khān came to I'timād Khān with whatever army they had with them without any call to them. They asked him to call upon them in his need to exercise authority in their territory, then do it. None remained with him in this calamity except Fateh Khān Baluch, the ruler of Rādhanpur. He had, from Pattan to Nāgor and to the boundary of the lake called Rann, under his control. Behind the lake, there was an unbeliever who was called Khingār to the frontier of Sind. He had an army of seven thousand. I'timād Khān left his son Sher Khān behind him in the camp and rode out to him with a select regiment. He was an amir of his party from old times. Besides, he was in need of movement as well as cash which he received at every manzil and then returned with it to the camp. More than six thousand soldiers assembled around I'timād Khān. He did not move

* Original Text, p. 436.

† Original Text, p. 437.

out for war against the Malek being supported by them. There was always correspondence between them to turn out Ulugh Khân to him. Imâd-ul-Mulk was at a distance of seven farsakhs from him. He did not want to make a night-attack on him and subject him to test. It could be concluded from what he wrote to him. A wise enemy is better than a foolish friend. The Malek was occasionally coming to Sarkhej for a visit. It was situated at a distance of four farsakhs from Sântij. He returned to the city in the evening. When he went out, the camp was perturbed. The cause of it was that Ulugh Khân had come out with him. Firstly, the period of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk had come to an end and his fortune was on decline.

When the affair had become perfect, fall begins
Decline should be expected when it is said perfection.*

Secondly, the port of Ulugh Khân belonged to Ulugh Khân. His slave Miftâh Saif-ul-Muluk was an amir there. He changed the course of a boat wherein 'Âisha daughter of Safar Khudâwand Khân was travelling. She was the wife of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk and also of 'Âdil Khân Qrmâni. Ulugh Khân had transferred his office to his commander Jhujhâr Khân. He took out something from the goods of 'Âdil Khân and confiscated it saying that it was three thousand gold (coins). It was an event with the wazir of the Malek. He reclaimed the amount. Khairat Khân was wazir to the Khân. He replied " what was taken out from the sea, was yielded to him. Officers of the port are for you. Who is to decide except they. The daughter of Safar reclaims what is lost. The Malek is kind towards them." He summoned Khairat Khân and dishonoured him nay, his master with imprisonment. Most of the famous men were in prison. The total amount was five thousand gold (coins). Ulugh Khân was affected when many men of his community were in prison. A party of Malek's men tried for release but release was not possible till the amount was paid to them. Khairat Khân came out of prison. He was the living chief in his community. His friends went to I'timâd Khân in a body. His wazir Wajih-ul-Mulk was sent for his satisfaction and consideration of the case. He received him and introduced himself to him. He distinguished him with favour and regard and took him to his tent. He was an amir with absolute authority with a flag and a drum. When he met him a second time, he suggested to him to write to Ulugh Khân about it. The letters were received by him. Ulugh Khân was affected for the Malek for the incident. He could not separate himself from him. Thirdly, it was a complicated affair connected with well-being of the religion and the world. 'Imâd-ul-Mulk was personally requested to defend the frontiers with the firangis and vacate it for I'timâd Khân in opposition. He then wrote to the captains of Akâsi, Basi and Div. They had continuous inter-

* Original Text, p. 438.

course with Daman in that respect. They agreed to present themselves for service which they expected from them with five hundred Firangis. It was conditional on Daman's surrender to them without any reason. They came to it and Sayf-ul-Muluk abstained from surrendering it and prepared for war. An edict of the Saltanat and correspondence of the Malek were sent to him. His reply was "wait till I write to one whom I wish and his reply comes." He wrote to Ulugh Khān in an allegorical language saying, that the tune was more in the tambourin. Jhujhār Khān and Atal Khān Qādir Shāhi met him. He* was a wazir to 'Imād-ul-Mulk after Khairat Khān. They gave him a petition of Saif-ul-Mulk and reviled him therein. He said that it was advisable for the time. They said to him to examine its wise step in what was from the Firangis in case of Div. Bahādur was assassinated. Maḥmud died and he was planning for them but he did nothing. Do you intend after strengthening them at Daman to turn them out. If you do it, you will be involved in difficulty. Remove them from Daman. We are with you and before you. Commingle with the firangis and they are upon you and distant from you. "Verily to God we belong and to Him we return." They then returned to the Khan. They decided to send for Saif-ul-Mulk. They waited for him till he came in time of his leisure. They then went with Ulugh Khān to I'timād Khān and received him with most of his troops and alighted with him near him showing affection and solace towards him. They gave him a number of horses, elephants and three hundred thousand Maḥmudis to spend upon his army and took an oath of God the Holy to see him in the house of his son Sher Khān and to increase thereon. Then all the amirs assembled in a majlis and made him Amir-i-Umra-ul-Juyush which in Persian is called Aspesālār (Commander-in-Chief). Baroda, Chāmpāner to the frontier of Mandu were recorded in his name. When that was the case, I'timād Khān marched to the reservoir of Kānkariya and encamped upon it. It was situate at one-fourth of the mile from the parapet of the city and he had a connecting building from it. The Sultān then went to I'timād Khān. The side of the Malek got united by their going. After the acquisition of Daman, the Firangis devoted themselves to its administrative management and fortification. They filled it with the Firangis. The Malek repented of what he did and made peace between himself and I'timād Khān. He came out with whatever cannons and elephants he had with him. Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk who was at Maḥmudābād came out with him. He then proceeded to his capital of Ma'murābād. I'timād Khān entered the city with the Sultān and established himself in the office of Regency. He granted leave to Musā Khān, Fateh Khān and Tātār Khān to go to their respective regions. Hāji Khān the Afghān remained with him. It was he who advised 'Imād-ul-Mulk for the surrender of Daman. Mubārak Shāh, the ruler of Asir invited I'timād Khān to his kingdom. He had

* Original Text, p. 439.

arrived at Jānbu and sent the Amir Jhujhār Khān with four thousand to Navsāri and Surat. The Malek relied upon his life and upon what he had of equipment in hand for conquest of forts and their fortification. He had satisfied the firangis with Daman. When Jhujhār Khān encamped at Surat Khudāwand Khān marched against him with three hundred horsemen consisting of the mamālik, choice cavalry and cannons drawn by horses. Both of them encountered in the maidan. The cannons came into action. The cavalry charged. Jhujhār Khān fell on the ground while fighting His army fled to Burhānpur leaving elephants and baggage behind. It was a great victory. Mubārak Shāh had no consideration of it. When he received news of it, he returned to Nazarbār and buried Jhujhār Khān at Sultānpur and built a dome over his grave. 'Imād-ul-Mulk arrived at Broach but he did not find the Firangis as was the condition. He then began to say compulsory prayers, additional prayers at night, evinced love for the abstemious, devoted to internal purification and put sincere faith in God the Holy to burn the sins committed and sighed for them. Now on his arrival at Broach, he confirmed his sincere desire for jihād against the Firangis for recovery of Daman. He marched to Surat. Its ruler had abandoned it, he left him but he coveted it. He extremely suffered for loss of territory. He gradually came from tranquillity to hope by putting the case before I'timād Khān. I was acquainted with a copy of a Risala (pamphlet) wherein his secretary Nasiruddin Muhammed Dabir-ul-Mulk had prepared a compendium of subjects from different pamphlets to be made use of in times of need. Its substance is: Rajab son of Safar titled Khudāwand Khān after his father had not forgotten the qualities of descendants of foreign amirs, nor their provisions, nor their glitter (prosperity), nor their deeds which forced praise. He was after the manners of his father. He treaded on his character and followed in his footsteps. In early days, the port was the meeting-place of foreigners of all communities and wonderful things of the age were brought here. Those who blessed it were the nobles of Tarim, shaikhs of yemen, litteratures of Hijāz, wits of Egypt and merchant-princes. Their vessels plied at every port. Every vessel which entered Surat and went out or discharged was treated with regard and kindness, more or less, as it deserved. A qualified person was sent out from him; others were disqualified. It was a rule for all Turk and Habshi slaves. He received a number of them whom he in-*herited from his father and brother Rumi Khān as narrated by the writer of his record numbering by chance three hundred and thirteen. I said it was an auspicious number. It was the number of men of Badr except the purchased slaves upon the passage of years. During the wizārat of 'Abdursamad Afzal Khān al-Banbāni as described previously, there was savagery between this house and him which culminated in the martyrdom of Safar and Muharram. Rajab

* Original Text, p. 440.

was small. He had not attained to puberty. He frequently visited members of the family till they attacked Yāqut Safar titled Bahar Khān in the army of Maḥmud. Forty slaves from them went with Safai to Sultān of Ghazni, Muizzuddin Muhammed Sām Ghori. These forty slaves prospered with pride with him and hence he was called with them Muizuddin Muhammed Chahalgāni. The historians narrate in respect of them that there was by chance a talk about sons in his assembly. Every one had a daughter. In the course of conversation, he said that he who had a son should stand up and say about the number. The reply was that none had a son about whom he could say something. The Sultan said I have forty sons. I hope that people will talk about them, which others who had no son, could hope. There were Mirjān Rumi Khāni titled Fi Saltanat in Ahmed Jhujhār Khān and Raihān Āqā titled Bijli Khān among them. They were great. They consisted of Safar Baikat-ul-Bait Yāqut Anhari Bahar Khān, Mandal Dilāwar Khān, Mirjan Muhāfiz Khān, Yāqut Tawil Khurshid Khān, Makan Sharzah Khān, Yāqut known as Ain Khayyām titled Ātish Khān, Mirjān Shāmi, the martyred amir and Shaikh Sa'eed Rumi Khāni. He was riding among forty Habshi slaves. After the war which took place between Ulugh Khān and Fateh Jang Khān whose account will be given, he turned a holy man and abandoned the use of sword. He engaged himself in self-improvement and disciplinary action as will be described in his life-sketch. Fi Saltanat Ahmed had a sister. She was a lady of exceptional purity, with aristocratic steadfastness, and worldly happiness. Her name was 'Āisha. When she was married to 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Āqā Raihān had given her a dowry. He gradually rose in his estimation among the mamālik. He was titled Bijli* Khān. He advanced in rank and became an amir with a flag and a drum. He loved members of his community. 'Imād-ul-Mulk showered fortune upon him. He became an amir of the Habshi order. The Malek favoured him with beneficence. The mamālik of Khudāwand got inclined towards him. He gave one lac of tānkas doubling five and ten. They rose against him. He harboured hatred against him in his heart. It so happened that any Habshi who prepared himself for going away, was called in a moment of negligence and murdered. He did so with a number of great old mamāliks such as Jauhar A'raj, 'Ambar Saghir and Mirjān Khān. He was an extremely pleasant personality with gold coloured beauty and he loved him. He had a base woman with him. He got her married with a slave. When met together they were said to be the sun and the moon. It was so said by Khudāwand Khān. He was Ibn-i-Jarih of the age. He had power over everything except marriage ceremony for which he was not fortunate. Ibn-i-Jarih was said to have Mustarih with him. Most of those persons arranged a feast. They had in it what satisfied their selves and delighted their eyes. Dancing girls and songstresses were

* Original Text, p. 442.

gathered such as the Sultan of the age had no power to gather. He then turned to the audience consisting of literary men, nobles, mansabdars, and respectable men and said, " There was not a gathering like this consisting of worthy persons for there was joy." They replied in the affirmative. He said, "Who had power over it?" He spent the night as one of the women. Is it joy? They said, " No." He said, " That man who had been distinguished with such a gathering should know that it was joy and not Ibn-i-Jarih." There was the maternal uncle of the Khān with him who loved in this manner. Jealousy took place. It was not known as to what was the cause of it. Mirjan Khān was found assassinated in the morning. This continued till members of his house got separated. The Malek was always with them in the Diwān. There was always hatred with him till he came to Surat for Salamāni cannons and one hundred thousand Maḥmudis by way of help. The intermediary between them was 'Ādil Khān Qirmāni. He belonged to the Salamān party. Khudāwand Khan, therefore, entered into a pact with him. He met the Malek at his first arrival. He stayed with him till arrival of a reply to a letter written by him to I'timād Khān in respect of his murder. His mind was at ease from the side of the Regent of Saltanat on receipt of forty thousand Maḥmudis and two * Salmāni cannons. 'Ādil Khān did not know as to what was a secret about murder. It was the month of Ramzān. He said to 'Ādil Khān, " This is the time of purity between me and the Malek. I intend to invite him to the fort and feast of him. I will give him the Arab horses which he demanded as well as the textiles along with the feast. I will give him so much in cash. I have invited him. Bijli Khān and Haji Khān are coming with him. I am not afraid of them. The Malek is like father to me. He brought me up as a child and in this manner. He permits them to go to Broach." He then entered the fort with a few persons, you, Mahaldār Khān Mirjān, Ghālib Khān, Gazal 'Ali, Ankas Khān and three others. 'Ādil Khān started the conversation coveting land of the Malek, nay, the promised death. He called them and they began to give him advice and preventing them from entry but on condition that no one should enter but with a knife with him. He would face his assassin whenever he would seize him. It was the Friday night, 17th Ramzān of the year, when he rode out from his pavilion to the fort with two persons and every one had a servant with him. It was at the last hour of the day. Qutbur-Rabbāni, Shams-ush-Shumus Mawlānā Shaikh Ibn-i-'Abdullah al-'Idrus, may their graves be sanctified sent a message to him forbidding him to enter the fort any time. He, at last, said to him, " I suffered such from him. I do not see you as is said to you."

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* Original Text, p. 443.

*Couplet*

I see my feet, my blood rises
My blood rises, I see my feet.

He did not accept his advice. He was his spiritual guide. He had raised his rank among the unbelieving Purabiyas who did not invite any one more than the conditional number. When the feast came to an end, syrups and fruits were brought. The owner of the fort got up from the majlis and went up to the elevated turret and broke his fast with drinks and fruits, said the evening (maghrib) prayer and sent for food. Dunger Rai Purabiya came to him with fifty of his companions, immersed in arms. When the Malek saw them, he was certain of his murder and there was nothing in his hand except a tray; he took it into his hand, faced the unbelievers, threw it which hit the forehead of their * chief. They then gathered around him, murdered him and his companions. He had said to 'Ādil Khān that he feared disgrace and perfidy to him. He was tall sturdy, strong, brave and his sight rose up to the turret. He was in it. The Malek was overthrown. His companions murdered him. He abused him as much as possible. He always forbade assassination. He was seeking it whenever it was possible till the surgeon made him bulky. Similarly was Ankas Khān Rumi. He was his step-son. He assaulted him as far as possible. He was then made bulky by the surgeon. He sent for Dunger Rāi to himself and got down from the turret to the assembly of the mamāliks. His wazir Raihān Badruddin Jahāngir Khāni descended along with him. The owner of the fort wailed upon 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He was an old man. He held the lamp in his hand. He burnt his blessed beard with it. 'Ādil Khān abused him. He was saying "Attach me to 'Imād-ul-Mulk. I cannot perform my duty after this disgrace for having given up modesty. You are able to pull me out of this fort. Root out this boil. He always apologized to him and sought his favour. Being disappointed of him, he came to him with pleasant frankincense. When they were brought to his nostrils, he left the world. Such was the case with Ankas Khān. When the true dawn rose, he ordered the cannons of the fort to be kept ready. One was fired. The companions of the Malek got perturbed and came out running from it to Broach. His munshi Mawlānā 'Abdul Latif bin Muhammed was in the port. When he heard about the cannons, it was a peculiar habit of Mawlānā Sharif, that he came walking in all haste to him but he found him sleeping on a silken bed; he took him by hand and said, "he killed 'Imād-ul-Mulk." He sat erect. He was saying to him, "Invite the governor, to govern." He said, "he killed 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Invite the governor, to govern." He said, "Yes; invite the governor to govern." From the verse of Abi Yusuf Muhammed bin Ya'qub :

* Original Text p, 444.

*verse*

If you do not purify your determination, be cautious
You will be safe from disappointment with determination.
Helplessness is disgrace; there is no harm from determination
Caution is mistrust with the people.

*In a holy tradition*, may best of *benedictions* and *salam* be upon its speaker "Caution is mistrust." Al-Azhari said, "Caution is watchfulness from people, that is to say, do not trust every one, you will be safe. With pesh ( ' ) over Zā "Choking kills a man through heart and throat." In a holy tradition, it has come in this way, "Sufficiency with safety is a malady." Azhari said, that is: Sufficiency with health and safety is a malady for him in the next* world. Disintegration is neither rewarding nor beneficial in calamities and diseases." The Malek was involved in calamity and that too on such a night in Ramazān from the unbelievers. God the Great willing. A fall of Damman. It was a proof of his sincere intention of march for martyrdom in his first efforts. He was sincere in that respect. There was a possibility of commingling of pride or disturbance of his intention which did not remove sincerity. Oh God! give us rewards in our difficulties. The Malek was one of his believers. Since the Sayyid entered Hind, he was in his house. He was at Aḥmedābād with him during disturbances after Maḥmud. He went with him to Broach. When the Malek returned to Aḥmedābād, he marched to Surat. It was a place liked by him. There lived good people of every section. Besides, they loved its ruler, put faith in him, necessitated his stay, waited upon him. He, therefore, stayed there. The days were full of all joy. Hemistich: Every land grew with pleasant glory. In the meanwhile, 'Abdul Latif was in his majlis. It was said to him about the arrival of Khudāwand Khān. His wazir Raihān Badruddin Jahāngir Khāni was with him. He had sincere faith in him. He ordered Mawlānā 'Abdul Latif to go out of the majlis to a side and stay there till called. He did so. Khudāwand Khān entered with a shining face as if he was king of the world with its entirety. He fell at his feet to kiss them. The Mawlānā smiled and cheered him. He ordered music. It was a majlis like an Id though on some other day. Abdul Latif praised him and remained in attendance. He requested him as to where he was. Mawlānā sent for him, saluted him and admonished him. He returned and went on horse-back to the fort. He came forward in his praise. He was intelligent. His mind was bright. Such was 'Abdul Latif also. He was a literary man. Jest and wantonness dominated over him. He was noted for it. When he settled down in the majlis, the opening words which were addressed to him were "'Abdul Latif is a child. He is a boy but a descendant of the Prophet." He hints in some of the letters written to him

* Original Text, p. 445.

from 'Imâd-ul-Mulk. When these were mentioned to me in respect of me, they* were offensive which could be borne except from the father and the teacher. I trembled all over and my face changed. I know that I wrote much more than this during this period. I then turned towards the sea to enjoy peace of mind and return of my senses. I saw that I was in it. He then turned to my side and repeated the words to me. I said to him that the Malek had ordered me with it and the ordered one is excused. He replied to me, "Yes, The Malek had knowledge of Arabic and literature." He said, "Then I was silenced. I was not safe of his assault. Then I saw for a moment that he understands me to that extent. I then arose from that majlis, hastened towards the door and came out from him and went to the Mawlānā. I said to the Mawlānā, "If you have life separate it for I saw with him what was not in the majlis. The Mawlānā was inclined to laugh. He said, "I then kissed his hand and left for Broach. What I saw with authority from Khudāwand Khān that he took to the Mawlānā thirty ratals of gold, one maund of amber, musk, aloewood, saffron and civet, one maund of sweets of different kinds, ten maunds of vegetables, one hundred maunds of skin and assigned to him a village whose income was five thousand Mahmudis. The Mawlānā stayed at Surat with its ruler. He then returned to Broach and lived there for a short while. He then proceeded to the Commander-in-Chief of the army al-Majlis-ul-'Āli Ulugh Khān. Something will be mentioned about it in his life-sketch. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was perfect, wise, tolerant, helping, discerning in affairs, general administrator, very thoughtful, of few words, strong, brave, awful, commanding, defendant, wrestler called Pahalwān in Persia. He was of medium stature with a lovely beard, young not from arrogance. He had contradictory qualities in him. They exercised influence upon his enemies. After the death of Sultān Mahmud, people without wisdom and imagination rose in eminence. The aliens were the exception from it especially those who were near him and had an enough share from him. They lived and prospered and found wealth, a wall of Alexander preventing crossing of Yājuj of power upon wealth, property, life and honour of others. But the people of the land were against that and found poverty a long bridge upon the wavy sea covering waves above waves with clouds joined to wealth who did not own anything and shed no blood. Such was their care of those who formed the† nations with beneficence and justice from the chiefs. The Turks and the Habshis went on in this manner. They did not increase their number beyond five thousand when they met from different directions. They had control and authority over the residents. Their number in the city was fifty thousand. I had seen and experienced it many a time more or less. Fortune and misfortune worked and they learnt no lesson from it. When they had power, they were

* Original Text, p. 446. † Original Text, p. 447.

happy. On the rise of morning of the night of martyrdom of the Malek, the Nāib (Regent) of the Saltanat, al-Masnad-ul-'Āli I'timād Khān made his appearance in the palace. There was no enemy in the kingdom to think of coming down suddenly upon it. Those who remained after the Malek from among his old counsellors were Musā Khān son of A'in-ul-Mulk Faulādi and Tatār Khān Ghori. Fateh Khān Balooch and Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk Sultāni were satisfied with him. Every one of them came out from the city in the occurrence which took place. All of them took part and assembled around him till it happened what happened. Every one of them was allowed to return to his region. He firmly established himself in the city with the Sultān. He made no pact, to cease friendship or devised a pact which appealed to his reason. It became very serious to win over Changiz Khān. He conciliated him as far as possible. He was man of the time and famous in his region but he might renew disturbances. He stirred up residents. He laughed at the death of the Malek and rejoiced at it. He resolved upon execution of revenges which he harboured in his heart to remedy. He planned for receipt of news of arrival of the Malek to him. It was possible that Changiz's feet may slip and thus confusion might arise in affairs and thus the affairs might be delayed. But he exercised patience for some months and during this period, Changiz strengthened his position. He encamped at Surat and surrounded it according to his capacity. He then wrote to Ulugh Khān about the promise he had made about Baroda, Chāmpāner as far as what was near Mālwa from frontiers. Saif-ul-Muluk attacked it. When he encamped at Baroda, Amir Jān Ahmed Changizi came out from it and fought for a while. He went close to Fateh Jang Khān from the battle-field. Sayf-ul-Mulk entered and dominated upon the region. Fateh Jang Khān then came out with the aforesaid Amir to Baroda. Ulugh Khān received intelligence of his attack. Jhujhār Khān came out to the help of the Malek and he knew before the war took place, the bitterness which was between them in the majlis of meeting. When he joined the battle-field, the Malek desisted from help,* abandoned him in the battle-field and took charge of it. Jhujhār Khān was fighting with one hundred horsemen while Fateh Jang Khān with one thousand. His order for a flight arrived. He went to the river Mahi and encamped to the side of Sayf-ul-Mulk. He did not blame him. He followed him there with the army and joined Ulugh Khān and reported to him what had happened. Both of them met I'timād Khān and Ulugh Khān requested him for help to Jhujhār Khān. But he did not do. After that, there sprang up enmity between Changiz and Ulugh. It became difficult but there was no alternative but patience. Matters passed in this way for some months. Saiyf-ul-Mulk then came and all the three met. Ulugh Khān said, "Expectation of hope from I'timād Khān

* Original Text, p. 448.

was disappointment from him. Why to see you?" Jhujhār Khān said "I saw an opportune time to move. A small quantity of fire is sufficient for a large quantity of hay." Saiyf-ul-Mulk said, "A lion is satisfied with his claws and paws in his den. Patience alone remained in the army after this." Ulugh Khān said

*Verse*

Time was hard, be joyous
Your night had announced the dawn.

My first service to my patron in 966 (1558).
Its short account is: Before I had risen in service by a change from 'Imād-ul-Mulk to I'timād Khān, Khairat Khān Bilāl was confirmed in imārat. One day, I went to his camp by way of recreation. In the meantime, I was in the Diwān. I glanced there. May God shower His bounties upon I'timād Khān. From the ceilings to the floor, there were silk and gold brocade. When I lifted my vision in the air, I found my head touching it. My eye appreciated its beauty not knowing from which place it entered and from what place it came out. When my hand was in the hand of Khairat Khān, I was silent. I saw him and kissed his hand. He then took me with him to his pavilion. I did not request him. I separated from him. He ordered that I should be given a horse, a camel, a tent and two hundred Mahmudis. When my patron Ulugh Khān came to I'timād Khān, it was his favour with me, he felt offended to see me at the door of another man. It was lack of manliness to withdraw from the amir for another thing, I returned to the city. Badruddin Hasan Dailmāni, the* wazir of Jahāngir Khān was disposed towards me. Firstly, I experienced favour from him; secondly, he had always to correspond with resident merchants of ports, most of whom were Arabs. I satisfied him with that. He took me to Jahāngir Khān and said to him, "Our diwān cannot do without such a man. He is today in our hand." He questioned me as to in what respect. He was to me from Khairāt Khān. It said, "Two hundred Mahmudis." He said, "How can you meet with this amount your expenses for the month?" I said "so, so; the other promised." He said, "It is between despair and hope. I will give you one hundred Mahmudis from month to month. A small amount always and not more-un-interrupted." I said, "Upon this. Your small amount should not be said to be small for me."

I remained with him till the time pressed my patron Ulugh Khān and it diverged to hard time. He cut the hope of help with disappointment. Disappointment restricted comforts and he made efforts for movement. He sent for me and said to me, "I had ordered for you a horse, a camel and an

* Original Text, p. 449.

engagement. In the morning, you should be here." He then removed the garments he had on his body. It was a robe made out of Alexandrian and Bosnian textile. He sent me to my house and left it in my charge. I then saw Hasan Dailami and informed him about it. I talked to him about his kindness. It was a sheer chance, that I obtained something by way of provisions. It was due to his persuasion that he took the future course to see how his months would pass. I have secretly left him today. He was always before my eyes. I was afraid of what may possibly happen to him. There was a pause between me and the Khān. My life had completely changed. His house was my house. I was in charge of treasury. I took as much as I needed it. I saw him and informed him about it. I took his leave and thus I was free from needs. In the morning, I was at the door. After an hour, Saiyf-ul-Mulk presented himself completely armed. You had not seen his eyes and the eyes of his horse. The first wazir Mufleh Mukhtass Khān Sultāni presented himself in arms. He was followed by the second wazir Sa'ad 'Ali Khāni. With the rise of the morning star, Shams-ud-Dawlah, al-Majlis-ul-Ashraf Muhammed Ulugh Khān rode out. Jhujhār Khān was with him. Every one of them was equipped with arms.* His manzil was between two namazes at Mahmudabad. It was at the close of Muharram. 967 (1559). Another halt was at Nadiad. Its officer was Malek-ush-Sharf. He entertained him. He did not admire I'timād Khān and regarded him as a stain on world. He delayed there for three days. He wrote to him in the hand of his wazir Shiru Lohara. When Shiru departed from Master Ulugh Khān, he said to him while the Malek was hearing as to what reply I'timād Khān would give. I would be the first to strike the sword in this war. It was the fourth day. The Malek did not come to bid farewell to the Khān. He advanced to Kāser and halted there. From that place, he permitted Saiyf-ul-Mulk to go in advance to the river to array his army in arms and encounter him with it. He listened to him. It was not possible for him to cross the road in time. How who is not the owner of the house with a flag and a drum. Its account is what has been hinted at before about bitterness between him and Jhujhār Khān. He feared him. When they both met, they might rebuke or over-power each other. He was indifferent towards them or deprived him of imārat. He was for the well-being of his patron; for example, Jhujhār Khān did not give his head to his enemy to raise the formula of unity of God and the message of the Prophet. It was a fact of giving his head for Jhujhār Khān to know that he would come to him after the victory and will not give up his help, nay, he will make efforts in helping him out of shame and go to him to acknowledge it. It was out of well-being for his master and the army of his master which was with him. It was cowardice of the amir to run away from the field

* Original Text, p. 450.

for a thing under prompting of the Sultan. It was not proper for him. The cause of invasion of his master was his bad manners. When he came to country of the enemy, he abandoned him as well as the patron (friend). He was filled with joy. He crossed the river with one hundred old horsemen of his master and met Fateh Jang Khān. He was between Chāmpāner and Bikāner. The Malek took this action externally. *Hemtschief*: Perhaps it was an excuse for him; you are blamed internally. There is no power and authority except with God.

*Encampment of the army on the river*: Sultān Qutbuddin Ahmed had built, on his encampment on the river, a wall out of baked bricks, in order to encounter the attack of the Khalji. It was a square wall and covered an area of a farsakh. The Commander-in-Chief Ulugh Khān encamped here. Fateh Jang Khān, Muhabbat Khān and Fard Khān encamped on the other side. His camp consisted of seventeen hundred horsemen and two famous elephants called the greater one as Paltah and the other Sukut. Besides these two, there were* seven other elephants and fourteen copper cannons, The water of the river was abundant. Its fall in the black sea frightened its crossing on account of a tide until abated in time. Plenty of water had made both the armies safe and secure against night-attack. Saiyful Mulk proceeded to Changiz Khān. He encamped with him at Surat for some time. Other campers stayed on the river bank being prevented by water to wade through. There was no passage for all of them to descend into it. Crossing one by one was also difficult being hindered at the shore. Ulugh Khān stayed for some days. Commander of the vanguard Mirjān Rumi Khāni known as Shāmi impatiently attacked, by crossing the river in a boat, under the banner of Fateh Jang Khān but the boatman prevented him from it. Ulugh Khān sent a party of noblemen and respectable persons to summon him. He was one of those who had reached perfection. They did so. The confirmed ingenious man, ustād, master of universal branches of glory, the Qāzi of the army, beauty of world and faith Mawlānā al-Qāzi Muhammed b. Husain al-Qarashi al-Mahāimi had a meeting with him in the majlis of Fateh Jang Khān. Due to old acquaintance, it was impossible for him to disguise the object of request connected with others. Fateh Jang Khān, therefore, met him in a cheerful state. He dispersed their majlis and questioned him about Ulugh Khān. He praised him. They feasted with him that day. When the time for departure came, he said to them, "I had written to Changiz Khān desiring him to remain. Ulugh Khān was just as 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Ulugh Khān is conservative as he is. The Turks are with the Habash in Hind and the Habash with the Turks. Convey my salam to the Khān. They said to him about delay. He abtained what he desired. When they returned to Mirjān,

* Original Text, p. 451.

Fateh Jang Khān sent his chamberlain and secretary with them. He said to them to consult the Khān about circumstances. I write to him in his presence and represent it to him. He engraved it in his mind as on the ring. It was in a silvery chain fearing it. The chain was taken out and he gave it to the Mohardār (sealbearer). He is one who seals the book with it. He said that* he was the seal-bearer. He said to him to be with them and the third one with goodness. They saluted him all and praised him and proceeded to the river, embarked the boat, crossed it and assembled with the Khān. It was a timely majlis from beginning to end for clarity with sincerity and friendship. I was one of those who were present. I wrote in innuendo to Changiz Khān what he expected of him, intimacy and not bitterness ever after that. A slave plans and Allah decrees. Allah says:

What God decrees for him will necessarily take place; what is wide and long.

Its account is: At midnight, Ulugh Khān sent for the counsellors. He said to them, " The reply is in the fashion of acceptance, sealed with willingness from him to you. There is no other way to him. The way to help him is to give him what he owns. Announce what we wrote to him in the evening. There is no advantage under it. We ride immediately to Baroda, cross the river by the ford singly on horse with arms. The baggage will come at leisure to Baroda. It is a victory given by Allah. Fateh Jang Khān had returned from us to the city of Chāmpāner to make us amends for his opposition. He will fulfil his promise with us. There will be correspondence between us. In like manner, we write to Changiz Khān. We do not give him advice. We need not compel him after his willingness. He did not differ therein. He was instructed twice. He performed ablution, said namāz, prayed, recited the opening chapter of the Qurān, sought help and rode towards Baroda. He ordered the pavilions to be kept intact till the river is fordable. He then joined the gathering for help in need. He then crossed the river through the ford on horse-back. It was due to conviction in the help of God, Honoured and Glorified. With the descent of His help, Malek Shiru arrived from Nadiad as promised. Ulugh Khān was watering his horse in the river. He was delighted to see him and embraced him. He was with one hundred armed horsemen and a flag and a drum. He questioned him. He was in water from I'timād Khān. He then said,

*Verse*

I heard when you announced the salute
But there is no life in those to whom it is announced.

They then moved talking to where they had put up between the building of Baroda and its river Baskar ( Vishwamitri ). Amir Jān Muhammed came out

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* Original Text, p. 452.

from the city-fort and went to Fateh Jang Khān. He was in his camp on the river and informed him about the going out of the fort from his hand to him * who had encamped in the plain. Fateh Jang Khān was affected and prattled in anger. He then ordered to beat the drum and advanced towards Baroda and encamped between Baskar and Manjhur. Every one of them spent the night at the river. In the morning, his baggage moved towards Chāmpāner and stopped on the bank of Baskar from his side arranging rows of the army for war. Ulugh Khān sent a habshi, Jauhar Durmish to him to know the cause of his march. " We are today on the same promise we were yesterday but today we are making utmost efforts to please Changiz Khān. Change your mind, be inclined towards us, encamp at a distance of some farsakhs from him to the right, I give you Baroda which I have not occupied and I stay at this manzil of mine till I receive your reply. He had come. In a few days, the fragrance will reach you. I see this which you do not see. " The emissary returned with the rise of the sun bringing good news of victory. When he met him, he delivered the message in respect of what was heard about his chatter. He rose up from the majlis. In the meanwhile, he met Zabardast Khan Rumi. He was a sincere friend of Ulugh Khān. Fateh Jang Khān rode out. He displayed his might in arms and his flag fluttered over his head. He crossed the river and the cannon got inverted in water and sank by its weight. The horse of the master of the flag stumbled down. He came down to the ground with it and the flag got broken. Zabardast Khān left it and returned running with the good news. It was so. He changed return of the flag, advanced cannons, arrayed them in rows and Ulugh Khān was in the plain. His cannon did not miss. Cannons were fourteen. They were not for resistance with him except the cannon to discharge stones as big as lemon ; stones of another were different and smaller than the fruits of neem-tree. The commander Mujān Shāmi marched with the vanguard. Malek Shiru was on the right wing, with the Rāi Ravi son of Akht Rāi, Kanbhir Deccani. Commander of the Left Wing was the great amir, pivot of the stone handmill of war, Jhujhār Khān. He marched and attacked Ulugh Khân in the centre. His elephant Udaigir was moving like a mountain near him on the side to his left. Cannons in such a plain as this and near the place did nothing. They changed to the head-side, shone like lightning and roared like a thunder, stones flew like scattered dust. Reins did not meet reins. Fateh Jang Khān fled. His men followed him—six men were killed and † thirteen were wounded. Among them was Amir son of the Amir Shams Khān bin Fard Khān. Fard Khân was captured in a wounded state along with his party. He was greatly moved by honour of the Khān and he mourned for his son. He sent for the Pâlki to the battle-field and ordered that his son should

* Original Text, p. 453. † Original Text, p. 454.

be carried to the city of Godhra. He then covered the litter with velvet, got down from the horse, sent for a small elephant with a canopied howdah for Fard Khān. He rode in it. The Khān bade him adieu, said funeral prayers for his corpse, recited the Fātiha, sent two horses, two men with them to their resort. He returned to his tent fixed for him on an elevated place for victory. He then ordered dead bodies to be carried to Chāmpāner and the wounded to the city. He ordered the surgeons to treat them. He ordered horses, arms, camels etc belonging to them and obtained as booty to be returned to them. There was safety for every one befitting his condition in profession and kindness. He assembled them for a feast arranged specially in a majlis. He then permitted them to go being pleased in a grateful state. He acted according to what the astrologers had said. He entered the city at the time elected by Allah for him, with cannons in front with speed and the elephant under Jhujhār Khān whose owner was Fateh Jang Khān. Elephant's name was Paltah which was left by him. Such was the case with the drum. It was in charge of Mufleh Nuri. It was under the flag. He came near the majlis and stood to take back Jhujhār Khān to his manzil. He blessed him on elephant and went out with him. When Mufleh Nuri stood up to go, he came near them, gatherad around them, he was entrusted to the second wazir Sa'ad 'Ali Khāni. He said to him to remain with Mufleh from that day and assemble one hundred horses from villages. From among the collected horses, twenty should be for attendants under him. They should remain with him, a drum should be beaten after him. This was all for him. Mufleh then fell at his feet and came out. The drum was beaten and the people went with him to his house. It was an assault to assassinate Shams Khān bin Fard Khān, horseman of the maidān by Farhān Lurak Sultāni. He was young, and cruel to rude. Farhān was more rough and more rude than he. It was protection of God the Holy that he remained safe. His army proceeded but no one was harmed by his might except Mufleh. Mukhtass Khān coveted the Rumi's horse and followed him. When he was* separated from his companions, the Rumi returned and joined him with three of his companions, they assembled around him, murdered him and left him and his horse in case his covetousness became active for what they had seen him doing. Ulugh Khān went deep into the matter with him. He then transferred his mansab and salary to the brother of his slave, for Mukhtass Khān Sultāni. He was Raihān, titled Mahaldār Khān. This imārat (amirship) was of a higher rank than wazirship. He made him an amir of three hundred horsemen of his community. Sa'ad was confirmed in wazirship. He was worthy of it. He at times served in the army with co-operation. Many a time, he satisfied him with jests terminating into mockery. Others did not come to him with

* Original Text, p. 455.

insistence. He was a man of full body, tall, and awful. He was of independent nature inspite of whatever his rights were. He who stayed in his house, found him making use of jests. But I did not find him even to the last day in this manner. He entered the Diwān with the rise of dawn with forty of his men, sons of his community. He girded himself with a quiver as well as his men along with a sword to their sitting in the hall of wizārat. He lived in a guarded fashion especially after the assassination of Tughlaq Khān. It was assiduous caution. He was musky in colour inclining to redness of blood. Blood was flowing in his cheeks. He had a special cavalcade consisting of forty horsemen. He had two hundred horsemen in the wizārat. His assignment was always in the centre in war. He was never without a drum and a flag. He was a patron to me. After the conquest of Baroda, he had a village 'Ālampur adjacent to the city-fort on the bank of Baskar. The Habshis assembled in this city after the conquest. Their number was fifteen hundred. Nāser Daryā Khān Habshi was at Nādod, a distant place on a stage from Baroda. He defended it when possible. He had so written to Changiz Khān. He did not disobey him and occupied it. He had also ( written to Ulugh Khān about it. It was publicised that he had poisoned his father in drink. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was at Dabhoi with the Sultān. He flattered him and practised hypocrisy with him. He had come out from Surat to help Amir Jān Aḥmed to reinforce his army of Chāmpāner, Godhra, and Dahiwad under Hāji Khān 'Imād-ul-Mulki, Bijli Khān 'Imād-ul-Mulki, Sābit Khān Manduwali, Mirjān Saif-ud-din, A'zam Khān, Bahār Khān Safar Salmāni, and Syed Muzabbar Samwān, a descendant of Hasan, may God * be pleased with him, the sultāns of the Holy Place. His brother was with him. He was in the prime of youth. His name was Shahwān. They had three other persons. Zaba'ān was a symbol of valour and proficient horsemanship. Yāqut Ulugh Khān was his father. He was with the black vanguard. Syed Zaba'ān fell and he was with him. He was fighting with Syed Atal Khān commander of the vanguard of Syed Mubārak Bukhāri. On the report of receipt of help, Ulugh Khān Muḥammed marched from Baroda and encamped on the river Jānbu. He sent Daryā Khān to inform him about his arrival, and that he would march at such and such an hour and would be at such and such a place at a distance of so many farsakhs from Baroda. On this report, Ulugh Khān's chamberlain ( hājib ) Anbar Chalabi presented himself at midnight and asked him to march to receive Daryā Khān on the requisite report. Ulugh Khān rode out with his regiment and cannons with him. In the morning he was at a distance of ten farsakhs. Daryā Khān had not yet separated himself from bed of lust. Ulugh Khān was surprised at this. On the verification of Anbar, he mostly marched at mid-night. He then turned his horse to hi

* Original Text, p. 456.

pavilion. Near him, he met a man on a hybrid horse with the speed of wind to report that there was a regiment with an elephant in front with a shining green piece of tents. He stopped at the audience-hall in his arms. He informed him about a regiment which opened the city-gate for him and he entered it. The Khān imprisoned the horseman and convened a meeting of amirs of might and majesty. I saw them in fatigue due to travelling at night as well as the news which tightened knots of shackles. Cannons were advanced, flags were spread out and they spoke fluenty while walking. After an hour, a horseman was seen, he walked and came before the cavalcade of the Khān and informed him about the arrival of Bijli Khān to him. He was upon a pack-horse, he relaxed his horse, and subdued the horse to move. He was Bijli Khān. There were two other horsemen with him. They embraced each other for a long time. He then moved a little. The pious amir Shirwān Khān, commander of the cavalry was with the horse while Bijli Khān was with an elephant and his flag. The Khān turned to him. He saluted and the regiment saluted him. He then got down under the shade of a tree and inquired about a person who entered the fort. It was said to him that he was Raihān Salāhdār Ulugh Khāni. He learnt that the commander of the fort Jauhar Mustafā opened the gate for him. He had one hundred horse with him. He then consulted about the manzil. They decided upon the direction of Chāmpāner for encountering the army. *

*Account of the announcer for the arrival of Bijli Khān and his help to Ulugh Khān.*

It was known and the news was true that Yāqut Ulugh Khān was the father of my patron. He was connected with the Habshi slaves. He treated them as if they were his children. They always acted according to his counsel There was not a single habshi in his service who did not suspend a sword in time of need. They never disobeyed him and always defended him. His stable consisted of more than one thousand horsemen. They rode in central part of the army. They were always with him in the Diwān. He stretched out a table of meals for them. They were paid monthly salary on which they prided themselves. When one of them left him and served another person with his horse and got himself enlisted in the cavalry in the city, and saw him with another person, he would never order to take him back. He would not turn him out from his door when he presented himself. If the wazir was inclined to take him back and informed him about it, his reply was that he should give him half salary for the period passed with another person. In time of need, he helped him. Such was the case till the end of his life. He was with 'Imād-ul-Mulk

* Original Text, p. 457.

at Dabhoi. A disturbance was about to be stirred up at the instigation of rumour-mongers. In the meanwhile, it was said that 'Imād-ul-Mulk had determined for its occurrence. The Sultān's party was with him, nay, they were the cause of it. They had decided for the night-attack. The habashis received intelligence about it. He was in service of 'Imād-ul-Mulk with one thousand horsemen. At midnight, he was completely equipped with arms in company of Ulugh Khān. The amirs who were, his servants Bijli Khān Farhān Mahaldār Khān, and Shābib Khān, Police Officer of the Diwān, had not gone. They saw the Malek and placed before him the exact state of affairs. They said to him that it was strange that the mischief-mongers, should march against a person such as Ulugh Khān. Jahāngir Khān and 'Ādil Khan presented themselves and rebuked him for what had spread about him. They said to him that it was an event of the world which happened with him. Shaikh Yusuf A'zam-i-Humāyun Manduwāli was sincere with you while Ulugh Khān was an enemy. He repented and changed his view. In the morning, Ulugh Khān ordered for demolition of tents. He rode from the side of the Malek to go to the side of Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri and alighted there. The Malek received intelligence about it and went in an hour to Sayyid Mubārak and requested him to bring about conciliation between them. It was done. When Ulugh Khān died and his heirs, his son Muḥammed Ulugh Khān adopted with them the behaviour of * his father with more liberality and kindness. The habshis also behaved like that. They distributed in charity for beneficence of their souls during their stay with him. They used to say "He was our Sulṭān and our rank was stable with him. There was none from amongst us for whom it was not possible to do without him. When a quarrel took place between Changiz Khān and Ulugh Khān, it was not due to Bijli Khān. It was between him and Changiz. There was a pause during the days of his father. He did not love those who made a false appearance with him. He found a way on a manzil from Baroda. He deserted his companions and directed his energy to get victory for the side of Ulugh Khān as far as possible, especially when he found him in prime of youth in the year of perfection of the full moon. They met in his manzil, not a day passed when there was no deception from the world. There is no doubt in what has been said, "Verily, the world is quick with the kingdom." Such a day did not come to them. When he came out from the majlis of the Khān to go to his pavilion, he gave some elephants to Shālib Khān, nine horses and two to Sherwān Khān. The remaining were with Hāji Khān. Their apparent half as will be said, brought about separation from centre at the first attack. The army of Changiz Khān assembled around Fateh Jang Khān and they encamped in a village called Sākariya. The Khān advanced to the other manzil. On the

* Original Text, p. 458.

third day, the tents were unpitched, flags were hoisted and the Khān expressed his desire for war. He assembled the amirs near him. arranged the forces and Bijli Khān posted himself on the right wing. Jhujhār Khān was in command of the left wing and Malek Shiru was with him as well as Ravi Rāī. Raihān Takli Ulugh Khāni was with one hundred horsemen of the Banbâni community by way of trust. The ground was extremely grassy on account of rain fallen some time ago. There were many ditches, coarse and uneven. Berries made their appearance in the ears of corn, ripened and reeds of that land were thick and long. They hid the elephant within them. Then what about the horse! Jhujhār Khān then turned to the left as far as the maidan. It so happened that Fateh Jang Khān saw a regiment with flags. He conjectured that it was Ulugh Khān's. Jhujhār Khān was on the left without a flag. He so conjectured that it was Bijli Khān's. He was surrounded by reeds......They were excessively long between him and Ulugh Khān. They were depressed to the ground also. He met Bilāl Muḥammed titled Muḥsin-ul-Mulk and A'zam-i-Humāyun etc. from among the Arabs and Habshis who were under Mirjān Mu'tabir-ul-Mulk distinguished in the Diwān as a wazir. He said to him, "who are they? The* elephant had fallen and they were in a state of apology. It was for you to kill Bijli Khān. He was on face of the elephant with a cover of copper displaying like a woman within planks and window from fore head to the trunk (of the elephant). Nothing is seen of him except his eyes and canine teeth. Every tooth is a dagger to his side which reaches the middle part of him. It was a fence of copper with hooks to close the grip of the dagger." He questioned about the courage of Mu'tabir-ul-Mulk. He marched with five hundred aliens with an elephant in front and a glittered screen like a flood descending from stone. Fateh Jang Khān penetrated through the vanguard of Hājib Khān. Sâbit Khān Manduwāli was to his right while Jān Aḥmed was to the left and stopped with the centre. When he saw flags in the regiment of Jhujhār Khān and there was regiment, he ordered Sābit Khān to go near Hāji Khān to defend his rear and extend his frontiers. Similarly, Jān Aḥmed came near Sābit Khān. His vanguard came close to Jān Aḥmed though he was in the centre. He moved with this arrangement with two thousand soldiers. Jhujhār Khān had no more than six hundred. Paltah elephant was in front. One hundred Habshis were fully armed. They were best of the war. Raihān Jaki Banbāni and they were under his charge. They wore armour of different colour. They were in white uniform like water-fowls on the shore. Ravi Rāi was an old amir. He was always with officers. His best friends were in arms. Malek Shiru confinned to be pointed at blow of the sword. He was martyred. Marks were visible on his face. He was an independent amirs with a flay and a drum. He saw it for the

* Original Text, p. 459.

first time. He was previously at Baroda. An opponent fled away with him before he came to him. It was the first battle-field and war with first victory with a clear number and preparation. It was not with severity. They were his old companions with a small number in arms. Those who assembled around him for attack from Nadiad, were the companions of Ṭaki. Malek Shiru did not attempt to be hard with reproach with those who were with Jhujhār Khān as well as the afore-said hundred of his companions except three hundred of his* companions. In short, Jhujhār Khān had one hundred and seventy horsemen. Others were after him before the first assault due to fault of the cavalry. The first assault lasted long with severity. Sābit Khān saw it. He and Haji Khān were single-handed. Jhujhār Khān stood firm to encourage horsemen personally due to large number of the enemy. His elephant Paltah fled and the flag was over him. He made an effort to see Jhujhār Khān in that fierce battle. Friends and foes were equal in number. But he did not find it. He saw the flag of Malek Shiru who had gone out with his followers also as well as the followers of Haji Khān and Sābit Khān. Jhujhār Khān split the regiment and came out of it. It was with Jān Aḥmed. He was not with it except Ḷandal Ghālib Khān, Badar A'zam-i-Humayun, Mirjān Muhāfiz Khān, Yāqut Sultāni and Yāqut Bāzi Sultāni. Malek Shiru turned towards them right and left. They imitated him to enter the row and broke it and came out of it shoulder with shoulder, knee with knee, reins with reins of men without caring for envious eyes, upon the Arab cavalry except Shiru. His horse stopped in front of him. He abused Jhujhār Khān, did damage to his good fame, rebuked him excessively, he held back his bridle in anger and separated it. When he got engaged with row of the enemy, he split up the regiment and abandoned it like wave, one upon another. It was a cloud which cleared with his attack and stopped at the post of Fateh Jang Khān with a flag and a drum. He joined the vanguard under Jān Aḥmed and others in the wake of Hāji Khān. He did not doubt about the Changizi army's (success) at the first assault. Fateh Jang Khān rose up eye to eye from beneath the flag. He abused him in the Turkish language. Similarly, Jhujhār Khān did so in an eloquent speech. They then fought. Jhujhār Khān's blow was upon helmet from the side of his auditory canal. His blow was on thumb of his hand which passed on to the bone of fingers which joins the tips of finger. (..........). The Turk mamālik† Zabardast Khān and Ḥasan Khān dismounted their horses for Fateh Jang Khān and surrounded him from two sides to bring him down from the saddle and capture him. But they failed. But the sword kindled upon a large number of persons who wanted to overpower him. He was on an Arab horse called Duldul. When he found that they did not leave him, he spurred it on and turned the bridle, beat it with a whip which was about to join with a bird in the sky. The

* Original Text, p. 460

† Original Text, p. 461.

first spur and their hands with the stirrup raised him from the earth. Before they joined him, there was another spur and he was close to the ground and the third when he was between reeds of hyacinths. None saw him. Such was his condition. Ulugh Khân saw a regiment marching to attack Bijli Khân and he also saw that there was dust wherein Jhughār Khān entered. He was seized with amazement. Atal Khān Qādir Shāhi was by his side. He was in consideration of the overpowerer and the overpowered. The Khān got down to him from the mark (a high place) and came with a tray of betel leaves and gave it to the Khān and Jhujhār Khān etc. He said to him that Jhujhār Khān resented and the Turk was not disloyal to Turkish guest. Jhujhār Khān said that it was possible for people to remain firm. Bijli Khān had a small force; he was a neighbour and a guest. We helped him against his enemy and joined with Jhujhār Khān. The regiment arrived within a short time and Ulugh Khān did not see it. When he saw him, he turned to the left. He then entered in the battle-field. Their elephant was with majesty and awe on the right side of Bijli Khān's post. The elephant and the horses were allowed to relax while the men prepared for sleep. They drifted towards the post of Bijli Khān. Similarly, the amir Mirjān Shāmi deviated to the vanguard for his help and the elephant Udaigir was with him. Bijli Khān had a gun-cart to explode them with a wick. When the regiment came near, the carts were let loose. Udaigir turned his face and entered for drink. Other elephants turned back with Udaigir. He regained his strength and became comfortable. When he had drunk some fluid, he sought from beneath his ears passages (for discharge). He was intoxicated with a thing, his mouth got flushed and he screamed in anger and roared like a thunder. He made an attack on elephant. He fled along with other followers. He was giving a blow on his tail by noise of an arrow. Those who were after him also * fled away in a helpless manner. The Khān then turned to the help of Jhujhār Khān. On his giving reins to the horse, he dispersed men in the field and there remained twelve horsemen from among the mamâlik. There was Sa'eed Ansar Khāni and his slave, Rafiq 'Ali. He performed feats of valour along with his master. Abnak Khān Habshi and his party of one hundred horsemen had surrounded him. He used to retreat and advance. His helmet fell down from his head. He got wounded. But he easily attacked Sa'eed and a large number of persons. He dispersed them. He was on the ground. He wore his helmet, rode a horse and recognized Abnak Khān. It was his cavalcade for whom the Khân had designs. He instigated his party which was with him to straight attack as far as possible. They gathered around him from every direction. The Khân had an armour in the aforesaid year before, the like of which was not in his age. If he had power to resurrect bones of its maker and wish him to make a similar one, he would have no power to do it. Its qualities were lightness with

* Original Text, p. 462.

certainty and durability. In short, he continued to fight with those who were with him to the return of Udaigir from drinking-fountain and encountered the elephant of Jhujhār Khān on the way. Name of this elephant was Paltah. He came out running from the battle-field. He was doubly great in size and hugeness. He resisted him, gave him a blow with a dagger of his canine tooth, he knelt down upon him when he was on the ground and penetrated one of his daggers in some of his ribs and it was difficult for him to extricate it. Death kneaded his dough till the dagger remained and the canine tooth came out naked from the dagger, his throat and ligature. He was made intoxicated from beginning of the war. After his flight, he fought in a drunken state. He was killed. This elephant was a moving mountain on earth. The elephant driver turned to the search of the Khān. He was near him. He so urged the elephant in that severe action that he was consoled with its account. The master and the patron did not see such qualities in Miryatah when he heard about it or found him that way. Therefore when he consoled him and urged him, he roared with the fury of a thunder. He wanted to restrain him but he strove to move and the elephant-driver did not know it before this. He assailed the army, dispersed it, massacred them and designed to attack Abnak Khān, seized his horse by the leg, and pulled him towards himself. If he had not got entwined in the field, his bones would have been pounded. The Khān then turned to Jhujhār Khān. He found the wazir with a drum and a flag. He walked a little distance. Jhujhār was free from attack and he was in his search. They embraced each* other. Every one of them had his eye cooled by seeing the master. He said that Fateh Jang Khān was there at a distance of one swift arrow from this place and he went in front of him. On his coming out of the field, he urged for a flag for Fateh Jang Khān. It was with the Khān as well as the drum beating. The elephant descended in walk, his leg slipped, he turned running towards Chāmpāner. Most of his soldiers were with Haji Khān standing with cannons and Miryatah was near them in victory. When the Khān stopped at the place of Fateh Jang Khān, he ordered for beating the drum of victory. All the soldiers assembled around him. Bijli Khān presented himself before him. He came with elephants. There was Lāl Kuwar. He was a match for Paltah. Jhujhār Khān gave him to him. The one given by Mirjān Shāmi was overloaded. Sābit Khān had an elephant. He had come out of the Deccan in search for him. Bijli Khān gave him to him. One elephant was given to Ravi Rāi. Malek Shiru gave him two but he did not accept them. They were sent through Yāqut Qādri Bahr-ul-Mulk. It was said to him that he had not taken part in the war except from the side of Malek-ush-Sharq at Chāmpāner. When he did it, he was permitted to go back. The Khān was silent during this interval. He then moved towards the cannons. He then fled with what cannons he had and join-

* Original Text p, 463.

ed at Chāmpāner. They met Fateh Jang Khān and stayed for the night with him. Ulugh Khān ordered the people to pitch tents. He then ordered for search of ( those persons who had fought against him ) in the battle-field. There was Raihān Salāhdār. He was imprisoned along with others and his master. He arrived from Baroda at the time of war, saluted and gave a betel-leaf with his hand, then saluted, advanced and in the meanwhile, was instigating in the war directing taunts openly which were in his heart. He met when he was being carried in a pālki from the battle-field. He was brought to the Khān. He suffered pain. A surgeon was sent for. He treated him. He spent the night with him in the tent. Abnak Khān was brought next. He did not blame him but praised him for his loyalty of his master. He ordered that he should be given a robe, a sword and a horse and was given the choice to stay or return. He was granted leave to go. He removed helmet from his head. There were several wounds on it. When he removed the armour, there were eleven wounds on the body. He was given a golden chain to wear as a sash for protection.* He left the sword and went away. One of the humourous things about his protection is that he had a blow on helmet. It cut it. It was cut as if it were velvet. There was a bruise and it ended in a piece of turban. It was with skin of the head which joins the piece and heals the skin. How nicely Busiri has said in this respect.

Protection of God made it free from complications of armours and materials of a stone fort. Nāsir Daryā Khān Habshi was from among those persons who did not give advice equal to the statement of Abil Qāsim Hariri, the learned literary man.

> He lives with fraud, You, in
> Time, spoke so highly that he was a lion of the jungle
> know the curtain of stratagem
> Till it goes round the stone-handmill of life.

He received intelligence about the arrival of Changizi help. He, therefore sent a man to Ulugh Khān to consider his arrival and persuade him for postponement of the war to see effect of the letter. He had similarly written to Fateh Jang Khān. A night-meeting was held which continued till morning when Bijli Khān arrived at the house of the Khān who sent Jawhar Durmish to him to conciliate him to assemble his community men and praise therein the self-respect of Bijli Khān. It so happened that his arrival took place after victory. The Khān rode to receive him and to alight him in the pavilion to where his tent was to be pitched. He then gave him two elephants who were left by their owners and allowed him to take rest. It was out of duties for the praise of Allah, the Holy. The Khān and Jhujhār Khān did not lose any man

* Original Text, p. 464.

except Raihān Salāhdār with prolongation of war and severity of time. Shiru lost fifteen of his companions; similarly, Raihān Takli lost twenty. But he did not know where they were killed and who killed them for they did not have the sword. Shiru felt ashamed of Jhujhār Khān. He returned to nature of men with abuses. His self refused to stay in the camp with sighs therein and abuses for his fault. When people settled down in the manzil, the Khān called him and conciliated him. He said to him, "There is nothing between us as you know. You have come in time. I have definitely given you what was in your * name. There should be pleasure in you from him. You are not as one of us. You pretend not to know it and desire Chāmpāner for Malek-ush-Sharq. He is in the shade of his passions. It is said that you are on his side then bear witness upon yourself that you did not take the sword to put the enemy to flight from first fright in the first war. You are in this war with men from Nāsik. You calumniated Jhujhār Khān and despised his speech. He is an Amir in his place. There is no disgrace in that. For there is a speech for every place." He refused that he was from the side of the Malek. He saluted him, came out from his presence and proceeded to Nadiad. In the morning, he was at the place of his stay of night. He ordered for the drum and the arms. In the morning, he set out for Chāmpāner. The Khān came to him just when the Changizi army was coming out of it. The city rebelled. He alighted under shade of a tree, people assembled around him and said, "We are not safe. Daryā Khān is with us. It is proper time for us to kill him and place his slave Sarmast Khān in his place. We march to Broach. We have made Sâleh Changiz Khān encamp on the frontiers of our territory. If he fought and frightened our men we will fight in his land. If we overpower him, we will despise his region for his companions. If he overpowered us, we will return to the boundary. If we are spared in his frontiers, we shall correspond with him, we will meet and persevere singly. If he refused, we will fight with him on the boundary to the time God decrees an order that will be done. His party did not agree with this view, they will act with abundant preparation. He had one thousand horsemen, four elephants, thirty copper cannons. War will be waged. None of his community will be left out except he. His life will be here. If he acted a hypocrite, it would be better than the need for an army to fight with him." Bijli Khān liked this view. He was the only one for it. On the second day, they met from his manzil there and gave Chāmpāner to Daryā Khān, and Godhra to Bijli Khān. They said that they would advance to Broach. They removed Daryā Khān from it. They all then returned to Baroda. In the meantime, Changiz Khān made peace between himself and Khudāwand Khān and came to Broach. He came out of it with one hundred cannons, forty elephants and seven thousand horsemen to Baroda. There was concord and

* Original Text, p. 465.

unity between himself and Daryā Khān. Whenever Ulugh Khān took a bold step to come out of the city to him, Daryā Khān presented himself and guaranteed for peace. One day a letter came to him with the seal of Changiz Khān. The subject-matter of which was peace and to make efforts for the same. In * short, Daryā Khān took an oath that he belonged to the party of the Khān. He came forward to prevent him from coming out for attack. Changiz Khān encamped on the river Jānbu from his side and arrayed cannons on it from the other side. In the meanwhile, Jhujhār Khān, Mirjān Shāmi, Ma'mur Khān, Makan Sharzah Khān, Sa'eed Afsah Khān, Raihān Mahaldār Khān met him. Bijli Khān, Mirjān Shirwān Khān, Jauhar Muhsin-ul-Mulk Wazir Sa'ad 'Ali Khān, Yāqut Bahr-ul-Mulk and Mufleh Nur Khān presented themselves. They saw Ulugh Khān and said to him "Looking to outward circumstances, come back to our order and not obey the order of Abi Muslim when he said that judgment is of no avail after the opportunity is lost. It was said to him that I had given up judgment in Ray. We do not doubt about the hypocrisy of Daryā Khān and the war is necessary. Ride your horse to the battle-field in the name of Allah. If Daryā Khān alighted to your side, so far so good, otherwise do not address him at all. If he comes out with them or prevents him, then see what will be. "The Khan got ready and went out to his pavilion under shade of the tree. The maidān intervened between him and the river. This took place on 10th Rabi 'II of the year. None remained in the fort of old Baroda except Daryā Khān on 11th. The fort was the famous habitation, now Baroda, its name was Rājpur. It was renovated by Muzaffer, during the regime of his father Maḥmud Beghada and lived there. On 12th, he rode out from it with all the aforesaid men except Jhujhār Khān and Bijli Khān. Rāi went out with them and presented himself in the majlis of the Khān. His talk was about what was to happen. He swore with hard faith that he was with them. If there was no certainty for peace, then he would be the first to instigate for war. He, whose certainty would preponderate, would be on his side and the cannons on the other. He was in his house for days in hesitation. I now write to him and send it with a messenger to get true news from him. They meet the Rāi, and execute good faith and it would be good; evil will be evil. When his talk was such, they did not adopt any other course against him. If they had resolved upon war when the time had passed, it would be a victory for the second time for them. It would be a pride for the third time. But they desired peace, nay, abided by it and rejected the matter to a man who had no sword and who was not a visitor and did not speak the truth in the matter except† rarely, result would be as has been said;

I took courage with resolution if it were possible
A trick between a wild rabbit and rapidity.

* Original Text, p. 466. † Original Text, p. 467.

*Its short account is*: Ulugh Khān was in an age to give advice to Jhujhār Khān. Since Daryā Khān was present, Jhujhār Khān found him great in the state and age; he turned to him for his opinion when determination is abandoned, opportunity is lost and auspiciousness has departed; he examined his sentiments under these circumstances but nothing benefitted him. When morning of the 15th of the month arose, an astrologer met the wazir. He was in service of the Khān. He had suspended a sword, lifted a spear, and bore a barchha. He said to him, "The Khān has prepared himself for war. There is disaster in delay. He orders me today then the maidān is for me. There was no Miryatah (elephant) in it. But tomorrow, *hemistich*: the lord of the star will do what he wishes." The wazir saw the Khān and informed him about what the astrologer had said to him. He was rough in speech. He ordered him for the drum, rose up from the assembly in joy while the astrologer felt the greatest joy. He hastened out with the drum announcing for war and ordered for arms. People came rapidly to him. Jhujhār Khān was surprised at his march. He could not do anything against the order. He saw the Khān. He found him disposed to anger, arms were in the hands of salāhdār. He asked him about it. He said, "The flood has reached my nose. It is said from ancient time, *hemistich*: He who tried the tried, repentance is lawful to him. I am in it. I had determined upon what the astrologer prophesied had for today." He then said prayers and recited the fātiha for what he had prayed. Jhujhār Khān heard his discourse he sent word to Bijli Khān and Mirjān Shāmi etc. After meeting, they decided upon march before noon and came with trays of betel leaves and fragrance. They applied perfume in the name of Allah, the Holy. The flag was unfurled. The wazir seated himself in saddle, rode out and stood under the flag, arrayed the row and Ulugh Khān rode out with in twinkling of an eye. Those who were with Daryā Khān came with a letter of Changhiz Khān. When Changiz had stationed himself on the river, there was no astrologer of the Rāi. He had not seen this astrologer. He waited for the nights to come with auspicious planets. It was this day for him as tomorrow was for him, his army would fumble by hearing the drum. He hastened for* publicity of peace, and refused to fight. 'Ubaid Khān Rumi and Daryā Khān arrived secretly from him in the majlis, talked, made long statements, swore, told a lie and ware about to terminate their oath for it was a vicious oath. In the meanwhile, the Shaikh, Sufi, sound in sincere friendship, righteous in religion al-Istanboli arrived. 'Ubaid Khān returned with what was decided in the majlis to come with the reply. The Shaikh began with an inclination towards pretence of knowledge about what was publicised by the chapter, every thing in exaggeration pointing out to what was said in maxims of no advantage:

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* Original Text, p. 468.

Your speech, oh! is like an empty gun
Void of meaning but it explodes.

*the gun is a fruit of a tree in Syria like almond. It is round in shape among* dried fruits which is interchanged with inconsideration of pistachis and walnut, then came the hājib of Umdat-ud-dawlat on behalf of his master. 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Benidas was formerly an unbeliever. He was now a Muslim. He came in. He knew what was between me and my friend, my sincere companion my confidant, my blessing, my brother-in-law, my supporter, literary man of the age, Mawlānā 'Abdul Latif bin Muhammed al-Saljuqi al-Madani, secretary of Changiz Khān out of relation and affection. It was he who connected me with him. When he entered upon Ulugh Khān and saw me standing on his right, he found me distinguished with wonderful favours except his master. They were persons of mistrust. When he came for pretended peace, it bore impurity of deception. He did not talk about it but took out a roll of white paper of his master and requested me to be present to hear. He said to me Changiz Khān has sent me with this roll of paper for peace with certain conditions and objects of different nature. I questioned him and he replied to me. He had written it in that scroll and handed it over to me. He then began to be inquisitive with ease free from care. He looked into the scroll. There were separate words at every place. He placed them together and found it to be a nonsensical version, that is to say, concealing errors. He burnt the rejected part and talked of wonders, for the acceptance of which reasons shrivelled. Those persons who heard the account, refused to accept it. They stated that it was falsehood and remarked that it was all a fable. I got acquainted with * his object and waited till he looked at me. I saw the different lines of the letter and put together the separated words to understand ambiguity and explained it to the master. He pondered over it and said that it is like what has been reported by Ibn-i-'Abbās, may God be pleased with them, from a story. He passed by a sparrow. He said that he consulted about fixing a snare. The sparrow saw that a snare was laid out. It intended to pick up grains scattered over it. How it picked them! I saw it picking them up. It returned seeing what had happened. He said to him as to how was it and how he saw it. He replied that it was as he had stated, but when fate descends, sight becomes blind. In short, the emissaries came frequently one after the other till setting of the sun. The flags were unfurled, the wazir was under them and people had arranged them in rows. The emissaries returned to meet in the morning. In the morning, the master sat and assembled the amirs with spies to inform about movement of cannons and crossing of Changiz. The party flew into passion against Daryā Khān and decided to assassinate him. He said to them, "I am from you. I wish you to be mild with me for what you hear about me and

* **Original Text, p. 469.**

which I have not said about Changiz Khān. He then agreed that it was falsehood and the maidān. They sent Shaikh Sa'eed Sultani with him. On the report of the spy, it was learnt that the army of Daryā Khān had stationed in the middle and that Jhujhār Khān and Bijli Khān were in the right wing while Ulugh Khān was on the left, waiting to know the result of talk of Daryā Khān's meeting. He sent word to his mamluk Saronast Khān. He was an amir of the army. It was said to him, "Smell your sword if you seek my safety. Give up capturing me on an elephant." His reply to the messenger was, "Your safety was at Chāmpāner in the fulfilment of oath to Ulugh Khān from your side. It was opportune. Now you are intent on perfidy and you hide your strategem." He was extremely straightened due to time. There was no way to perfidy of pledge for "He (God) does not love the dishonest." He then made the rows of army straight and decided upon war. Asad Khān stationed cannons in order to prevent sword of the enemy to be prolonged to the army. It was supported from the rear. The first stone which he darted was at Sarmast Khān. His regiment was dispersed. Jhujhār Khān rushed in all haste. He left. Bijli Khān was at a distance of a mile from face of cannons. He then turned towards cannons. He did not leave them to bring to the war to fight with sword. They fled after being choked with drink for* different causes. Ulugh Khān turned to the army of Daryā Khān after Sarmast Khān. He did not find him—similarly Jhujhār Khān and Bijli Khān. They were at a greater distance. He sent for the amir Mirjān Shāmi, horseman Makan Sharzah Khān, Ma'mur Khān, the wazir Sa'ad 'Ali Khān, Sa'eed Afsah Khān, Mufleh Nur Khān, Sandal Ghālib Khān, Farhān Sultāni alias Lorak, Raihān Mahaldār Khān, Nāsir Sarmast Khān, Sanjar Khān Sultāni, Yāqut Bahr-ul-Mulk, Mandal Dilāwar Khān, Yāqut Sultāni alias Bāzi, and Tarhān Sultāni titled Hoshiār Khān. There was in the vanguard a Deccani Hasan who was acquainted with the directions, during days of the month, with invisible persons known in Hind as Jognis. He too was sent for. In the beginning, he saw the time. The cannons were in large number around the field. He forbade to come from behind them from what they saw. They asked them to wait for an hour. The Deccani said, "withdraw yourself from facing the sun for it is against the enemy for a trick by the sun to be in front of his face. Such is the case with the wind. Ulugh Khān said, "In the name of Allah. Move in the name of Allah." He took the left side parallel to cannons. The afore-said persons advanced. A complement of forty was from their sides and an elephant was in front of them. The Khān started. He was followed by the army of Ghul except the standard-bearer 'Abdullah Naubi, Syed 'Abdur Rahmān, a descendant of 'Aqil al-Hadhrami known as Badwi, 'Isā Ulugh Khāni, Sa'eed Ulugh Khāni alias Sharābdar, Nashame'ul Khān, Miftah known as Tastdār, Yāqut Sultāni

* Original Text, p. 470.

known as Qapāsia, Muḥammed bin Kākā Jauhar Sultāni, Bilāl Khān and 'Abdullah A'zam-i-Humāyun. They traversed a distance of two miles or most of them turned to the right. Udaigir was loaded. They attacked the post of Rustam Khān moving towards them. He managed the cannons which were in his direction. They were made void. They were five hundred horsemen. He encountered Jam'ān. He was on a horse for Changiz Khān called Subhāni. He was in armour and had on iron-mace in hand. They knew with certainty that he was Changiz Khān. A party of soldiers attacked him. The spear did not penetrate through his armour. He was dismounted by the servant of Bahar-ul-Mulk who wounded his horse. He fell on the ground with it. The veil was* removed from his face. They recognised him. They abused him and left him. One of his brothers was amongst them. One of them struck him with a sword on his leg at the time of his fall. With it, he became lame for his life. Then appeared 'Adil Khān Maḥmud Sherwāni known as Banki with his regiment on his left, in front of which was a huge elephant known as Udaymangal. It acted arrogantly with the elephant Udaygir of the Khān. It was said that it could not come up to it in respect of appearance and importance but it was more than it in regard to courage and impetuosity. Besides, on the morning of the day, it was not made to drink as it was mostly done by the elephant-driver. Yet it remained in his passion. Such was the case with the elephant-driver who used to drink wine till his senses were lost. On the arrival of Udaymangal, the elephant of the Khān came out from his right side like an arrow from middle of the bow. Udaimangal did not stand firm against him. Udaigir subdued him and made him lose an eye completely. The Khān was satisfied with his courage. His opinion about him proved true. He moved around the battle-field like a stone handmill. A helmet had fallen down from head of the elephant-driver. He received several wounds. He then appeared from right side of Rustam Khān Hâji Khān and Sābit Khān. He had broken the rows of army of Mirjān Shāmi and came out from them moving to the side of the river Mahi and with him was a party of them. The wazir, Afsah Khān and Mufleh were severely wounded till they fell on the ground. They could not move. Their servants saw them in time. They had come out with them to wrap them up in sheets of cloth. Their community-men glorified themselves for it. They nourished those of their kind who nourished them. Sharzah Khān, Ma'mur Khān and Yāqut Salmāni known as Pātliyā, many of them crowded themselves upon them. They were disbanded. They had nothing with them. They fell into the hands of enemy, nay, in reality, they were captured. When they were separated singly from their men, it was not a custom among them to assassinate the captives. But Changiz Khān did not observe this tradition and ordered for their slaughter. Besides, he issued an order and it came. Nearly twenty men of the Khān

* Original Text, p. 471.

remained in the battle-field. Sanjar Khān returned with his bridle and came out of the battle-field with twelve horses. He had left Anbar Halbi and two others killed in the battle-field. Haji Khān followed slowly and slowly to a mile. He* then stopped. The Khān and his companions alighted on the right side of Baroda. At the approach of the night, they crossed the river Mahi. It was the place where the army had alighted under shade of a tree. The Khān spent the night in the building of Sultān Qutb-ud-din. In the morning, Jhujhār Khān, Bijli Khān, and Sherwān Khān came to him. They met the Khān and apologised to him. The Khān was on an elevated turret in the enclosure of Darya Khān. His goods were removed to his house in the early part of the day. He questioned Jhujhār Khān about it. It was said that Daryā Khān had ordered for its plunder. It was so. A Habshi came to the Khān asking about the cause of his march. Jhujhār Khān was sitting. He abused Daryā Khān first and then he abused him. If the Habshi had remained silent, he would have been safe but he went on talking; Jhujhār Khān struck him with a sword. After a pause, it did not miss his forehead to face of his neck. He fell down dead. The carpet-spreaders pulled him by his legs and took him outside the house. They delayed at a distance of six farsakhs from the river and alighted on the outskirts of Kārer. Jhujhār Khān marched to Aḥmedābād. Ulugh Khān remained there for five months till he came to the help of I'timād Khān. In the meanwhile, I'timād Khān came out with the Sulṭān, and alighted at Baroda. Changiz Khān had garrisoned himself within it. But he did not come out from it except Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Fateh Khān Baluch and Musā Khān Fauladi. It was due to instruction from him. He remained in a place after retirement from war when Tātār Khān came in for peace on behalf of Changiz of Broach. It was not near the sea. Changiz Khān came out on account of this to him. Fateh Jang Khān, Daryā Khān and Kunbher Rāi followed him along with those who entered his region for peace to his manzil. They returned from him to I'timād Khān. He decided upon liberation of Broach from him. Tātār Khān objected to it. When he refused, Tātār Khān marched from the camp returning to Junāgadh. I'timād Khān marched, crossed Baroda and encamped on the river Dhadhar. He gave to Ulugh Khān what was for him. Similarly to Bijli Khān. He then advanced to Broach and encamped on the Narbada on the outskirts of his property at Broach which is called Koryal. It was monsoon. He then gave Navsari to Daman to Fateh Jang Khān and fixed Nādod for Daryā Khān and sent an assistant with him. He then encamped on the river from the side of Nimodra, on crossing the river, Changiz Khān saw them coming in all haste. He crossed along with those who crossed. Others got dispersed. All of them, then, joined† their master. Fateh Jang Khān was on the rear of the arrival of Changiz Khān. He wrote to I'timād Khān to send help. He sent for Ulugh Khān and ordered

* Original Text, p. 472.

† Original Text, p. 473.

him to cross the river to go to his help. He delayed for three days for arrival of the army from Baroda. They delayed to make amends for preparation. He was affected thereby. He said, "I crossed the river and you waited for the army." Jhujhār Khān lost his temper. In the meanwhile he gave a reply. Atal Khān said to him that the leading amir did not look after the camp except the commander-in-chief. It was not said that to him when Ulugh Khān stood up and went out from the majlis in anger. He saluted and went away. He immediately ordered the drum to be beaten and rode out with at least forty, and Jhujhār Khān. He was an associate of I'timād Khān from among the Afghāns. He was wise, accomplished and an associate of Sher Shāh. He was with Salim Shāh also. He then came to Gujarāt with Hāji Khān and devoted himself to I'timād Khān. He loved him. He was Firoz Khān. He was in the majlis. Ulugh Khān got up and said to I'timād Khān that Ulugh Khān was pivot in war. He addressed the leading amir for action; "If the army did not follow him in the country, why it delayed. You see that it was harmful". In the course of conversation, he heard the drum. He said to him, "stop beneath the audience-hall. He will pass by you and see who ride along with him, displaying truth of his words to you." Firoz Khān stood under it. He was coming with a few persons. He returned to I'timād Khān and came out with him. He said to him, "Here is Ulugh Khān. He crosses the river and urges the march. He saw him marching. Ask him to stop before some one plans for his death." I'timād Khān rode out and spurred his horse in his wake and Ulugh Khān saw him. He had come with a boat. He embarked the boat and had moved a little from the shore. I'timād Khān came to the shore and conciliated him for return. He persuaded him very much and gave him an oath of Sultan Mahmud. He refused. The boatman moved with the boat and crossed the river, nay, the sea and got down from the horse on the shore. His companions joined him. They pitched their tents there that night. I'timād Khān mounted the roan horse on the river, sat upon it, shaded the day under a cloud ( pavilion ) pitched for him. The army was crossing the river. At the close of day, the amirs, * Bilāl Khairat Khān, Mirjān Ajdar-ul-Mulk, one of the mamālik amirs, Bijli Khān, Mujāhid Khān Sultāni, Langar Khān and 'Alam Khān Dasāriya had alighted. All in toto were one thousand horsemen. Such were the efforts made. All these efforts made by Ulugh Khān were not to be wasted. He had secreted in his heart that the cause thereof was not destruction of Changiz Khān nor demolition of the palace built by 'Imād-ul-Mulk for the foreigners. On the second day after his encampment, he learnt that Jalibdār (introducer) of Changiz had come in the camp for inquiry. He got the report and came with it to the Khān. He questioned his replier. He gave a report of exact condition and said, "I left him at Nimodra intending to come this side." The Khān

* Original Text, p. 474.

ordered the drum to be beaten, rode out in arms and arrayed the army. He then said to the Jalibdār, "Convey salām to Changiz Khān and tell him that if he were from 'Imād-ul-Mulk, then he need not delay to execute his design and that if he were from Ulugh Khān, he should stop at his place for the night till morning when he would see the cavalry, God willing." He then ordered him to be given two gold ashrafis, and granted him leave to go. He sent a person with him to bring a report about Changiz Khān and told him to wait till he got the report first. When a portion of night had passed, the person who was sent returned. He said through Jalibdār, "I stand nearby. Communicate to me what is necessary with him." He then said, "Refer to me. This man came with me to return with news from you." Changiz first showed the march. A party rejected it. They then decided upon to send a message for peace between them. Changiz Khān then called me and said to me, "Convey salām to the Khān and tell him that the reply is conditional and that there is no other alternative for him. He intends to do what he said, if you are from the side of the Malek to the end. The condition is to seek the news and to stop him and return to Broach." He brought no news. He arrived to inform that he sat in a boat and marched to Broach quickly. He was followed by Rustam Khān and 'Adil Khān. His other followers went by land. He sent Yāqut Tawil Rumi Khāni killed Khurshid Khān secretly from Broach. He then sent Mirjān Saif-ud-din in his wake. When they both presented themselves in the assembly of the Khān, he said to them, "The plaintiff proves with two witnesses. I bear witness to you that I, from this today am for him and not against him and the past I will not recall. I will not hear about it." What was continuously reported from him, I wish him to give an example as

They said, I said to them about the tyranny of your friend
I was not delighted by the sight of his tent.
They said, I said to them that there is very little possibility
My patience upon my friend and his non-existence is not.*

When Fateh Jang Khān occupied Navsāri, he wrote to I'timād Khān about it. I'timād Khān ordered him to alight at Broach from the side of Ankleshwar to besiege it. He similarly wrote to Daryā Khān as well as to Khudāwand Khān. Fateh Jung Khān did not come and said to his messenger, "If I had occupied this region with the strength of I'timād Khān or by his help, I would have come." I'timād Khān was extremely affected by him. When Changiz Khān met him, he became anxious about the side of Ulugh Khān. He sent Beni Dās, the Chamberlain for peace. Amir Hasan Khān came. He was a Turk brought up in the Deccan. On his arrival, I'timād Khān thought of expulsion of Fateh Jang Khān from Navsāri. Rustam Khān, brother of Fateh Khān Baluch pre-

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* Original Text, p. 475.

sented himself in the majlis. He was seeking permission for march to go to help of his brother but he fled from Faulādi. I'timād Khān replied to hir exercise patience. He then closeted himself with his companions and : "Do you know what he did? Fateh Jang Khān seized the territory fror and opposes us with it. He opposed at last. He is another Changiz. Cha sent a man for peace. Fateh Khān is in flight. Did we not see him be broadening the hole for himself, it had now become difficult for him to r amends for it. It is proper to return Hasan Khān with peace upon additio Navsāri for him as far as Broach. He should have the title of his father, Ma i-'Āli 'Imād-ul-Mulk while Baroda and its adjacent territory should be for U Khān. He then sent Firoz Khān to Ulugh Khān with a horse which came \ him from Danglu city. Horses are high, long, huge in size and sharp in sp in Abyssinia. After him, he sent Wajih-ul-Mulk to narrate him events of time and for consultation. It was, in the first place, for the slaughter (r sacre) of habshis. He was not pleased with his injustice. His army encam at Broach. Changiz Khān remained with members of his family and hundred horsemen inside the city. Members of his family were Hāji Ki Rustam Khān, 'Adil Khān, Asad Khān, Kusal Wali, Qiyām-ul-Mulk, , Alāchin, Haider Jahangir Khāni and aforesaid Hasan Khān Turki. Events the time were: crossing the river, captivity of Jalibdār, his liberation, dispa of message and arrival of Khurshid Khān, Mirjān Saif-ud-din, mutual welf secretly what was and said to him for place, rejection thereof to I'timād Khā crossing the river with Wajih-ul-Mulk, going alone for salutation, reply in sence as was the reply in absence and return. He sent Atabek Mirjān Harmadi Ulugh Khāni titled Hoshiār-ul-Mulk to Changiz Khān to inform him with eve and consulting him to send a person in whom he had confidence for pe: When he met I'timād Khān, he was delighted with it. After consultation, granted him leave to return. It so happened that the arrival of Āgā Alāchin that of Shaikh Safi Istanboli coincided. Every one of them had come to Ul Khān. I'timād Khān said to him, "I did not prompt Changiz Khān with pleas but experienced a strong will from Fateh Jang Khān. He is beneath two gr: of pulse. He then ordered the army to be summoned and convened a se meeting where Ulugh Khān was present. It was peace. They returned v titles and robes of honour. On the second day of their return, I'timād K marched to Ahmedābād reviewing on the way when he encamped at Baroda instructed Ulugh Khān to remain there till he was sent for. He stayed th I'timād Khān advanced and entered the capital of his territory in guarantee safety and generosity. Changiz Khān, hastened against Fateh Jang Khān the second day after the return of I'timād Khān. When they both encounte each other in the maidan the army deserted to Changiz Khan. Fateh

* Original Text, p. 476

Khān fled. Saif-ul-Mulk stood firm at a distance with designs against Changiz. He threw stars (of firework) at him, once, a second time and a third time. He joined Fateh Jang Khān and met him and Daryā Khān at Baroda. The Khān wrote to I'timād Khān in their honour but he did not reply. He took their requests into consideration and came out with them to Aḥmedābād. The wazir remained in Baroda.

I was in the service of the Khān from the day of his coming out from Ahmadābād to his entry in it. I did not leave him both in a state of safety and war. I narrated that what I saw and not what I heard. What we did not witness except we knew. I derived advantage from those who were acquainted with this history. Perhaps he would make it suitable with what happened in this carnage. I knew with experience what has been said by Amir-ul-Mumi-*nin* (*leader of the faithful*) 'Umar-bin-al-Khattāb, may God be pleased with him and raise ranks (in paradise) for him. "Covet death eagerly, He grants life to you." I saw the Khān, my patron, lord of generosity, though in that age, the auspicious star was disposed towards him. He treated unjustly those who showed signs to fight with sword, not with disgrace and duplicity but with* force. This was the time for the manifestation of the verse of God in His book "You give kingdom to whomsoever You wish." I thought over it and said to him by way of example.

Oh self! By God, be without promptings and evil thoughts. He fashioned everything with faith in God and he made everything easy for me. I received a stick from the hand of the master. I persevered in a confused manner and moved with the army. They arrived to the standard. To the right and left, they were between fortune and misfortune; cannons imagined as calls to prayers, preventing closeness from the maidān. When the master stirred up to move, I persevered with him and left others. I watched his condition, and thanked for the end. I had loyalty for him. He had asked about it. Jhujhār Khān presented himself in the maidān. Bijli Khān sent for me and pulled me:

"For you good news. Remove what you have upon you just now, you had stated that there was no crookedness in you. He showed favour to me and made me popular with regard. It was in a familiar method I had mentioned talking about bounties. He persuaded me to follow with loyalty and live in important places with contentment according to fate. Get praise and live in plenty. "He who did a good act, it is for himself; he who did a wrong deed, it is for him."

*Martyrdom of Ahmed Shah in the early part of Sha'bān of the year.*

*Its substance is*: Misfortunes of Sikander Khān crowded upon him. They were from the days of 'Imād-ul-Mulk when there came the martyrdom of

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* Original Text, p. 477.

Sajyid Mubārak Bukhāri and death of his men A'zam-i-Humāyun and Teghnumā Khān as stated before. It was during the days of I'timād Khān that happened what was to happen for him according to plan. Shaikh Salim and Sādāt Khān got separated for invasion of Chāmpāner from him. Sikander Khān ramained with him along with those who were close to him. It was a new event they had to bear it themselves. They did not throw a sword in battle secretly or cut anything. They said, "This is I'timād Khān and this is Sher Khān." This report became current and continuous. It was with this that I'timād Khān put up with. Radi-ul-Mulk 'Abdul Malek warranted for him with him. He met the Sultan secretly and swindled him saying to him from Wajih-ul-Mulk that he had resolved upon continuing his salṭanat and that he should come to him to side with him against I'timād Khān and to captivate him. He took an oath for him from his side to show that he was with him. It was he * who supported Wajih-ul-Mulk upon this. He should continue with him till he came out one night in a litter of women alone to the house of Wajih-ul-Mulk. When he entered upon the verandah, he surrendered himself to the party of the Malek. He came out saying, "Verily I am free from you." Wajih-ul-Mulk assassinated him with a dagger and threw him in a ditch of the river. It remained there till the sun declined. It was then carried to the dome of Sultān Aḥmed and buried in a vault in its row. His tomb was built with a window of the room near the gate. May God show mercy to him. He was a fortunate man with grandeur. There was abundant rain during his regime. Things were cheap. About five thousands of residents met him. He was about to assume independent power. They were serious to carry out his order but he showed haste in going to Sayjyid Mubārak. Society of young men had its influence on him. His tongue was light till they carried him to his death who had carried him to the kingdom. His enemies will assemble before God.

* Original Text, p. 478

## CHAPTER XXI

*Saltanat of Abinnaṣr Muzaffer Shāh ibn-i-Maḥmud Shāh bin Latif Khān, brother of Bahādur*

Abunnaṣr Muzaffer Shāh bin Maḥmud Shāh ibn-i- Latif brother of Bahādur bin Muzaffer bin Maḥmud brother of Qutb-ud-din bin Muḥammed ibn-i-Aḥmed b-Muḥammed bin Muzaffer Shāh sat upon the throne of Saltanat on 17th Sha'bān, 967 ( 1559 ) at Aḥmedābād. He was approximately ten years of age. The following lines are composed in connection with his accession to the throne

From the race of Shāh Maḥmud, Sultān of the kingdom of Gujarat
He came to the throne of kingship by usage and tradition.
His name was Muzaffer, he became chief of order
Year of his ascension became "Shāh-i-Bilād-i-Gujarat".
( King of the cities of Gujarat )

In the year 968 ( 1560 ), he issued forth with I'timād Khān to help Fateh Khān Baluch. He encamped at Narharwāla Pattan. During this interval, Changiz Khān established his power over Baroda and Chāmpāner. Fateh Jang Khān returned to him. Saif-ul-Mulk separated him from Baroda. I'timād Khān heeded him not. He remained behind him at Aḥmedābād till the recall of Changiz Khān and gave him Chāmpāner. He joined with Rustam Khān separating Changiz. He was with Ulugh Khān in this carnage. Musā Khān* ruler of Pattan sent word to him asking him the cause of this move ( desertion ) on his part. The cause of it was Fateh Khān. He deviated his limit and extended his hand to that which was not his. Hence it so happened. His former services were given up by this desertion. " There is no power but the power of Allāh." When the Sultān was in the camp I left him with etiquette with what belonged to Fateh Khān. I asked him for Pattan and other portion connected with it. He should get other than this. I'timād Khān replied that " I would get more by going out of the kingdom. First, there should be obedience to the Sultan. I should then get what I desire." Musā Khān garrisoned himself within the fort and mounted cannons upon it. In the meantime Tātar Khān took leave and returned. Every one except Ulugh Khān was disposed to do harm to the side of I'timād Khān. He sent every one of them to Musā Khān inducing him for war. On the morning of the night of the death anniversary of Qutb-uz-Zamān, blessing for Muslims, ruler of Pattan, Mawlānā Shaikh Husām-ud-din, may his grave be sanctified, I'timād Khān rode out alone to the place of cannons. Ulugh Khān was with him. It is said that

* Original Text, p. 479.

the night of anniversary was the night of Friday. He alighted at the dome for prevention of firing of cannons. Musā Khān gave him good news of help. He met him and took his help, and came out of the fort. Sher Khān issued forth from the city-fort. I'timād Khān returned while Ulugh Khān halted with those who were present with him at the cannons. His companions put right the standard and the drum. Jhujhār Khān, Bijli Khān, Rustam Khān, Sherwān Khān, Mahaldār Khān, Sanjar Khān and Mufleh Nur Khān were from their party. They were with their own men. They were fully equipped with arms. All those who were employed in the army had no arms. It was a difficult time in the battle-field. They gathered between Ulugh Khān and Sher Khān. At the first assault, Sarandāz Khān Manduwāli who formed vanguard of the army fled away. He was a famous man. In days of peace, he never rode without arms. The Afghān Amir Hasan Khān Sherwāni, commander of the right wing took to flight. It so chanced that he fell into a well from which he did not come out except as dead. The left wing then retreated. This onslaught was on the centre. Ulugh Khān slanted from the saddle through severity of his whip. This happened before the third day. He was riding in the side from* the cannons and to his side was bearer of the helmet. A cannon on the turret directed a stone to the head of the bearer. It was in his passage touching the stirrup. There was odour of gunpowder and fire of stone. His leg got swollen somewhat on the calf. It prevented him to be steady in feet in the stirrup. It was narrow for entry. He joined the earth. Jamāl Khān Manduwāli was by his side. He dismounted from his horse. He supported him while Yāqut Hāfiz Khān held up his hand and raised him up to the saddle. This happened within less than twinkling of an eye. People assembled around the cannon. Mufleh Nur Khān and Yāqut 'Ubaid Khān fell down dead. Rustam 'Ali had made hard preparation at the centre. Ulugh Khān, Jhujhār Khān, Bijli Khān and Sherwān Khān perceived it. The centre shivered and one after the other surged at it. He then changed the arrangement and assaulted from behind to enter the fort and fortify it. In this fury, Rustam also came out of the saddle. The Khān had come back to the place of battle from the side of Khān sarovar. In the meanwhile, he looked to right and left. There was Jauhar 'Ādil Khāni titled Kishwar Khān. He was on horseback. He was arraying many persons in straight rows. He got down from the horse for him. Rustam Khān rode it. He said to him to wait. He then moved to the side of the Afghān party and stabbed one of them with a poniard and snatched his horse. He came with it to Kishwar Khān. He made him ride over it. Both of them met the Khān He was in the battle-field wondering at that large number through which it was not possible to pass through. He threaded the path and joined I'timād Khān. in the house. The substance of what happened with I'timad Khān in the event

* Original Text, p. 480.

was: when he returned from the cannons to the pavilions, he rode with the Sultān, chose the regiment for encounter of Musa Khān. He had not come to the army when he fled. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk was the first among those who fled. One of the horsemen, Malek Chiman said to him as to whence he was coming and whether he was pleased with cutting his nose. He replied in the affirmative stating that his head was safe. Hāji Khān faced Musā Khān and moved to fight with him. The wazir Muzaffer Khān held up his reins and said to him as to whether his nose was from himself. He was with Musā Khān when he was young. He remained behind I'timād Khān moving with the baggage. It was for him to carry except the cannons. He entered Ahmedabad (in the darkness of night.) The rest joined him with shame, apologising him, repeating to make amends and conciliating him. But he did not approve of what they did.

In the absence of I'timād Khān from the city, Khudāwand Khān came to him by sea from Khanbhāyat and stayed in the house of Jahangir Khān. His sister Khadijah, daughter of Saghar was married to him. Rumi Khān was their offspring. He had left him in the fort of Surat as his nāib (deputy). 'Abdul Munawwari was appointed as his guardian. There was a war for the fort between him and Dungersi Purabiya. There was also a plain battle. He had made him his testator after him. Khudāwand Khān was one of the best muluks, both in appearance and character. He was wise, excellent, literary, noble, administrator, statesman-like, intelligent, generous, unique, shrewd, kind, witty. He was proficient in music and well-versed in tunes and skilful in art. Something has previously been stated about his praise in the event of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. From the date of his murder to his exit from Surat, he was always furious with Changiz Khān. He had not given up fighting with him till Changiz had almost retreated from him. Hasan Khān had killed a party of his men. He once sought help of the firangis. They routed him to Nadiad. He received news about the martyrdom of a party of admirals Saif-ul-Mulk ar-Rumi, as-Sultāni, Amir-un-Naubah Salābat Khān ar-Rumi, as-Sultāni and Yāqub 'Imād-ul-Mulk titled Jamshid Khān, may mercy of God be upon them. Atlast, Turk Asad Khān was on the fort with a party of amirs. He returned to Broach. Asad Khān was Salamāni. He was the teacher of his brother, Muharram. He was loyal to him like his father. During the period of the siege of the fort, he did not allow the fort to suffer any dishonour. Surat was, during his regime, pleasant in sight and delightful to mind. He was one of those who deserved merit for prosperity of ports and their population. Its shores were safe to such an extent that the foreigners forgot their families and friends so to say. When 'Imād-ul-Mulk established his authority as Regent of the Saltanat, he made Bijli Khān an amir. He had in mind to bring together men of his homogeneous group, he conciliated them very much by increase in their livelihood and in particular, he was very much so towards noted persons

among them. He came out from the house of Khudāwand Khān and went to all mamālik. He killed him who belonged to the party of famous men among them. Being intermingled with fancy and overpowered by imagination, he reversed their condition and changed their good qualities with equality. He altered their hearts from him, made the servants fearful of him. Hence there * was none who did not think that he would be killed. He augmented provisions when one had not sufficient to eat due to lack of control of his kitchen. In case, he lazed, he was turned out of his stable or he was allowed to go elsewhere. When the servants gathered together and they would not vacate the house, he would not take anything from their food but give them silver and gold. They were present at the time of eating. They engaged themselves with bread and the kitchen. He continued to turn them out. He got his object. His life became troublesome; his mind got disturbed. His circumstances became rugged. It was his misfortune. When death approached, he was good and from a good family. God chose for him worldly retaliation. He was expelled from his fort. He became lonely to seek help from I'timād Khān and to become sufficient with Changiz. He met him. He found him busy with his own self. He got disappointed from him. He came out, one day, in negligence to return to Surat. He narrated his case. Bijli Khān felt affected. He understood him and sent him out of nobility to Changiz Khān. That was the cause of his pleasure with him. He sent for him. It is said that when he placed his honour before him he pitied him and shed tears. He said, " Be safe with me till forgiveness from him. It was in that year. When the amir of the fort 'Abdul Munawwari heard him, Jahangir Khān sent for him to study his events. Rumi Khān was young. I'timād Khān took leave and went to Khanbhāyat and thence to Surat by sea. His mamluk Sandal Ghālib Khān advanced during his days. He fought with those who alighted at Surat from among the amirs of Changiz. He was famous in battles. Changiz Khān rode in all fury with the standard and the drum. He was always victorious; 'Abdul tried to make peace between him and Changiz Khān. Rumi Khān poisoned him and Changiz Khān promised him the fort. He came to him suddenly. Jahangir Khān was wise. He fought for his son not out of sport. When he learnt that his son was poisoned, he was free from care. He was informed about the arrival of Changiz Khān. He was in the port. He met him, Changiz Khān entered the fort with him. On his coming out from it, he made the fort in charge of Atābek Āqā Alāchin. 'Abdul came out with nothing. He repented of his deed. Changiz Khān returned to Broach and appointed Jahangir Khān as wazir. He first kept him at Surat, then at Broach and held him in great esteem.

In 963 ( 1560 ), Habib titled I'tibār-ul-Mulk was perfidiously killed on† terrace of I'timād Khān. He was stabbed with a dagger under his order by

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* Original Text, p. 482. † Original Text, p. 483.

his slave Ajdar-ul-mulk. He was a steward under Maḥmud. He was afterwards made an amir. He belonged to the party of I'timād Khān. Tatār Khān Ghori similarly belonged to the party of I'timād Khān, particularly, he was disposed towards him with 'Ālam Khān in his assault on Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri: He was of his party as previously hinted. He then presented himself with him at his coming to Baroda. He mediated for peace between him and Changiz Khān. When peace was broken, his followers deserted him and returned to Junāgadh. They encamped with him at Naharwala Pattan but they feared his victory. When they returned in flight, they remained behind him on a stage from the city and encamped along with I'tibār-ul-Mulk on the outskirts of Dholka. Their master Amir Sayyed Mirān bin Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri was with them. Sher Khān Fauladi joined them. When their blacks increased in number Sayyid Mirān alighted with them. They then took an oath for opposition and marched from Dholka to Santhij and wrote to Changiz Khān about their decision. They then crossed the river Mahi. As agreed they went from Santhij to Maḥmudābād for Konha on the way. But Bibi Sāheb, mother of Changiz Khān came out from Broach at the instruction of wise men, in all haste. She learnt about their decision at the river and abandoned her design. They received news about her, they attempted to go to Sarkhej. Musā Khān recalled his brother. They three held consultation. They differed. They had decided to take the responsibility of establishing their power by strength for dismissal of I'timād Khān. There was no way to him. They resorted to a trick. They turned to fraud. They wrote to I'timād Khān and he wrote to them and entered the city and dispersed to their respective houses. They then met at night in the majlis of Shaikh I'timād Khān Mawlānā Fāzil of his age Shaikh Kamāl Muhammed and plunged in talk about I'timād Khān and his office in respect of his assassination. Tātār Khān was to be in his place. The manner of his assassination was that I'tibār-ul-Mulk should enter into his house early in the morning and inform him as to what Tātār Khān understood, according to his knowledge from his interview. He will be taken out from the city. He would not ride to his house. He will conciliate him and I'timā Khān will not find out in the beginning for subsiding disturbance from his riding to him. When the disturbance had taken place, it would continue. With this* view in mind, I'tibār-ul-Mulk rode to him. He met him alone and conveyed to him last night's report. He rebuked him first and then used harsh language towards him. He became anxious and then surmounted anxiety with what was possible to go out, as he had no power to kill him. I'timād Khān stood up from the private meeting with him when Razi-ul-Mulk presented himself. He was his enemy. He met I'timād Khān and said to him, "He is such an enemy and he had attempted to pull him by legs to his death. It was my duty

* Original Text, p. 484.

to speak in this matter as 'Abdullah-bin-Zubair had said in respect of Mâlek-bin-al-Ashtar. He had power over him, "they intend me to be assassinated and they have power. Kill the master with me." I'timâd Khân smiled and Razi-ul-Mulk came out with the permission to kill him. It so happened. He overthrew him headlong from the balcony below in the midst of his men. They then dispersed. Tâtar Khân received intelligence about it. He rode his horse and went out fleeing from the city. He was followed by Shādi I'timād Khāni titled Shamshir-ul-Mulk to a distance of ten miles. He then died. Similarly, Sayyid Mirān sought advice of Ulugh Khān. He then followed him a little distance and returned. His relatives were Amir Ārāish Khān and Malek Akhy. Khairat Khān reached them and returned with their heads He did not neglect the cannons. Inspite of this, Khairat Khān lost his men the like of whom he did not find in carnage about to take place. They were stars shining during day. Sa'eed Sarnauba was a noted horseman. He accurately aimed his sword at Āraish Khān. He was a young, brave horseman. He remained on his horse. saluted I'timād Khān and returned with honour to his house. He then left the world. Khairat Khān mourned for him. Ulugh Khān was mostly in affliction for him for he was one of his father's men. He was the Police Officer of the Diwān during his time. It was then said of him that he was in search of agile Sarnauba. Tātār Khān stayed at Junāgadh till he died in the year 970 (1562).

In 969 (1561), I'timād Khān came out towards Naharwāla Pattan. The Sultan was left behind in the city. Then he got an order which had come to him first. Its short account is: It was in respect of amirs. Changiz Khān captured Baroda. Ulugh Khān remained in the city. He had no power over anything. Such was the case with Daryā Khān, Bijli Khān, and Rustam Khān. They met I'timād Khān and said to him, 'what remained of your party?' When your sword was famous, the enemy avoided it except Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk. You know better about them. What am I in consideration except with my men.* Since long, they are busy with today and tomorrow. I do not see Musā Khān to attack Tātār Khān from your side except to occupy your territory which is near him. I had Kadi between he and you. I hope, the sword will not prevent him from transgression and he should stretch his leg except to the length of his carpet." I'timād Khān occupied himself with things of no advantage. He returned from him to go to Mahmudābād. The aforesaid persons followed him. In the meantime, a letter of Changiz Khān arrived to Bijli Khān and Rustam Khān. Both of them met Ulugh Khān, apologised him and parted from him. I'timad Khān received information about them. They feared to meet the foreigners as was the case in time of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Wajih-ul-Mulk sent word

* Original Text, p. 485.

to Ulugh Khān satisfying him with Maḥmudābād and what was adjacent to it and with Aḥmedābād except the mint and whatever is related with the order in addition the whole boundary; Modasa for Daryā Khān and to recover Baroda for him. The Khān returned to Aḥmedābād. Musā Khān had a free hand in it and in adjacent part. I'timād Khān sent for his party and said to them rebuking in what preceded from them.

*Couplet*

And the brothers reckoned it falsehood
They were but for the enemy.

"If you were not ashamed to take a stand as men, the enemy would never have humiliated you and entered your territory." Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk then talked in exaggerated terms agreeing with his intention when he said, "They were for attack but that I should go out to him. I did not return from him till he went to Nāgor, I bear witness to it and take an oath on it. He was always with him till I expelled him from the city and encamped in the maidan of Jhotāna. Musā Khān also encamped in opposition in the maidan. The encounter continued for months. The Afghan wise men then tried for peace on terms that Musā Khān should have Mehsāna and what was adjacent to it from the side. A party continued to go and come to Ulugh Khān for it. The affair was about to be completed." Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk received that news. He said, in the presence of Ulugh Khan's hājib Tayyab-ul-Mulk, that "he heard from some one the news of peace and it was based on the expulsion of Musā Khān from the frontiers of Gujarāt. I made it the essential condition and resolved upon it. War alone will be the decisive factor." Tayyab-ul-Mulk reported what * he heard to Ulugh Khān when he met him. Ulugh Khān met I'timād Khān and said to him, "I had gone out but I waited for the peace. It was good. But I heard such news. I returned to you. I will not be in command of the vanguard. But there will be no excuse on my part to be in the right wing or the left wing." I'timād Khān said, "who will be in the vanguard except you?" He replied, "I had shown in it previously that I had routed Sher Khān and his followers to the gate of the city and returned. I did not see any one. It will be in the present case. Yes, I will be in the vanguard with a condition." He said, "what is it?" He replied, "order men of your party such as Ajdar-ul-Mulk, Diler Khān, Shamshir-ul-Mulk, and such other swordsmen to be with me in the right and left wings. When we assemble at the war theatre, let those on whom you rely should stand behind me to see hardship and be a support to me. Victory is from Allah. I am not with a large number of soldiers; we hope for victory. We are not disappointed with a small number. The sword will

* Original Text, p. 486.

arbitrate." He accepted these terms. He ordered his men to camp with him and arrayed for posting also, centre, wings and centre. When the army came into the maidan for war, Ulugh Khān was in command of the vanguard. He was followed by I'timād Khān with his special regiment. The whole army consisted of, with the exception of Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk and his equals of the hypocrites, seven thousand horse and ten elephants. Musā Khān advanced with five hundred elephants and thirty thousand horse. Ulugh Khān and Jhujhār Khān encountered him from the right wing while Khairat Khān from the left with men of I'timād Khān. The vanguard fled. It was in command of Ismā'il Khān Maswāni. His wing got routed with him. It was under Maḥmud Khān Jailam and Bābu Khān Karrāni. He broke the rows as far as the centre and attacked him with nearly two hundred and dispersed his companions in breaking rows till two horsemen, Yāqut Ḥāfiz Khān and the amir Jhujhār Khān were left. Raihān Jāmdār of the special mamāliks and Jamāl Khān Manduwāli saw that. The Khān was on Arab horse of Khudāwand Khān Rajab, called "Tayyār". He straightway stabbed him in the right ear penetrating to the left. He was between two elephants. He was seen dead. Jhujhār Khān took his reins and came out with it. The third defended himself from him. The Afghān forces surged in waves one after the other. The dust surrounded what was between the Khān and the Afghāns. He issued forth from the battle-* field on his horse called "Shah Pasand" with Jalibdār. He got down from it and surrounded the Khān around the saddle of the "Tayyār". When he got separated from it, he fell down dead with a stab. The quality of the Arab horse was patience against iron weapons and fire. When the Khān finished the field, he did not find any one from the army of Gujarāt. He realized when some one asked him about I'timād Khān as to what God had done to him. He said, "At the time of the first attack, he was about to enter the regiment, when he found his companions towards the side of Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk and his equals, he did not find any one. There was a large number of soldiers on the side of Musā Khān, he noticed the Afghāns in parties. A party was with the horse of I'timād Khān. They informed him about the flight of the Khān. He did not hear them. They seized his reins with force and took him out from the battlefield in the wake of the Malek. He abused them and cursed them and then imitated the Khān as has been said:

Murder and war were written for us
Emboldened to fill skirts with booty.

He stopped for an hour and unfurled his banner to be seen by his cmopanions to join who were in the Afghan forces. There was none among them except his companions. Ajdar-ul-Mulk and his compeers did not see I'timād Khān to join

* Original Text p. 487.

with him except Khairat Khān and his companions such as Farhān Lurak, Muhammed Kākā Jauhar Salmāni and Raihān Hussaini. They did not separate the Khān to help him with themselves when rows of the centre got broken and they commingled with one another, they got dispersed from him, yet they were in search of him. The horse of the Khān was distinguishable in darkness of dust-storm by his armour which shot up links of the chain shedding silver and its plates guarded ribs of his breast for it shone like a polished mirror. Similar were the plates upon face of his horse. When Khairat Khān saw his standard, he recognised him and came out of the regiment to him. He remained in his place till all his men joined him. They then threaded the path. I'timād Khān had got down from his roan horse. It was at a distance of three farsakhs from the battle-field. He was waiting for them. The party dispersed in a direction asking questions about him. He saw him in front of himself. He turned to his companions and abused them. He said, "Here is the man and you are the women." He stood up to him, embraced him and was delighted with his safety. I heard him using foul language which the ears were not capable to hear. He then rode and others rode along with him. On the next day, they arrived at Aḥmedābād. He hid himself from Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk* and his compeers. In the meanwhile, he thought over what happened to him from them. He received news that Musā Khān had brought under his control the region of Kadi. He did not see any other alternative but to entreat Changiz Khān. He went to him and conveyed it to him. He convened a majlis and said to the nobles of his territory as to what they saw from the arrival of I'timād Khān. They referred the matter to him. He said, "He is our great man and occupies the office of 'Imad-ul-Mulk but none does justice to him in our time. He has need of me. I thank God for this bounty. I have decided upon in helping him for victory by my efforts." He then ordered for preparation and rode with his army from Baroda to Mahi river. He was welcomed at every place. There was a meeting with him on the river. They greeted him, renewed love and promised him with every good thing. Jhujhār Khān was in his company. I'timād Khān joined both of them. Changiz Khān treated him with respect and inquired about Ulugh Khān, and praised him. He said to I'timād Khān, that his arrival had the advantage of meeting with Jhujhār Khān. Relation between them was renewed to a sufficient degree. After the feast, he took leave for return to collect war weapons and advised I'timād Khān similarly for march to Aḥmedābād to prepare for war on the day of reaching and start for attack on the Afghāns. He gave him horses and elephants and fine robes of honour to those who deserved them. Hāji Khān, Bijli Khān and Ādil Khān Sherwāni were made to accompany him from his side. Changiz Khān arrived in his wake with

* Original Text, p. 488.

cannons, elephants and men. He split the city and entered with armour-bearers (salāhdārs) with I'timād Khān to his house and ordered the army to alight at Shaikhpur. I'timād Khān sent for Ulugh Khān. He sat and dined with them. He then sent for fragrance. Changhiz Khān returned from his house to his tent. Ulugh Khān and Changiz Khān were together talking, laughing till they reached the tent. He alighted in the camp while Ulugh Khān returned to his house. On the third day after his arrival, I'timād Khān came out with those who were with him while Changhiz Khān marched from Shaikhpur. On the second day, they alighted on the maidān of Kadi and reviewed what was therein, as well as the Afghāns with Musā Khān in Jhotāna. Musā Khān was in Mehṣānā. They made Jhotāna their manzil. Hāji Khān was sent in disguise to Musā Khān. He wondered as to why he did not think of the future of the Sher Shāhi Afghāns inspite of Muzaffer Khān, the Sherwāni* Wazir among them. His famous amir Hāji Khān Sher Shahi, with their authority over the kingdom was firstly deprived of his territory. The kingdom was lost. It was proper, therefore, to put trust in men of the kingdom and not to expel those who were in it for the welfare of the State. The Afghāns have sufficiency in life. I'timad Khān had added Mehsānā to his territory. "I have come as an ambassador for peace. I guarantee loyalty from the side of I'timād Khān. I have come for success. Hence, be pleased with peace, otherwise, be prepared for the maidān. He who is not a tyrant will put a tyrant to trial." Hāji Khān met him and returned with his emissary to Changhiz Khān. Peace was concluded. Changhiz Khān placed seal upon the letter of pledge and wrote with his own hand "He who violated this covenant, I will be free from him and I will come to him with armies and he will not face them. He who fulfilled the terms of the covenant, he will receive a great reward from Allah." The army than returned to Ahmedābād. Changhiz Khān alighted for rest of the day in the maidān of Isanpur. In the morning, he started for his territory. He left behind him our good praise lasting for a long time. People prayed on his behalf. What he did was good.

In 970 (1562), Musā Khān violated the covenant while Changhiz Khān fulfilled the terms laid down in the covenant. He encamped for encounter. In the meantime, Musā Khān died. His brother Sher Khān chose peace on terms laid down before. Changhiz Khān returned. The details of it are: Masnad-ul-'Āli I'timād Khān wrote to Majlis-ul-'Āli 'Imād-ul-Mulk Changiz Khān as to what was from Musā Khān and his reply was immediate arrival for help. On that supposition, he stayed at a distance of some farsakhs from the city for I'timād Khān to come out for a reception, and to enter with him in usual manner. In the meanwhile, the news came about his halt on supposition that he was alone

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Original Text, p. 489.

in his house. He did what he could for his reception on his alightment away from the palace. He met him and he, Changhiz Khān and those who were with him ascended the palace. He felt obliged for his arrival and thanked him for that. He busied himself for the feast. Ulugh Khān rode out to I'timād Khān on the latter's call and on a previous promise of friendship. A party of title-holders and salāhdārs advanced, according to custom, on sight of the palace out of regard for care. It so happened that a few men who were present from among men of Changhiz saw Ulugh Khān in cavalcade of his men commingling horses* and stood aside from Sadr-ul-Majlis to a side of corners with feigned inadvertence from Ulugh Khān. He looked gloomy, lost his temper and Ulugh Khān was about to return from saluting him but he controlled himself, he slanted from Sadr-ul Majlis to his side, saluted him but he did not like to stand for him. He got afraid of him. Ulugh Khān turned from him to Sadr-ul-Majlis. He stood up before settling down in the assembly and returned to his house. He was extremely affected thereby. I'timād Khān tried to compromise between them but he did not like to conciliation. It was over with cheerfulness when they were free from dinner. Changhiz Khān went to his pavilion, coming there was of no account to him. I'timād Khân thought it necessary for his going to the camp at night. His going out from his power and captivity proved severe for him but he acted with reason. He spent the night outside the city. He sent word to Ulugh Khān conveying to him that the affair had become obscure for him and my mind got perturbed and to complete......with his forgiveness. It was easy to throw him but it was proper that his night-lodging should be there. It so happened. At the close of the third night of his departure, Changhiz was the first to beat the drum. I'timād Khān decided to ride on beating his drum but he acted with great advisability and beat the drum in his wake. Ulugh Khān was informed about it. If it were not for what was before, from him in the majlis, he did not deny it. He advanced with the drum but he was ill. When he complained and reversed, it was very severe for him. He remained behind in the manzil. After one or two farsakhs, he was asked about remaining behind. I'timād Khān asked him about it. He denied as was denied in feigning pretence. He stopped and hesitated correspondence. Ulugh Khān replied that "It was a great favour from me. His name will remain for Changiz for ever." In short, those who were in the high paradises came down to the place of degradation. The favour was linked with perfect nobility. He was making an effort for the victory of I'timād Khān. He acted well and worked nobly on mere receipt of the news. He had become hoary in precedence of his drum. It was for perfection of his obligation combined with nobility that he stopped to give advice about what he knew to be grief with God. The period was short. As the ancients had said that perfect favour is better from the very

* **Original Text, p. 490.**

beginning." In the meanwhile, he accepted admiration and met I'timād Khān* and said to him that "Ulugh Khān has admonished me for certain deed which I deliberately did. From today, my drum will follow yours. I came to you for this. How can I be more glorious than you? You are greater in worth and older in age." Ulugh Khān then rode out and joined them. Changhiz Khān did not join them for what had happened. It was this affair which deviated him in his care for diligence to leniency. Both the armies met in the battle-field of Jhotâna. Musā Khān was ill. A word was sent to him rebuking him for transgression of limit and breach of covenant by him. The emmisary was Hāji Khān. His reply was "I recorded many times what was from I'timād Khān. I put it to test with smallness and largeness, but Changiz Khān's party distorted news till they were known by experience." Hāji Khān said to him, "Is this party not known in Hind and Sind for its multitude? They are domiciled here from east and west of the world. They are experienced and noted and not unknown I came here for peace. News of your illness is publicised. The Khān has sent me to you. It is said that you have no strength. Do not make your mind uneasy with me. You are ill. What you have is sufficient for you. Life is short." He then returned from him. After a short while, he departed from the world. His brother Sher Khān became his successor in the State. Changhiz Khān wished for mercy of God on him. He performed a full ziyārat ceremony for him. He then said that it was not good to assemble in time of difficulty on members of his family for the death of their master and expel them. A word was then sent to Sher Khān, and a pact was made with him. He undertook to fulfil terms of the pact to return from him. It so happened. He returned. The censured hears him and the blamed follows him.

Bilāl Falah Khāni titled Khairat Khān died in 970 (1562). He was a man, noted for sincerity in work, loyalty in service and honesty of purpose. He was a wazir of Ulugh Khān. He performed memorable deeds of valour. One of which was assassination of Tughlaq Khān, Ārāis Khān and Malek Akhi. He also fought battles with Mānsingh, ruler of Halwad. He was in captivity of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. The cause of it was his amirship and that he rode with a standard and a drum. He was a favourite of I'timād Khān. He wept for him and mourned for his loss. The cause of his death was that he, in accordance with the Hindi Custom, sat in a pond with application of oil, as is done in a bath-† room sitting in a water-tub. It so happened that there he suffered from severe cold after eating harisa (a kind of meat dish). He then sat in oily tub. His leg slipped and he dived into it (oily tub) and drank some out of it. While making him vomit in water, he felt nausea due to oil. He was immediately

* Original Text, p. 491.

† Original Text, p. 492.

given treatment but the illness overpowered him and it prolonged for some months. He then died, may mercy of God be on him.

Tātār Khān Ghori died in his territory at Junāgadh in the same year. He belonged to the family of amirs. He was the most fortunate man. He achieved kingdom and fame which others failed to obtain. He was a brave horseman. He was extremely passionate. It is related about him that he narrated stories at night while in the morning, bleating of sheep and bellowing of cows at the time of slaughter were heard from him in the kitchen. He was asked as to what was the meaning of it. He said that such was the case with animals at the time of slaughter. He said, "Morning and animals in rest are like men in rest due to sleep. They are made to rise from sheep-fold and then they are brought to the slaughter-house to serve as food for me with which I am not pleased. They take the daily ration of meat from the slaughter-house which may be one thousand maunds. What he did I hope is recorded in the tradition of the Prophet "The compassionate God shows mercy to those who show mercy." He died in felicity. His people were happy and his kingdom continued after him. Similar was the case with Musa Khān Fauladi.

'Abdullah Khān Uzbek, the amir of Mandu came to Broach in 971 (1563). During the regime of Sher Shāh, it was in possession of Sajāwal, father of Bāz Bahādur Afghān. After Salim Shāh, Bāz Bahādur addressed him personally and confirmed him in territory. During the regime of the Sultān of Hind, Jalāluddin Akber, 'Abdullāh came to it, and after a war, gained ascendancy over Mandu. Hence it was proper for him to displace him. It was at the advice of Andād Sikander Khān Alaınak, Bahādur Khān and Khān Zamān that the Sultān hastened and came to Mandu immediately. He fled from him to Changiz Khān. The Sultān pursued him to his boundary, stopped and sent an emissary to Changiz Khān advising him for his surrender or expulsion from his frontiers. Changiz Khān met 'Abdullāh Khān with respect and esteem and treated him in the best manner. He had left behind his baggage and goods. Changiz sent to* him what he had left. Nothing was lost in it. He also sent him twelve thousand gold ashrafis of Gujarāt for his expenditure. He had seven hundred horsemen. Among them was Amir Isan Bakhti Khān. On the day of his arrival, he was alone on the maidān of Broach. Every one spent the night in the tent. He went round for what he needed. His emissary came and Changiz Khān met him. He wrote in reply, "I am the slave of the saltanat. An envoy is a guest and the guest is strong." The envoy came at last saying that he intended to spend the night to turn him out. I am between your eyes. "Changiz ordered to expel him from the verandah to the side of Mandu. His reply to him was that the Sultān treads the land. It yields fruits only by his felicity and nobility.

* Original Text, p. 493

There is no higher honour than what has been ordered. I am the mamluk of Sultān Maḥmud, future is ambiguous and the affair is high." He then gave the envoy, an edict of pleasure, a gold crown and a drum. He was friend of the minstrel who was present. He placed the crown upon his head and gave it to him. He sent the drum to the mausoleum of 'Imād-ul-Mulk in the neighbourhood of the saint of God, Bābā Raihān, may his grave be sanctified to beat for the master of porridge at its time. He said to the envoy, "You are with your presents, be glad." He then sent with the envoy servants attached to the saltanat. The Sultān returned to Mandu and left behind the amir of justice, patron, man of virtue, Shihābuddin Ahmed Khān titled by the saltanat Khān Bābā. He proceeded to the capital of the kingdom, Agra. But 'Abdullah Khān, so long as he lived and rested, met Changiz Khān. He said to him, "when a man like me happened to be with you, the saltanat of Gujarāt will not come to me. There will be no estrangement between me and the present amirs." Changiz thanked him. He had that in his mind. A party agreed about attack and said to him to advance to Baroda. He came out of the portico to proceed to Syedpur. Changiz Khān encamped there. On Jahāngir Khān's coming out of Broach with his standard, it so happened that he broke it. People augured evil from it. His mother came to him and got his intention cancelled from what has been said by men of experience in such cases. He raised no objection to it either through fear or example. He returned to Broach and wrote to 'Abdullah Khān pretending headache and seeking his advice for conquest of Daman in this* leisure time. 'Abdullah Khān started for it. He was expert in war against the Firangis. They first of all set their designs upon the fort by terrifying them. They came close to it. They hid themselves outside the fort. The attendants of the fort were in negligence from him till they were on the ditch. They attacked it with cannons and rushed upon it from an ambush with guns, they burnt it by fire cannons. They killed many of them by their assault but they happened to be in the region with the entrances and exists of which they were not familiar. Their men perished. They emerged in front of them. The Firangis captured his men quickly, cut their noses and abandoned them. They then joined their chief. Their number was great. They were terribly afraid of them. They returned to Ankleshwar with disgrace and misery. He became angry with Changiz Khān for guile. They were not rebuked but permitted to go in march to Sher Khān Lodi. It was good for he stayed at Ankleshwar for a period. He carried every day forty handkerchiefs, four hundred trays of copper and similarly Chinese crockery. He brought back nothing. On his march from Ankleshwar, he sent Suchah, a convert to Islam titled Ma'mur-ul-Mulk. He was the wazir of the Changizia kingdom. He went with all authority with ten royal horses, jewel-studded Khil'at, packs of textiles and forty thousand Mahmudis, when he

* Original Text, p. 494.

bade farewell to him for review, he said to him that "'Abdullāh Khān had nothing from Changiz Khān. He acted well with me in accordance with his merits to a large extent but he spoke nothing about the nature of 'Abdullāh Khān." He met I'timād Khan. They then went to Sher Khān and gave him Vadnagar and Bisalnagar from his territory. He stayed there for some days and collected as much revenue as he could. On his coming out from it for Aḥmedābād it was said to him about a beautiful woman in the house of a Brahmin. She was seized by force. When he sat on the hams and heels of the woman, her self-respect got hurt to commit adultery. She was an unbelieving woman. She held fast his testicles with her hands and squeezed them with as much strength as possible. He became unconscious. She continued to press them and he screamed. His servants knew about it. It was not possible to separate him from her except by stabbing her with daggers till she died. He was carried in a howdah of elephant to Aḥmedābād and treated for about a month. When he recovered, he proceeded to Mandu. I'timād Khān gave him an elephant and expenditure. There lived in the city a Persian merchant whose name was Burj 'Ali. He too similarly over-powered him for being allured by* him. He went with him to Islāmābād. It was loneliness. He caught hold of him. Shihāb Khān treated him at Ujjain. He went out under his watchmanship to a side. After a few days, he died. Burj'Ali was killed. This event took place in the beginning of the 972 (1564). The cause of his coming out from Islāmābad with safety was that the amir Isan Bakhti Khān separated him at Ankleshwar with three hundred men. He became one of the Changizi amirs. Nearly one hundred of his men perished in a war with the Firangis. On his coming out to Mandu, the Uzbeks did not remain with him except one hundred of them. Burj 'Ali, therefore, joined with him, a large number of negroes without swords. Shihāb Khān encamped at the city. No territory without men and no men without money. He was attacked by helplessness.

In 971 (1563), the best Wazir Sa'ad 'Ali Khān died being killed. He was buried in the enclosure at Kankariyāh. Its account is: He was under the unbeliever-wazir of Ulugh Khān who was titled Nagd-ul-Mulk. It so happened that he superseded him for which he complained even to I'timād Khān. He lived outside the city at Sikanderpur, secure from his enemies. He attended the Diwān one day on Friday. The wazir hinted for it to him. Jauhar Sharābdār, Rabib Khān and his assistant were like the wazir. A number of mamāliks and soldiers had their hand in his murder. When they attended the Diwān, they reported the matter to him. They dispersed after murdering him. The Khān was harsh for what they did him. He came out from his harem in their wake but did not come up to them. Jhujhār Khān pleaded on their behalf. They returned to his service. He

* *Original Text, p. 495.*

remained silent with them for days. They then caught the wazir and killed him. The Khān said that if they had killed him outside the house, none of them would have been blamed. But they attacked to kill him in the Diwan and I was responsible for his post. Ziaud-dunyā wad Din Raihān Jahāngir Khān known as Badruddin was appointed as the wazir after him.

In 972 ( 1564 ), Umdat-ul-Mulk Jawhar Sharāldār Ulugh Khāni went for hajj by sea. He embarked his master's ship. Hasan 'Alwan was the* captain. A literary man Shihāb Ahmed Zubaidi was in his company. He was known as Nākhudā. The theologian Jamāl-ud-din Muḥammed bin Aflah al-Yamani was another associate. The ship did not wave up to Jiddah (on account of bad weather). It entered Saqtarah. It remained there for some months. Similarly, the second ship of the Khān anchored at Saqtarah. There was intimacy between Jauhar and Hasan. Hasan said to him to connect load of the ship to the other ship. The captain of the second ship was 'Anbar 'Abd-un-nabi. He was similarly the friend of Jauhar. He would be in control of two ships. This took place on the day when the ship sailed from Saqtara. It became heavy due to baggage. Its front part got split. All of them got drowned. " To God we belong and to Him we return."

In 974 (1566), the army of Changiz Khān issued forth to the region of Baglāna. It belonged to Bahrām Shāh. He was popularly known as Baharjiv. The amirs Asad Khān and Jahāngir Khān remained at Broach. After a stay for sport and play in the territory of Baharjiv, his daughter was married to Changiz Khān. Karud and Biyāra were surrendered. He had possessed them during their mutual scuffle. Changiz Khān then proceeded to Nazarbār and Sultanpur. They wese regained from Muḥammed Shāh, the ruler of Asir, after some years. He then encamped at the fort of Thānbir. It was in occupation of the Amir Syed 'Ali Bahānbāri. He asked him to relinquish it with safety. He killed him and all his companions and occupied the fort. He then advanced to Songhirah and occupied it. He advanced to Thālner and encamped on the river Tapti. Muḥammed Shāh marched against him. Tafāul Khān, the ruler of Berār was with him. He encamped for an encounter with more than twenty thousand horse and four hundred elephants. Changiz Khān's army was not more than four thousand horse. He entertained disappointment. Bahār Jiv came out to him one night by a familiar path. His army was in negligence. He arrived at the dawn of morning. His report got spread. Half from them who came out had horses and arms. Cannons and baggage were left behind. Shirwān Khān stopped with one hundred horse. Cannons and baggage were in advance of him. He moved slowly and slowly in its wake. Muḥammed Shāh learnt about it. He pursued the army to repulse

* Original Text p. 496.

cannons. Sherwān Khān stopped to fight with him at the time and move at the time to break rapidity of the advanced cannon and change the cannon on the passage of rapidity and block up the road. There was no road except that.* The cannons remained one after the other. Their number was fifty rows. Movement was not possible. In the meanwhile, Sherwān Khān left them and proceeded with men to Broach. It was a disgraceful flight. None came out safely except a horseman. Muḥammed Shāh seized what was left. I said about its date:

Changiz gave up comfort; he went beyond limit; he made a mistake like a captive; he had blundered. He will never advance till he left his wisdom behind. When the battle began, the enemy unfurled the banner. Its pride was at half-mast but such was the desire of the wrathful. Āsafi date is this, "Ruined the world, come." Changiz Khān was on his march to Thālner when the office of the wazir was transferred from Jahāngir Khān to Khwājak Aḥmed-al-Jar'hami titled Sadr Khān. On his return, he dismissed him and appointed Ismā'il Asad Khān to it. It was due to the fact that I'timād Khān complained against him for what he had written to the ruler of Āsir for freedom of responsibility for march against him. It was bad from him. He sent his ḥājib Rukn-ul-Mulk with me. He was not prepared with it to do a favour to me as far as possible. Asad Khān replied that his action in this movement was for power only. If he had taken this view, it was a way to live in Nazarbār to the extremest limit. Hence the wisest men take this easy course of prevention and they proceed slowly to that which had passed after occupying the seized portion. Looking to the present circumstances, this action was as I saw it. I stand a guarantee for the future for repulse of cannons and occupation of territory as far as Thālner. God the Holy says, "Enter the houses from their doors." Upon acceptance of what he did, it was said that Asad Khān became the wazir and planned for preparation. In the same year, he set out for Ahmedābād. He crossed the Mahi river and stayed there for some days. I'timād Khān sent word to prevent him from march. He replied after reproaching him for what he wrote. Conditions for peace were to come out of Khanbhāyat, edict of the saltanat for that territory and help with army. In course of the conversation, the amir Sayyid Ḥāmid bin Sayyid Mirān al-Bukhāri came to him as an envoy for peace. He was about to finish it when by chance Ibrāhim Mirzā, Muḥammed Husain Mirzā, 'Āqil Mirzā and Mas'ud Mirzā who were all brothers arrived.* Shāh Mirzā, son of their uncle came to the camp with one thousand horse in uniform. Their arrival was immediate and timely. They were tried and experienced men and their strength lay in display of their horses and their encampment was shade of a tree. Their animal-sheds were full of beasts and animals.

* Original Text, p. 497 † Original Text, p. 498.

Their treasures were what they had in hand. Buttons of iron-weapons were of gold and silver. Changiz Khān took an angury of strength of fortune and happy time.

From the original (in the Akbarnāmā what is reported about the separation of Ibrāhim Mirzā from his side is that his father Muḥammed Sultān Mirzā was the son of Uwais Mirzā, son of Bāiqarah, son of Manṣur son of Umar Shaikh Bahādur, son of Amir Timur Gurgān Sāhab-i-Qirān. His grandmother was the daughter of Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā known as Khāqān. Muḥammed Sultān Mirzā was living with him. When Sultān Husain Mirzā died and the kingdom passed from his descendants to Muḥammed Ṣhaibāni, who came to Sultān Zahiruddin Bābur and served him. After his death, he served Humāyun, son of Bābur. He had the sons Ulugh Mirzā ibn-i-Muḥammed Sultān and Shāh Mirzā with him. Ulugh Mirzā was killed in the battle of Hazāra after the return of Humāyun from Persia. His two sons rose in rebellion against the saltanat. Afterwards Humāyun remained with his son Sultān Jalāluddin Akbar. When he had become weak and aged, he condoned him from service. A'zampur with its villages was left to him for his maintenance. In his old age, Ibrāhim Husain Mirzā, Muḥammed Husain Mirzā, Mas'ud Husain Mirzā and 'Āqil Husain Mirzā were born to him. When they attained to the years of discretion, Ibrāhim and Muḥammed rose in rebellion. They both went to the side of Mālwā. Muḥammed Quli Barlās was the ruler of Ujjain. He garrisoned himself and prevented their entry. Both of them turned to Hindia. It belonged to the kingdom of Burhānpur. Muqarrab Khān was the Amir of the place. They overpowered him and killed him. Sultān Jalāluddin received intelligence of it on the outskirts of Mālwā. He ordered to imprison Muḥammed Sultān Mirzā in the fort of Bayāna. He wrote to his amirs of Kākrun in respect of their dignity. Shihāb Khān, Shāh Bidāq Khān, Murād Khān and Hāji Khān came to them. They both were at Hindia. When they both learnt about it, both of them proceeded to Gujarāt in 947 (1566).*

In the meantime, an envoy presented himself in his presence from the side of the sun of the suns, my shaikh, my blessing. pole of saintship, Mawlāna Abi 'Abdullāh Shaikh al-'Idrus, may God benefit me from him. Changiz Khān greeted him and inquired as to how was the Mawlānā. He replied that he inquired after him. He was with him. It is said that "the city was a bride to marry. She does not marry without dowry, proposal and consent in a negotiation of marriage. *Hemistich* : He who sought the beauties, cannot get without dowry." Changiz Khān said, "How much is the dowry?" He said, "One thousand minted ashrafis and property equal to it." He said, "I accepted." He said, "I affirmed it in the name of Allāh, current and firm. Verily my Lord

* Original Text, p. 499.

is Forgiving and Merciful." In the meantime, he sent for Sayyid Ḥāmid and sent for me with the sons of Muḥammed Sultān. He gave them robes of gold-embroidered textiles as well as an Arab horse to every one of them, jewelled ornaments worked in gold, a gold-plated sword, one thousand ashrafis and robes befitting to all subordinates. Afterwards all of them marched. They came out stipulating terms with Asad Khān. They did this work with strength and not with wisdom. Asad Khān kept pace with them. They came out with assurance to him. On his encampment at Maḥmudābād, I'timād Khān came out with the Sultān. He encamped on the river Khāri. Changiz Khān similarly encamped upon it from his side. He was hesitant in his thought and his heart was occupied. The affair had become very serious. They had come near each other and the curtain was lifted. Therefore (leaders of the city such as Mawlānā Syed Jiv referred to in his time, from the descendants of Mawlānā, blessing for the Muslims, proof of the religion, pole star of the world (Qutb-i-'Ālam) may his grave be sanctified and Mawlānā of lofty threshold Abu Turāb, from the family of the Qutb also Janāb Malek Shiru Jiv, noted Mawlānā Shaikh Māh, Aliamat-ul-Madār Malek Maḥmud Pyāru met for peace between them) they wished for a wish. It was about to be finished but he refused who was directly connected with disturbance and who glorified himself only in this. Among them, as was held out falsely, was Sharfuddin Mirzā, nay, he blew the fire. He was in the majlis. When peace was sure, Asad Khān stood up. He had raised up cannons on an elevated place and aimed at the pavilion of I'timād Khān. He learnt from Changhiz Khān to strike it. In the meanwhile, Changhiz Khān and the leaders weighed the terms of peace and fixation of conditions when there was thunder of the cannon. Badri Khān Rumi was in charge of I'timād Khān's cannons. Asad Khān fired cannons. Bahri Khān also fired. Fire was repeated.* Armies surged forth in inadvertence, noises clamoured, assembly-men got perturbed, Changiz Khān stood up. He did not know what the result would be. Every amir of both the sides stood under his banner. Time was hard; strangulation became tight; swords were in action. It was not known therein as to who was advanced in years in civil war. An order came that I'timād Khān fled from the battle-field. Similarly, Changiz Khān came out. There was a fight among his companions as far as Mahi. Battle waged among their companions on the field. Both of them were not there. It was a victory for Changiz Khān. Its detailed account is: When Sharfuddin Mirzā raised a cry of war Ulugh Khān had selected his three hundred men. He stood under the shade of a red spear spell-bound with the stick of the spear. He could not raise the stick in the army. Similar was the case with a spear. It was three cubit arms in length in accordance with the Hindi measure. Its circle in my hand could reach a long leg. The Khān called the arms with it and the soldiers

* Original Text, p. 503.

assembled around him. Among three hundred horsemen, Ayyub, the famous rider was in advance as a guide. The Khān was after him. Changiz Khān appeared from behind. He clattered upon him. Changiz Khān did not take it into account. When the dust rose up from behind and the war waged in front, he came out of the battle-field and fled to Kuniz. Rustam Khān, Sherwān Khān and a party were with him. When Ulugh Khan did not find him in the battle-field, he returned examining him in his army. There was the amir of the army. He was Mahaldār Khān advanced for war. Bijli Khān encountered him. Saif-ul-Muluk Ulugh Khāni, Hoshiār Khān Sultāni, Jauhar Kishwar Khān, Sharzah Khān Bijli Khāni formed the vanguard. In front of it, there was a huge elephant called 'Vijay'. In front of Mahaldār Khān, there was a small elephant for the Khān called 'Sāhab-i-Dawlat', Sandal Ghālib Khān, Nāsir Sarmast Khān, Yāqut Hāfiz Khān, Farhān Lorak Sultāni known as Bādhnu were in the vanguard. When both the armies encountered each other, it so happened that stars (firework) fell from the side directly hitting the stirrup of the standard-bearer, Raihān Ja'far. He was near the centre of the standard. He broke it. The stirrup got separated and Raihān fell from the horse. Men of the row were occupied in war. Raihān was relieved of his duty and another man bore the standard. It did not take time to* change the stick of the standard. It was lifted up and folded up on its broken stick. He followed Mahaldār Khān. Elephant of Bijli Khān had come forward. Ghālib Khan issued forth for him. He was upon the horse who shied from the elephant. The rider narrated that when he urged the horse to attack the elephant, he was afraid of him. He was about to butt or place his teeth upon his trunk and the elephant-driver guarded against him by suggestion to persue the horse. It was a fight between animals. They were sincere brothers without any intention from both sides. When the horse was annoyed, he moved his chain on the trunk. The horse got startled, stood upon his legs and fell down. The rider came out of the saddle by raising his hands due to load of the armour. His knee got separated and he remained thrown between the fore-legs of the elephant. At the instruction of the elephant-driver, he lifted him up with his trunk with ease. He was kept away from the path. Sarmast Khān and Ferhān quickly hastened him to a plain. Companions of Bijli Khān said in negro language, "We are alone. Do not make haste. Bijli Khān wrapped his banner. The vanguard got intermixed with the vanguard, army with army and the soldiers stopped alone. I'timād Khān received intelligence of it. His supposition went wrong. He fled from his regiment with soldiers one after the other. None knew about it except his son Sher Khān. He was for waging the war. Similar was the case with Changiz Khān. It was said that Bijli Khān and Ulugh Khān met. In the

* Original Text, p. 501.

meantime, Sayyid Ḥāmid, Junaid Lodi and Sayyid Bahāuddin Multāni got involved in this wicked movement. This did not suffice. He saw dust rising up from behind. Ulugh Khān was in it. He fled and none knew about it. Jhujhār Khān was in the vanguard with his brother Muhāfiz Khān with one hundred soldiers who were putting in rows each one of hundred soldiers. In front of them was the elephant Hansrāj. When they crossed the river and entered into a mountain-pass, they made haste and threaded those who were without the mountain-pass. They started to go out. Muhāfiz Khān did not go out. He wanted to encounter sons of Muḥammed Sulṭān and 'Ādil Khān Shewāni who was with them. He turned to his companions and said, " What do you see ? " Jhujhār Khān did not know where he was and whether Sher Khān was from his side. He saw him. The Mughals had approached. They said, " A small number overpowers a large number with the command of Allah and Allāh is with those who exercise patience". They arrayed the rows.* Their horses were 'Arab. Their armours were almost Dāwoodi. Their spears were nearly long, to be imagined as raised stars. They then directed that the Mughals should not be invited. Mostly they darted arrows and attacked elephants. They levelled the spears and let loose reins. The Mughals were such. They attacked with bows, as was their habit, in the maidān. If their arrows did not take out hearts once, they pierced spears. They fled away. The land was full of trees. It was full of thorny bushes. It was difficult to come out of them. Many of them were killed. They then assembled and proceeded further for encounter. They left the battle-field on the third day. They dispersed. Some of them came to Maḥmudābād, some to Nadiad and to Broach. None of the Habshis fought except the elephant. They were annoyed by settlement of arrows in forehead. Many of them were similar to quills of porcupine. Arrows pierced through iron veils, penetrated the forehead to the extent of a span and killed with them with the approach of night. Jhujhār Khān issued forth from the mountain-pass with his one hundred companions. Nurullāh Beg Rumi Bāyazidi was in the maidān. He assailed him. It was a hard battle which resulted in the death of Nurullah Beg. Sher Khān happened by chance to be in the centre. He created fear in the right and left. He moved in between them. Shihāb-ul-Mulk Ghori was on a side from him. The famous amir Junaid Lodi was on the other side. It was said about him by his father that he came out from the battle-field; he turned his reins from the war and joined him. There did not remain any one in the maidān except Bijli Khān and Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk. Whenever Bijl Khān decided to quit the battle-field, Sayf-ul-Mulk dissuaded him. He said to him who parted from the centre that there was none in it. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk was there. He was from them. Sharfuddin Mirzā and the wazir Suchā Ma'mur-ul-Mulk were alone of their

* Original Text, p. 502.

group. They were in the regiment of Bijli Khān. He was anxious for Saif-ul-Mulk but the driver of the elephant stopped him with them. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk sent a camel-rider to Changiz Khān to inform him about the exact state of affairs and to get him back to the battle-field. He found him at Kaniz and he returned. Ulugh Khān changed his decision. The regiment of Bijli Khān saw him. On supposition that it was his regiment, he assailed it. He dispersed his men in march to the woody place. He recognized him to be Miftāh Tastdār. He was in attendance upon Bijli Khān. He resisted him. He informed him that it was from Bijli Khān. He gave up his designs. When he met Syed* Hāmid and the Sultān Syed Hāmid marched to Dholka. Ulugh Khān remained with him. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk saw him with his regiment. They entered the city all together. What was in the camp of I'timād Khān-cannons, provisions, tents etc. returned to the city. Changiz Khān arrived with the approach of night. Victory was announced in the name of Bijli Khān. Sharaf-ud-din Mirzā mentioned about it to Changiz Khān during course of praise of Bijli Khān. His reply was that, would that, it was as announced in his name. Bijli Khān then presented himself with his men. He saluted them and they saluted him. Bijli Khān saw what was not good in their respect. He hastened to return and permitted them to enter the city. The number of the killed in this battle exceeded one thousand. Number of dead on the way to Mahi was not counted. It was victory for Changiz Khān after disappointment from it. "It was an eternal order. It was shown to those who knew it after the time".

*An account of what happened after this ugly incident and Changiz's achievement of perfect rank with stay at capital of the Saltanat.*

Its short account is that when Ulugh Khān entered the city with the Sultān, he spent the night near him in the capital. In the morning, his army searched him, there was none left in his house except Ghālib Khān due to an incident with the elephant. He sent for Bahri Khān and asked him about the cannons. He said that nothing was lost of them. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk and Jhujhār Khān presented themselves. They agreed upon coming out for war on the second day. Ulugh Khān assembled all his soldiers in the capital and they remained with him. Changiz Khān corresponded for peace. He replied as to what he desired in it. Mushin-ul-Mulk and Bilāl Ramzān met him from the side of Bijli Khān. They conveyed what they had from the report of Changiz Khān. He said to them, "Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk was firm. I do not find him with the doer. God willing! he will show the canopy in the morning. When it was night and most of them departed, Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk rode out from his house, broke the lock of Kālupur gate and went out to his centre of Ma'murabad. On this morning,†

* Original Text, p. 503.

† Original Text, p. 504.

Ulugh Khān came out with the Sultān to go to I'timād Khān. Cannons and elephants were in front of him. Changiz Khān heard about it. He sent Jahāngir Khān and Shāh Abuturāb questioning him to abandon his view. When he was at Naharwalah, he had a property on a distance of three farsakhs from the city. He stopped there. Jhujhār Khān moved on with the Sultān, provisions and Bahri Khān with cannons. Ulugh Khān got down from his horse under the shade of a tree and sat while the above mentioned persons were deeply pondering over the talk of Changiz when he said to them that "if Changiz Khān intends me to be with him; Ulugh Khān my father was with his father 'Imād-ul-Mulk. There is no excuse for me in it. I was on the point of going out with the Sultān to I'timād Khān. If he wishes me to surrender the Sultān to him, he should order you to see him safely and that will be in keeping with good manners. There is no fear. If he decides upon force, then the sword, yes, is the arbitrator. If they two were wise men; they should have said to him, "the successful good idea for your enemies was divine grace." There is no disgrace on the way. He bade them farewell. They returned with the news Changhiz Khān lost his temper and said to Muhsin-ul-Mulk and he was near him "they had come to me for peace......with him Bijli Khān. This happened in the presence of Bijli Khan." Muhsin-ul-Mulk said to him, "the Khān was said to have replied, who was at a distance of two, three farsakhs "Come riding with your master. We are with his stirrup. He bridled his horse on this reply. Ulugh Khān spent the night in a village of Imlāl. He then proceeded to Ma'murabād. He met I'timad Khān on the third day. He encamped on a side from him. Changiz Khān entered the city and alighted in the house of Masnad-ul-'Āli. I'timād Khān. There did not remain any straight desire in him. After rise there is a fall. The kingdom was divided. What belonged to Ulugh Khān was given to the sons of Mirzā Muḥammed Sultān. Jhujhār Khān returned with permission of the Khān from Ma'murābad to the centre of his territory Bhamnol. He corresponded with Changiz Khān and became a man of his party. He made it a condition of his presence when Ulugh Khān came, he should come with him. Sher Khān Fauládi was upon the previous pact between them. There he was with victory. He encamped from him at a distance of seven farsakhs to see him in accord with him. He was in discord with him. His kingdom survived. He sat within his own limit with thirty thousand horse, five hundred elephants and hundred copper cannons. On return of Changiz to his capital, the rank of Rumis was lowered by him. It affected Asad Khān who was chief* among the Persians and the Mughals. Bijli Khān became afraid of him. He paid no attention to Saif-ul-Mulk. He made it necessary to remain in his house. A scuffle took place between Sharafuddin Mirzā and the sons of Muḥammed Sultān. They attacked him with all the amirs after reaching their houses.

* Original Text, p. 505.

They were affected by him, bore hatred for him, and emboldened themselves to humiliate Sharafuddin Mirza. When they received intelligence of him, they began to show love for Muḥammed Husain Mirzā. It so happened one night that Sharafuddin was in a drinking party of Changiz in the presence of Muḥammed Husain. Being overpowered by wine, he indulged in jests and nonsense. Changiz Khān burst into laughter. In the majlis, the minstrel ibn-i-Haider alias Muhibb was present. Mulla Tardi, his associate was also present. He forbade him. Being overcome with shame, he stood up in the assembly in anger, turned to slight of Sharafuddin or to murder him. He was afraid of him. He tried for a disturbance. This was the cause of their attack. Its account will come at its place. I'timād Khān did not deem it necessary to help Muḥammed Shāh, ruler of Āsir. He wrote to Sultān of Hind Jalāluddin Akbar similarly requesting him for help to ruler of Nāgor. He was always ready in person to help. In the meantime, Muḥammed Shāh arrived at Ankleshwar, some amirs crossed Narbada. It was time for harvest of crop. Changiz Khān was anxious about it. He sought permission of Ulugh Khān to march to Broach to collect revenue of the land. He refused permission. Ulugh Khān said to him, " This is the other plan in the public welfare. Permission is for Sher Khān, that is, to his son to march to Broach with those who are in the camp from among swordsmen, cannoneers and elephant men. We agree to it. Muḥammed Shāh seized all that territory, most of parts of Ahmedabad. In the meanwhile, Changiz Khān did not deem peace necessary and return to his territory. I'timād Khān approved of this view. Sher Khān and Ulugh Khān came out of the house to proceed to Baroda. The cannons were moved out. In the meantime, Muhammed Shāh deviated from the view of the great Wazir Dāwood titled Ikhtiār Khān to the view of masters of the hawāla (officers) such as Shāhu Kālā, crossed the river with designs on Ahmedābād. They continued to advance* from manzil to manzil to create a surprise at Thālner till they encamped on the river Sābar from the side of Jetalpur Bārija. On this march from him, Sayyid Hāmid Bukhāri arrived for peace from the side of Changiz Khān. He was the father of Syed Mirān, after the victory of his party, when he and Shāh Abu Turāb met I'timād Khān, they were not meeting him. Means of the state helped them. They consisted of Malek-ush-Sharq, Sharaf-ul-Mulk Badājiv and Khān Jahān Shirāzi. They fixed terms of peace on return of Changiz Khān to Broach. On the day of their arrival, I'timād Khān marched under coercion to Ma'murābad. When he was there, Muḥammed Shāh had encamped on the river. It was due to the fortune of Changiz Khān that when Muḥammed Shāh had reduced to straits and decided upon war, he rode to Sher Khān to turn him out with him. Sher Khān lingered to meet him for certain matters not made public in accord with him to Muḥammed Shāh. By chance, the Mughals and the Uzbeks had

* Original Text, p. 506.

knowledge of the river. With the assemblage of the army from their side—from them who advanced and from them who came—the tents were pitched. People were in inadvertence and their sultān in ease. A party of them entered into water separately and those who had arrived pelted stones, then those who had advanced gathered together. They assembled for defence. One of their horseman became a pedestrian for a defect in horse which was like a cow in appearance. When the Mughals attacked them individually with their 'Arab and 'Irāqi horses, most of them dispersed helter-skelter. Men perished from among them. They came out of water one by one, they raised shouts and the clatter of arms increased in the army. Isan Bakhti Khān saw many arms broken. He crossed the river with a party of Uzbeks. The time was hard. Muḥammed Shāh came out from that vortex, not knowing who led, only eighty kept back. Within twinkling of an eye, for example,

From Hajur to Safā, there did not remain
Men, the story-teller did not tell a story at Mecca.

All those who were with him remained behind. People differed in the paths of salvation. It was a wonder that he who found the path, perished; he who lost the path, was safe. Many of them passed by us when we were at Ma'murābad. Shāh Abu Turāb and his master returned with them. Changiz Khān, in the meanwhile, was coming out to him. Sher Khān received news of victory. He became independent of him. He rode in his wake to the neighbourhood of Kaniz, men followed them and returned. The road met between him and Sher* Khān. He apprised him of victory and marched to Maḥmudābād to pay a visit to the tomb of Sayyid Mubārak. 'Ali Khān Sayyid Branhar entered to occupy the city from his side. He was wise. Jahāngir Khān, the most perfect among the wise was in the city. When he terminated at Tripolia—the three gates, Jahāngir Khān sent message to conceal this march........with cannons. He went back. Changiz Khān entered the capital. He had in his heart about Sher Khān what he could not speak about. Peace was broken. I'timād Khān returned to Moḍāsā with secret intentions. Ulugh Khān remained behind from him for various reasons. He asked him help for for the army. He would never come down from one hundred thousand to eighty thousand. He did not agree to it. He then wrote to Jhujhār Khān saying to him, "I had decided upon march to the Deccan provided you accompanied in time. Delay is not possible." His reply was, "I am on the path when you arrive. Who can prevent me from it." He wrote to Changiz Khān to inform him about the day of Ulugh Khān and Jhujhār Khan's meeting at Bhāmnol. Asad Khān, Ā'dil Khān and Saif-ul-Muluk came to call him. The Khān said to them to hear that "as you came Changiz Khān would not find excuse to prepare quickly. Impression dominates to assume its character. I do not find him except what has been said,

* Original Text, p. 507.

What is permanent will remain in its condition
As colour remains in clothes."

They decided upon to be in his house, not calling him and not salaming him for a month. Victory was in the mind. Jhujhār Khān was serving him on this march with them to Aḥmedābād. They came out meeting Changiz Khān at Bāgh-i-Sha'bān. They both met and embraced while on horse-back. It was an auspicious day. They all entered. It was the first of Sha'bān of the year (974 = 1569). Before his arrival, Changiz Khān sent a man to the sons of Muḥammed Sultān to inform that "the territory which was in their hands belongs to Ulugh Khān. It is his as it was. For them, is another. As they bear it from him, they all proceeded to Chāmpāner." Shāh Mirzā remained behind in his attendance. On the second day of the Khān's arrival, Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk came. He gave an account of his arrival on his arrival. Then there was a feast. Ulugh Khān* presented himself. On his return, the elephant Udaigir was given to him. He had gone out to a war in Baroda. He continued with him till that day. He paused outwardly to accept him. Changiz Khān embraced him and said that "he had no need of him. He was good in reality. Some say that we are two, we are two. God has not differentiated between us. God has destined separation from your house to our house. There is nothing between us now, not in habit. He who goes out for war, does not return. We hope that he is not eternal. It is for you. He who is from me, is this. He came with the elephant and advanced.

It was in this year that an event took place with the sons of Muḥammed Sultān. *Its account is:* They disdained their followers and with them, those who were with the ruler of Hind. Such persons did not assemble around them. Changiz Khān conciliated them with humility and kindness. When Sharafuddin tried to change his habit, they watched for an opportunity and found that there was none to oppose them. They were disappointed of a stable opportunity in the territory with the pacification of Ulugh Khān. They went away to Chāmpāner when he was at Bhamnol. Changiz Khān sent Asad Khān and Hāji Khān to them to satisfy them with the territory near Dhandhuka. They convened an assembly but they did not accept it. Every one of them alighted under shade of a tree in safety. They assailed them in their unguarded moment. The amirs rode out as lay in their power of riding. There was no man who did not go. Hāji Khān and 'Abd-ul-Malek, son of Asad Khān bore witness to it. Asad Khān emerged in safety. Ghāzi Khān, son of Hāji Khān received a wound. The Mughals plundered the camp and they proceeded to the direction of the unbeliever-woman known as Bālra'nā. This event took place on 6th Ramzān of

* Original Text, p. 508.

the year. Intelligent, literary Syed Abul Qāsim al-Miraki wrote the following lines for the date of martyrdom of Hāji Khān.

> We had lost a wazir—unique in his age
> Soul dissolved for his loss—and the stone turned iron.
>
> His chronogram came dividing—the fortunate martyred departed.

He similarly said in respect of the date of martyrdom of 'Abdul Malek. He was captured. They wickedly butchered him.*

> We lost son of the wazir—noble Abdul Malek—oppressed as destined
> As what happened in Muḥarram—his date came relating—upon him God showed mercy.

When Ulugh Khān heard about the event, he sent his prop and hand Jhujhār Khān to expel them from Chāmpāner. He was assisted by Raihān Jāmdār, Sons of Muḥammed Sultān were emboldened to plunder Chāmpāner and Baroda. In the meantime, they received news about their arrival at Mahi, they fled to Ujjain, the territory of Bālra'nà for this reason. Changiz Khān thanked him for this. He continued upon his pledge which he had made in the early part of the month of Shawwāl.

In the same year, bitterness sprang up between Changiz and Ulugh. The cause of it was Āqā Mustufā, the amir of his stables. Changiz Khān had ordered to punish him for his fault. He fled from him to Aḥmedābād. He happened to be of Ulugh Khān's party. He was one day in the market. The governor of the city Ghālib Khān Rumi saw him. He seized him and blamed him. Mahuldār Khān happened to pass by him. He was captured. He tried for his release. He was about to begin fight first. Wise men dominated on the reins of Mahaldār Khān and turned him to the house of the Khān. The Khān interceded in this matter. His reply was that he had to give them an account of the stable. The Khān was affected. He assembled the army and Changiz received intelligence about it. He sent 'Ādil Khān to him to know as to what amount was due from him. The Khān replied that the amount was not the object from him. He is now from the army. Hatred is to be accounted from him. He sent aversion with him to him. It remained in his mind.

In this year (974 = 1566), Ulugh Khān rode out on 1st Zilqa'ad for monthly salutation. When he was at the Three Gates, he saw him coming out from his house to the Dār-us-Saltanat. He moved for salām towards him. He was driving a bhel. Sharaf-ud-din Mirzā and Bāz Bahādur were behind him on the bhel. When the eye met eye, they ignored each other and drove the bhel. The Khān held back his reins and he was about to return to his house from that place. He tolerated it and followed him to the palace (Dār-us-saltanat). When

* Original Text, p. 509.

at the gate, there was a party which prevented every one other than he from entry on horse-back. He stopped till title-holders entered. He then passed through the gate. It was said to him by Changiz Khān that as he was with his* partners and there was a polo-ground, he proceeded towards it. On his entering the door, eye met an eye. He had a polo-stick in hand. He passed on without paying any attention to him. He got down from the horse and entered the bath-room. It was cold to sit inside it. Ulugh Khān came back to the gate of the usual bath-room. There was Āqā Sha'bān Chalbi, the chief sergeant. He stood up to him and said that Changiz Khān was in with a particular number. It is proper that he should not enter except with a particular number. As Ulugh Khān was there, he would avoid him. There was bitterness before in the ease of the amir of stables. On this day, it was the fourth accident for him with him. Whenever this behaviour grew up on a wicked idea, there was a probability of attack upon him provided care was taken in it. He discarded Sha'ban and turned to Jhujhār Khān. When he advanced, the chief of nauba advanced. He had a stick in hand. He ordered the great title-holders, Sherwān Khān, Muhāfiz Khān, Mahaldār Khān, Ghālib Khān, Sarmast Khān, Tanjar Khān, Hoshiār Khān, Dilāwar Khān, Jamāl Khān Mandurwāli and Zabardast Khān Rumi to precede entry. Jhujhār Khān followed them who were followed by Salāhdārs, Farhān Jhujhār Khāni, Raihān Salāhdār Ulugh Khāni, Āqā Qāsim Ulugh Khāni, 'Anbar Khairat Khāni and the Khān was in their wake. He was surrounded by mamāliks, Amir-ul-Hawālah Raihān Jāmdar, Amir-ul-Hawālah Mirjān Istanboli, similarly Mandal Amir-ul-Hawālah and such as Ayyub Habash Khān, Chief of the nauba (watchmen) Azhar Khān Habshi. When Ulugh Khān entered, there was none in the bath-room except Changiz Khān, Sharafuddin Mirzā, Bāz Bahādur, Rustam Khān and the rest ten from mamāliks and salāhdars. Changiz Khān changed and was disposed to anger. He stood up to him. The Khān sat to his side. The majlis was disturbed. Changiz Khān turned to the salāhdar who was the chief and said to him in anger to keep aside and not to increase narrowness. The Khān understood and stood and asked him to stop with pleasure. He saluted him and returned. When he settled down in the house, Jhujhār Khān said to him when there was none in the majlis except he, "I saw what the Rumi did" He said to him, "when he came with denial, those who followed him presevered; it was for him to pass through as wished by those who were with me. I prevented him from coming to him out of caution. War does not take place due to such incidents. Heart changed and reverted to him. Jhujhār Khān remained silent for a moment. He then raised his head and said,† "I seek permission for his murder." He replied, "I do not desire it. It should not be. There is no power but the power of God." One of the causes which affected Changiz Khān was that he was for the conduct of government. The

* Original Text, p 510. † Original Text, p. 511.

rider did not salute him while only a few great amirs had dismounted and no body sat in his majlis except those or those whom he invited from the army. Boldness of the Rumi sergeants who walked in his cavalcade had doubled. Their number was more than two hundred. The great among them was Sha'bān Chalbi. He chose three hundred aliens from his party. He had also taken the salāhdārs who formed his special corps. They did not separate him. Ulugh Khān's behaviour was that of an amir with the army with due respect to them. They saluted him when he stood and seated them when he sat when Changiz presented himself in the assembly, people remained sitting when he sat. Changiz Khān was much affected thereby. Those who were near him noticed it. His tongue babbled and his postures appeared before the mind. Ulugh Khān was affected thereby. It was noticed by those who were around him. He stopped it and bore it with patience. In the meantime, Saif-ul-Mulk changed on learning this and displayed to acquaint Ulugh Khān with it. Kindners was expected from Changiz. But there was nothing after victory. He stopped visiting him. He visited the Khān. He was sympathetic towards him. They met. The title-holders also met from that day. Inspite of it, he obtained nothing. Bijli Khān similarly avoided him. He met the Khān one night. He made an attempt to be at ease with him. At any rate, the Khān was not desirous of his murder. When Changiz Khān came out to invade Sher Khān Fauladi, he happened to come across the party in correspondence with Sher Khān. They were in accord with him on condition that they would, on discharge from war, be free. Changiz would never find it necessary to go to his kingdom from a defeat. He would become weak by leaving behind the cannons and elephants. He would examine his strength. Whatever God wishes will happen in his territory. He would be on the mercy of aliens for his safety. On this, if they turned back with the chamberlain (emissary) of the Khān to him, it was for his probable power. But every one of them was sent from his side. There was Shāhbāz Khān Rumi the emissary of Changiz. He stopped on receipt of this news. He wrote to Changiz. He got back to the verandah and decided upon assassination with them. He was talking in this manner in his state of drunkenness, with the arrival of news. Bijli Khān was the slave of his father. He was in his house. It was not possible* to leave him behind from visits to him. He wept much. Fear dominated over him for he had become uneasy. He had gone out in a conveyance of women to the Khān. He tried for assassination. He swore for it. Changiz Khān did not desire to make haste for it as far as possible and detroy this house *i.e.* with it the Khān. The Khān always stopped to approve of it. With Changiz Khān's victory, the harem of the saltanat would be under his supervision as well as the Jāmdār Khāna of which Muhammed Lāri tilled 'Ain-ul-Mulk was in charge of every one of them. He was much affected thereby. His self-esteen was stirred.

* Original Text, p. 512.

In the meantime, the chief lady of the harem and owner of the gate sent a complaint and repeated it and forbade with humility his assassination. The concubine of saltanat was in place of a man now from you. She had sent a veil to you. They should mask the faces and they sent to him saying they would suffice him. The Khān smiled. Jhujhār Khān had sufficient zeal and Bijli Khān supported him and got incited upon that. This event took place at the end of the year.

On 1st Muharram, 975 (1567), Changiz Khān did as the Shia do on 10th Muharram. The founders were Ahmedābād's Sunnis. A majority complained about it while a minority thanked him. Thirdly, the syeds and imams and among them was a pious, pure man about whose Qutbiyat there was no doubt due to his clarity and certainty, Sadr-ush-Shari'at, Mawlānā Miā Wajih-ud-din Alawi, may his grave be sactified; he reproached the Khān for it. He responded with patience upon the calamity at the time of trial; perhaps God creates a new affair after that affair. On the morning of 'Āshurā, Changiz and the Shias were in the palace. They came out from it in black dress from head to foot. Their conveyances were draped in black. Blackness of eyes sufficied for the face. There was blackness beneath the banner and at the gate of the house. The horse who bore him stumbled. The standard was broken. It was the last banner which he had raised over his head.

In the same year, a present was prepared for the Sultān of Hind to be sent with Khwāja Rajab al-Gilāni who was assisted by the minstrel, Ibn-i-Haider.* He was in a party which was not unsuccessful. Similar was the case with those who were men of intelligence. Their outward state is displayed by a present but their inward intention is conciliation of the Mughals to be attentive towards him to divide the Sher Shāhi Afghāns gathering upon Sher Khān. Brave among them were more than fifty thousand. When the emissary was at Jhotāna, Sher Khān seized the present on the death of Changiz as the account comes.

On the morning of Saturday of Safar of the year (975 = 1567) a letter of his death arrived. 'Imād-ul-Mulk Changiz took it for action. In the morning, he was on horse-back, healthy, sound and cheerful. If it were not for a thing mentioned, Abil Qāsim 'Abdullah, Bindār

We passed as the tribes passed before us
We were not from the beginning by the invitation of the inviter.

Imām Muzni said, "I saw the Shāfai' suffering from a fatal disease. I said to him, "how was the morning!" He said, 'In the morning I was departing from the world, separating brothers and meeting evil deeds, drinking cup of desire, arriving to God, I did not know that my soul was returning to paradise, I congratulated it, it was then to hell, I expressed sorrow for it

* Original Text p. 513.

When I traced my soul, passages had become narrow for me
I made hope to go safely to your forgiveness
My sin became great for me but I brought near
Your forgiveness, oh Lord! Your forgiveness was greater.

Every one says that Changiz Khān believed in the Unity of God. He was generous but he was a Shia. His belief and creed were the outcome of ignorance. He attained to perfection so much so that it was said of him that he was in person steadfast in war against enemies. His horse was also steadfast in loyalty in single cambat with the enemy. This is in respect of his bravery. So far as his personal strength is concerned, it is said, "If there was one like me in age, he is only in point of status." There are many similar persons to him in this respect. None enters into the Shia creed like him but does not come out from the creed of Sunnism. If they had made him seat amongst them, he would be good to them; he would say his prayers with them and he would behave with good manners with them. At the close of life, he was, as it is said:

Youth, tranquillity and intelligence
He was malevolent to a malevolent person.

God the Holy says, "Adopt forgiveness, obey the commandment of God and avoid the ignorant." What is most righteous, Oh our Lord! give those* qualities to the slave which are necessary for him.

An account of Changizia events and how they were with excess. As stated above, Changiz turned back to the verandah, the high and the low did not know the cause thereof. On the morning of Saturday afore-said, it so happened that the Khān rode to him with nearly forty of his followers. When he was at the Three Gates, the sergent informed him that Changiz Khān was in the palace. He ordered him to inform him about his arrival from gate of the garden. He met him. Both talked for an hour. Jhujhār Khān then informed him about his return from the verandah and communicated in speech the cause of it." What was said from us in it, we do not invite our children; he who honours us, we are a security for him before Bibli Sāheb, the queen. We go out with you for your help. He replied with humility and denied what was stated. This continued in conversation till I saw an elephaht one night and an elephant of Bijli Khān in encounter and his elephant came out dominant. He ordered Ankas Khān one morning to go to Bijli Khān saying that he should present himself with his elephant in Dār-us-Saltanat. We are there on his arrival Ankas Khān delayed. He said to the Khān, "we meet tomorrow, therefore. He sent for perfumes. He took civet. His scent was in his hand. He massaged his breast with it and the rose-water. The bottle was poured

* Original Text, p. 514.

upon him. He was joking in words and widening it. Such was the case with the Khān also. Since both had met, the time passed between them in affection. At the time of depurture, Ankas Khân made his appearance. He reported about Bijli Khān about what he had ordered. He said, "In the name of Allāh, let us go to the Dār-us-Saltant. He came down from the palace to the garden. He rode the horse, came out from the house while the army was beneath the palace. The distance from gate of the garden to the assembly of the army was dart of two arrows. Those who presented themselves were more than two thousand. There was none with him except the sergeant. Ulugh Khān was to his side. Jhujhār Khān turned to right and left but he found none from the party of Changiz. He went after him and held tight the reins. He then spurred the horse and gently drew out the sword. He saw Sha'bān Chalbi. He was moving in front of him. He said to him with top voice. "Khanam Qalach." He turned to him. His sword passed from his neck to easily his right shoulder. He cried out, "Oh! he fell down dead." Ulugh Khān then was talking on his side. He did not know it as to with what violence Jhujhār* Khān was in his first shout. He doubted that it was the sword with him. He spurred on the horse and went out, He then turned with sword in his hand. He was mad with it.

Hopes hoped long and did not go round
When the night covered and lived till morning
Then who rightly died without a cause
And who was ill and lived some time of the world.

The masses then were engaged in looting his house and his followers. In the engagement of the amirs with them, the Khān returned to his house. He hastily went to the Darbār—the Dār-us-Saltanat—to come out with the banner and the drum. He immediately ordered (amān) safety to the slaves. Sharaf-ud-din Mirzā received intelligence about it. He attended to him and sent Hoshiār-ul-Mulk to him. He was granted safety and forbade people against him. On the next day, he sent with him all those who came to him to a distance of some farsakhs from the city. Rustam Khān came out with Ma'mur-ul-Mulk in an hour of Changiz's event. Shah Mirzā followed Sharaf-ud-din. Asad Khān, Jahangir Khān, 'Ādil Khān, and Jarkas Khān met the Khān on the next day of the event. The Khân apologised to them for whatever separated them from him. He announced to the whole army in the city for return. They then remained present for bidding fare-well to the Khān. They proceeded to Broach except Jahāngir Khān. Cannons and elephants that belonged to Changiz Khân became Jhujhār Khān's. Bijli Khân, Jhujhār Khān, Saif-ul-Mulk and Junaid Afghān Lodi met together. They were pained

* Original Text, p. 515.

to find themselves reduced to a small number through death of the people. The Khān wanted to make amends for it by meeting Jhujhār Khān in privacy. Junaid was about to become powerful and flare up a revolt amongst them. But God preserved them safe.

'Imād-ul-Mulk Changiz Khān bin 'Imād-ul-Mulk Aslān was a malek, great, generous, his fame rose high. After his renown rose, he corresponded with kings of roundabout places. During his time, morals flowed abundantly due to his blessings. Chiefs of Persia assembled in his Diwān as well as scholars of nations. None except they assembled. His followers became rich on account of his bounties and charities. He died. He was the ruler of Gujarāt and other surrounding places. They made him a leader in accord or discord who were of different directions. It was in the morning of Saturday, 4th Safar, 975 (1567). Āqā Jān, a merchant of Khanbhāyat deduced from what happened on that* date from the composition of Salmān Sāwji, appropriate for mourning and based a poem upon it. It is extremely wonderful.

Khan-i-Khāqān lion-hearted Changiz Khān's cavalcade
He galloped his Raksi-i-Rustum through the green sky.
He is such that his hand of generosity was over head of the world like a cloud
He poured pearls and jewels out of the perfect kindness and obligation.
Point of his arrow deprived the bird of soul of enemies, troop after troop
Undoubtedly from branches of life.
Vault of palace of his glory became elevated to such an extent
That from its loftiness, the eye of Saturn got bewildered.
But at last it got demolished through blows of revolution ( of time )
The sky placed mean-seeing world on dust of disappointment.
I found this hemistich of Salman for his chronogram
Let the vault of palace not remain when kisra of the world not remained. (975)

Chronogram in Arabic

Second Changiz Khān, King of the world
Opponent murdered him. He was enemy.
Year of his death was essence of his qualities
He was fortunate, died a martyr. (975 = 1567).

He who made haste upon rebuking Ulugh, should think of his life and differentiate. He understood what had happened from Changiz. He thought over it as is said about it in the beginning. " Does a man think that he would be left unaccounted for ? " He will be afflicted by God: He was at Modāsā. He was

* Original Text, p. 516.

with I'timād Khān, wishing for appointed day and night to the morning of the day. He said to Khurshid Khān that it was that day. Whenever it was said to him for peace, you were firm or it would be after the battle; justice will be* done by the sword for me from him. It was today's morning. But the heart is disposed for his welfare. I saw the night when 'Imād-ul-Mulk used to say to me, by Allah ! in Muhammed, he is your brother. After arrival to Changiz, I felt disgust. I did not see except blame or he who came with him. At the time of the event and in a majlis, Mahaldār Khān continued conversation about it. I saw that he had become red ( with anger ), he covered his eyes shedding tears. When Maulānā 'Abd-ul-Latif bin Mahammed Dabir met him, he had a letter on the margin of which he had written an apology for such a murdered man and such a murderer wherein I heard that he had taken an oath for what had happened that let such a thing not pass in his heart nor it be pleased with it. He felt pain and pitied him according to need for the afore-said to console him for what happened to him due to eternal desire of God. 'Allāma Jamaluddin *Muhammed ibn-i-Nabāt has said with severity.*

He who did not die with a sword, died with something else
Causes are various and the disease is one.

This is what the Amir had wished but the Lord of the Destiny had wished him. He does not point out to you such an Informer. Verses of some of the poets point out in regard to the world that its outcome is imaginary matters which criticise natures of men. It does not suffice all the objects with its narrowness and speed for it to pass.

I saw miserable men who are not safe
From nakedness and hunger therein.
I saw it and it was small for verily
It is a summer cloud which shortly will disperse.

Some eloquent men solicit safety in a house of ruin and destruction like rolling upon the holes of reptiles and creeping-places of scorpions. When death of Abi Bakr Muhammed bin Bājah al-Tajibi al-Andalusi, al-Sarqasti alias ibn-i-Sā'ligh, the philosopher-poet composed.

I said to my self when the cloth-sheet arrived
I watched it running from him swiftly to Yemen.
I shrivelled it, I bore it with aversion.
It lengthened to what I had prepared for its flight to joy.

He died of poison at Bāzanjān in the city of Fars in the month of Ramzān,† 533 (1139).

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* Original Text, p. 517.

† Original Text, p. 518.

Oh residents of Nu'mān I see you with certainty
That you have calmness in your heart.
You are for permanent preservation of love. You make even
With success, the nations when you dominate over them and laugh
Night covered them, that is, it spread over your region
Do you apply antimony to eye-brows for winking.

*An account of events which took place after the death of Changiz Khān.*

On 7th Safar of the year, Sher Khān Faulādi encamped at a distance of a farsakh from the city. Saif-ul-Mulak enconentered him from the side of Ulugh Khān. He marched against him on a stipulated day of encounter with him on the river. Jhujhār Khān, Bijli Khān, Saif-ul-Mulk, Jahāngir Khān, Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk, Junaid Afghān, Bāz Bahādur and Rāi Kunbhair Deccani were together. It was a cavalcade worthy of respect for one who saw it. Rising stars met together destined for victory. Sher Khān received intelligence of their coming out for assault with might and majesty. He doubted and suspected his mind and did not come on the stipulated day. He sent the wazir Muzaffer Khān Sherwāni to the Khān for an apology. The Khān returned and ordered for defence of the gates. The afore-said persons alighted in the Dār-us-Saltanat. Correspondence of the Faulādi continued for surrender of the city. The Khān would have to himself the territory which belonged to Changiz Khān. The Khān insisted on his prevention even to a measure of a cubit foot (arm's length). His patience got exhausted for his behaviour towards Jhujhār Khān after Changiz. He was not sincere. He had only self-esteem. He was summoned often and often for division of cannons and elephants. The Khān defended him in respect of those matters. He assembled, in reality persons near him who were loyal to him. The best were set apart for himself. This was the source of mischief. Jhujhār Khān examined me for it. I did not know what passed between them in that respect I said "who killed the murdered? Spoils are for him." Those who were in the Dār-us-Saltanat differed from this view. The Khān and Sher Khān agreed upon the appointment of an Amin in the Dār-us-Saltanat from the side of Sher Khān to act on behalf of the Khān in the territory of Changiz. Sher Khān returned from it to Aḥmedābād for the Dār-us-Saltanat was to be his. On this basis, the Khān chose Sādāt Khān and Mirzā Muqim for aminship. He went from the Dār-us-Saltanat to his quarters after the oath. Dār-us-Saltanat was surrendered from* their side. A gate of the palace was in the city and a gate on the river-bank. Any one who had need in the city came out of the house to take anything and return to it. There was no mutual difficulty for it. Those people who complained came out and continued to inflict wounds and murder. In the meantime, Jhujhār Khān rode out to the direction of the Dār-us-Saltanat in the

* Original Text, p. 519.

afternoon and question himself about it. He learnt that the amin came out, occupied the palace and spent the night there. He fired cannons till morning. He did nothing. He did not help the Khān. He acted according to his view. He thus created confusion. The amin came out from it through the middle place, nay, from the palace; thus he broke the pledge. The house was in the hand of enemy. The Khān had the city in his hand. They were alone. Wise men met together. They agreed upon defence of the city. In the morning, the three gates were constructed and roads and lanes were built by the side of the palace. Cannons were placed upon the gates to fire facing the palace. They discharged what was upon them. Ulugh Khān made efforts for defence of the city. His judgment was right. He turned to the side of the gate known as Barākar; it was nearest the gates to the Dār-us-Saltanat; it was a small gate from which men who were in the fort came out on foot one by one secretly. That duty was for Saif-ul-Muluk. One morning, he was inadvertent. The army had dispersed for their work. He saw a party equipped with arms, five hundred in number near the small gate. He turned to it even though he had a small number of mamālik with him. His army was also small. He stood up from the majlis and turned to them. He advanced for war against his slave. He saw the urge of enemy without any strength. He admonished for severing it and ordered to hamstring a party from them. The Malek, Zabardast Khān, Rumi Fateh Jang Khāni, Amir-ul-Hawāla Mandal Ulugh Khāni, and unique men of the army walked in his wake. The sword did not spare nor did it fear. The Malek showed some haste saying that the gunners who were in a large number should stand in a row and fire their gun singly lighting the wick. Yāqut Sakkari titled Faulād Khān took one of it upon his shoulder, boldly* aimed at face of the enemy and lighted its fire. The enemy got shaken by him. They crowded them at the entrance of the small gate. Zabaradast Khān and his companions did not desist from cutting down the roots of helmets and severing larynx of throats. A large number of men of the Dār perished. On return of Zabardast Khān to the Malek, a gun was straightly aimed at him from turret of the Dār. He lived for a day and departed to the mercy of God the Great happily as a martyr. He was publicly mourned. There was great sorrow for his murder and that with such a fall and not with a sword. "To God we belong and to Him we return." He was famous for his might and valour more than which were piety and rectitude. He never renounced additional prayers after compulsory ones and sunan. Rosary was in his hand. He was disposed to sit with the pious and do good to them. He listened to their talks. He was a detached man from the world and attached to pure, loyal, chosen one of the pious, of good qualities, Jamâluddin Muḥammed son of 'Abdur Rahim famous as Shaikh-ul-'Amudi. His soul separated when his head was in his room, may

* Original Text, p. 520.

God show mercy to him. This is everything for him. I'timād Khān was at Modāsā. Ulugh Khān sent Rukn-ud-dawlah Mirjān Atal Khān to him beguiling him for arrival. I'timād Khān made a stand upon the letter of pact to guarantee fulfilment of its terms by giving him the stipulated territory. The Khān stopped to give him a reply for the territory now was in the hands of Bijli Khān, Saif-ul-Muluk and Jhujhār Khān. He sent me to Jhujhār Khān with what Atal Khān had written in that respect when I read out to him, he said to me as to what was the reply of the Khān. I mentioned it to him. He paused for its remission for that which was in their hand. His reply was, "I am the first to give up the territory to him. The advisability now is in his arrival." The Khān sent him the document of pact. The Khān made preparations to start in the morning on which he would arrive. He displayed full arms and similarly, all the soldiers of the city. Spies were dispersed in the camp of Faulādi by way of caution against him. When it was darkness, he rode out to the outskirts of the city for his reception by going to the gate known as Kālupur. He entered with him in pitched darkness with severe and hard men for achievement of desire, and moved to the house of Malek-ush-Sharq. They were pleased with his arrival and returned to his house. This took place on 2nd Rajab of the year (975), (1567).

On 7th of the month of the year, peace was concluded on terms that the territory on the river Sābar nearly from his side to Nāgor and to the sea adjacent to Junāgadh should belong to Sher Khān; while I'timād Khān should* have what is adjacent to Mandu and the Deccan. One important condition of the peace was the expulsion of the sons of Muḥammed Sultān from the side of Broach. It was stated in the document of peace. When I was free from writing the petition for my patron, Muhammed Ulugh Khān, he sent me with it to I'timād Khān, who was to place the seal upon it and then I was to go with it to Sher Khān. I sent for the wazir Muzaffer Khān Sherwāni and said to him, "This is the document of the pact. I do not place the seal upon it till Ulugh Khān placed his seal upon it. For it was the centre of truth and the pivot of authenticity. We have to rely upon it for implementation. You cannot work contrary to it." Muzaffer Khān met I'timād Khān. Ulugh Khān presented himself in his majlis. Amir Syed Mirān and Malek-ush-Sharq were also present. Ulugh Khān began to place the seal as instructed, followed by I'timād Khān and the afore-said persons. Muzaffar Khān put his signature. He had the seal of Sher Khān with him. He sealed it with it also. He returned to Sher Khān and returned to the capital on the morning of 10th. He owned half of Gujarāt.

*Luck of Ulugh with return of the Sultān after one year and two months to the Dārus-Saltanat.*

On 11th, Ulugh Khān rode out, with all his cavalcade to the house of

* Original Text, p. 521.

Malek-ush-Sharq. Sultān Muzaffer went from him to the Dār-us-Saltanat. I'timād Khān then went to his house. He had his share of territory. He was blessed on its transfer after disappointment. He and his companions returned. On 12th of the month, his companions came out of their own accord from the territory of I'timād Khān who also proceeded with them to Broach. What was Changiz Khān's was now Ulugh Khān's. What was left out was Rakhyāl, Asarwa, Jamālpur villages adjacent to the city. Its income was almost one hundred thousand Maḥmudis. It was in occupation of Saif-ul-Muluk. He was much affected. This led to breach of the pact. He concealed it even from his intimate persons. Its account follows. On 17th, Ulugh Khān marched from the city to the garden of Bijli Khān, situated at a mile from it. The commander of the army Mahaldār Khān and Saif-ul-Muluk prepared to go to the capital, Maḥmudābād. The Khāreji Sher Khān Nyāzi, an Afghān overpowered him in an event. The army came out for his repulse at Kaniz, the place of his en-* campment. The Khāreji had spent the night in his camp. He frequently moved to and fro in darkness but he failed to do anything. Saif-ul-Muluk, in his day, followed the commander of the army. It was said to the amir that his luck was in debilitation due to rise of the Khāreji in accordance with the reckoning of the dominant and the dominated. The kingdom rises with his good luck. The amir met him and delegated imārat to him. In the evening, he became his subordinate-follower. When the Malek heard about the march of the Khāreji, he sent a message to the amir to wear the armour, and to make a place definite for encampment. The amir instructed the army accordingly. There was an extensive circle of tents. Every tent had its ropes adjacent to the other. It was difficult for a pedestrian to walk and pass through its narrowness. How for the horse to pass through. There were horses and elephants within the circle. There was no way to it except through a gate. Opposite the gate, there was the tent of the amir. It was within the circle. Cannons were arranged in rows at the gates. The owner of every tent was in a position to see movement of the enemy and to throw him while he would not see him. The Malek was similarly so in his tent in this raw. The Khāreji moved to and fro very much and emptied his quiver. A party of his followers found a way to the elephant of the Malek called al-Burj. Light of a torch had guided them to him. The Malek came out from the tent with them. He forbade the light to be mixed with the enemy with watch upon the elephant for protection. A party of them fell down with gun-shots. The rest fled away. The Malek returned. They were safe from their arrows on account of armours. When it was morn, he ordered the drum to be beaten and traversed nearly a farsakh. He rode with complete equipment of arms. He crossed the river in the forenoon and faced the Khāreji. Help arrived during action of the sword. He was Shargah Khān Bijli Khani with two hundred

* Original Text, p. 522.

horse in uniform. He had the famous elephant with him called Jaiti (Jyoti). Jauhar Muhsin-ul-Mulk was with one hundred horse. He was among the amirs of Ulugh Khān. He advanced with the movement of flood-water and was about to go ahead of it. His assault from one side routed the Khārcji to the side of Dholka, leaving behind men and money. It was a victory. On the third day of the event, the Khāreji summoned the Baluch who were in his service and made their living with him. He abused and taunted the Baluch, " Verily falsehood perishes." On the 17th of the month, Bijli Khān was permitted to march to Mahmudabad and he did so. Ulugh Khān sent his hājib Tayyab-ul-Mulk to* I'timād Khān to say to Sher Khān, " Do not keep your agents remote to drink water of the Sābar. Sons of Muḥammed Sultān have encamped at Broach. Do not put faith in them for their mischief. The document of pact contains a condition for their expulsion. The citizen-army which is with you in the city do not behave with goodness. This very party expelled Changiz Khān from the world, protected the Saltanat for months. They will return you to the same condition. It is your duty to act in accordance with the pact. Leave what is in your hands; the rest is for your death as the young ones of the school spell alif. There is no second for it. Let your permanent thought be to disperse what you have collected. He who was cautious, was warned." His reply was his displeasure in respect of three villages. The hājib returned to him. It was said to him, " From here to Mahi four stages. When you cut it and cross the river, it is for you what is near the river to the river is your boundary, you see it is mostly beneficial to you. That village is worth one hundred thousand Mahmudis or what is between the two rivers is worth one hundred lacs of Mahmudis. What God did not make light for him, then what has he of light? How good is what has been said by Aba 'Ali Muhammed bin Husain bin 'Abdullah bin Ahmed bin Wasiq bin Sail bin Asāma, the poet

Your stirrup returned every day to a manzil
The measure changed, patience got exhausted, you got annoyed.
Water which flowed in sweet, and raced
Its waves. When it stood, it changed.

An account of what the Prophet knows that it was not a stratagem of advantage and disadvantage when the destiny did not decree.

I say and what was reported to me was certain and I personally saw it clearly as to what was done by Changiz Khān and I'timād Khān in the last action. It gradually proceeded from what was upon its discerner. He who doubted about its certainty, doubted in his creation. It was nothing but the impression of † helplessness with the idea of power. The Prophet, may the salutation and benediction of God be on him said as revealed to him, that " There is nothing in the

* Original Text, p. 523.

† Original Text, p. 524.

affair for you. Light increases and plan does not defend against fate." The end of Changiz Khān in those events was, nearly prepared for his death of repentance for him. The result for It'imād Khān similarly was calamity followed by involvement into disaster. That was his deficiency in courage. It was ingratitude for bounty, Ulugh Khān had cherished good in respect of him. After his bounty, when he returned to his house, he got disappointed from him and sat with a long rosary. Khanbhāyat and other territory went out from his hand. The three small villages were flayed of fidelity from his skin. He had to hide himself and hiding was not worthy of his character. All persons separated themselves from him. None did come out with him, and he continued to be misguided till the day of his fall. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk was rebuked for this; he said, "We are with him in calamity to make use of intelligence for him. All of us got engaged in a civil war. We helped him and then forsook him. We expelled him for he was a guide to the foreigners to the kingdom. We killed him. We did not ward off murder who was radiant with search of regency with our support. We tried with him but did not assemble around him and did not do any wrong to him. We are with him in homogeneity. As has been said,

Couplet

He who made days bitter for a man to see
An enemy, sincerity was not essential for him.

I did not find him in opposition, for the obligation of Ulugh, to do him wrong. I compared him with a cobra which in a state of bite helplessness came running for help but in a state of power, it began to bite. A story: A rider passed by a serpent on the road. It was surrounded by fire. He saved him by means of a bag. It said to him, "Take me in your bag. I will bite you on your side." He said to it, "Did I not make you safe? The enemy would have killed you by humiliation and abasement in case I had not freed you and obliged you." He extended his bag and suspended the bag with it as far as the flame. It entered into it and he threw the bag on the road. The serpent said to him, "Choose now where I can vomit poison in you. Give up arguments for there is no saviour for you." He said to it, "Is this the reward of goodness?" It replied, "Evil is the re-* ward of goodness, oh man! in the creed of the sons of Adam." He said, "He who came near will equate comfort with harm. There was a buffalo to guide us in this matter." He said, "We want you to arbitrate in this problem of evil which will not be rejected. Let us go to it for arbitration." He said, "Oh buffalo! What is the reward of goodness?" It said, "In the creed of man, the reward is evil and harm." He said, "How do you say so?" It replied, "So long I was young, I gave milk to my owner. He and his family were satiated with it. When I became decrepit and stopped giving milk, he stopped

* Original Text, p. 325.

to feed me with wheat and bran and expelled me from his house. I contented myself with this pasture and that grew in it. Time passed with me in this way. Death stared at me till today. He saw me fat. He put a rope round me and led me to the slaughter-house for slaughter. This is my reward from him. My butter and milk gave him relish. Hence, evil is the reward of goodness in the creed of man." The serpent said, "What excuse now remains for you after this evidence." He said, "Have patience. Second witness is necessary in this case." He looked at a tree with a verdant shade. They went for arbitration to it. He said, "What is the reward of goodness?" It replied, "Evil in the creed of man. Don't you see that he comes from a distance and the mid-day is very hot, he comes to my shade, enjoys the south-ward breeze, takes a nap and sleeps a while. He then opens his eyes having relaxed himself under the shade of my branches. He fixes his eyes at the branches saying such and such a branch will be useful for repairing such and such a thing. He then climbs up me and blows me with his axe and cuts it from me in accordance with his desire. Hence the reward of goodness is evil in the creed of man." The serpent said, "What excuse is for you? Permit me to bite. They then approached a fox which was rich in worldly experience. He heard them for arbitration." He said, "Arbitrate between us." He told the whole story to him with a quaff of anger. When he ended it saying as to how it entered and came out. The fox said, "It was an unbelievable tale. It is not possible." The serpent said that it was true and said, "permit me to enter into it so that you can see it and then arbitrate according to your knowledge. Give a suitable decision as you see." When it entered into the bag, the fox shouted out to him, "Throw it into fire and take revenge, oh man! Do not prepare yourself to be deceived henceforth by the dictum that evil is the reward of goodness.

> A stone in hand and serpent on top of a stone
> Disinclination and delay will be lack of wisdom.

*Permanent separation from the city of Ahmedābād and arrival of Ulugh at* Mahmudābād on 1st Zilhajj of the year (975).* The master marched from the above mentioned Bostān ( garden ) to the capital of his territory, Mahmudābād. He alighted in the building of the Saltanat known as Pushtah. It is one of the monuments of Sultān Maḥmud son of Sultān Muḥammed. Similarly the village where he lived was named Mahmudābād. It verifies its name by the quality of its water which is sweet, light and digestive. Smilarly, its climate is healthy, graceful ( congenial ) and pleasant. The great amir Jhujhār Khān lived in the house of I'timād Khān. Saif-ul-Muluk lived in the house of Ulugh Khān. After a meeting, Bijli Khān represented to the Khān what Rustam Khān had written to him from Broach about his summons and took his leave with deter-

* Original Text, p. 526.

mination. On 24th of the month, he marched to Khanbhāyat with fifteen hundred horse. On the last day of the month, he crossed Khur alias Budhāran and encamped in the city of Jānbusar. On his coming out from that city to Broach, the Mughals stood in his way. After a hard battle, Amir-i-Mamālik Sharzah Khān and Amir-ul-Afghān Saif Khān were killed. He left behind what was with him and arrived safely at Broach. Its account follows:

*An account of what happened at Broach after Changiz Khān by establishment of authority of Rustam Khān and ascendancy of the sons of Mirza Muḥammed Sultān on territory adjacent to Mahi after a time.*

As stated above, Rustam Khān came out with Ma'mur-ul-Mulk after an hour of the death of Changiz Khān to Baroda. The Rumis assembled around him. Sharfuddin Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā joined them. Rustam Khān was severely rough. The Rumis became weary of him and got inclined towards Sharfuddin. He preponderated with them and played the role of Changiz Khān in the majlis and coveted his territory. He invited Ma'mur-ul-Mulk. He was on the side of Rustam Khān. He had in his hand what was his as well as what belonged to Changiz Khān, though not his due in the document and outside the pale of consideration. When he presented himself in his assembly, he was won over by him. When he renounced his allegiance, he was ordered to be captured. He was made a captive. Rustam Khān received the intelligence of what he did with him. Shāh Mirzā rode out and said, " Changiz's territory belonged to his daughter and the mother. Be inclined to her order in the kingdom and that to me for she is my wife. She had come to you from him for, undoubtedly, you* are from the house of the Malek. Sharfuddin is not worthy of the kingdom and we do not surrender it to him. He had imprisoned Ma'mur-ul-Mulk out of greed for gold and silver from him. Arise for him and take him out from imprisonment, adorn him with wizārat. Order of the king is sufficient from you." Shāh Mirzā rejoiced at this; he moved his moustachios out of greed like a cat for its prey. He went on horse-back to Sharf-ud-din and with him to the army. When he found the majlis near, he first spoke about the substance. Sharf-ud-din prevented him from taking that course. He then met Rustam in the majlis. He had a famous mace in his hand for the weight of which none can be said to be equal to it. He got infuriated and said to him, Oh Shaikh! For a man like you, a corner is advisable and not the plain of the kingdom. I inherit the kingdom after Changiz. I had influenced Shāh Mirzā with it. I take an oath of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. I will not leave the majlis without submission to Shāh Mirzā. The Rumis saw the fury of Rustam Khān. He had determined to wound Sharf-ud-din by his mace. Rustam had a minority of men as well as of his kinsmen. He had married the daughter of Changiz with self-respect. The descendants of

* Original Text, p. 527.

Rustam assembled around him. Every Rumi was on the side of Rustam. The Mughal wise men were afraid of rising in revolt and the first to be murdered therein was to be Sharf-ud-din. They all became unanimous in substance and came with it to Rustam Khān. He took it and returned. All the Rumis moved on. When he came to his house, he acknowledged his fault, thanked them in his action of self-respect and promised them goodness. He then proceeded to Shāh Mirzā at Broach. Amir Kuchak afterwards titled Qiyām-ul-Mulk was at Broach. He corresponded with him for strengthening the fort. They climbed up the fort. Qiyām-ul-Mulk forbade them. Rustam said to Shāh Mirzā, "Stay at your house till we meet you." He remained in the house. Rustam and Ma'mur-ul-Mulk went to Qiyām-ul-Mulk. He opened the door for them and all the Rumis joined them. When they assembled together, Rustam pondered over the discharge of cannons. Shāh Mirzā returned with shame. He had become weary on the side of Chāmpāner. Baroda was for Sharf-ud-din; Broach and Surat to Nadiad for Rustam. In the meantime, the mother of Changiz Khān, Bibi Sāheb and his daughter arrived. Asad Khān was appointed as the wazir. 'Adil Khān, the ruler of Ujjan was at Broach. His son Yusuf titled after some time, Khudāwand Khān was at Surat. They established* order in the present territory but afterwards the thread was about to be broken. In the meanwhile, they thought over the liberation of Baroda. A report got circulated about the invasion of the sons of Muḥammed Timur Sultān to the side of Gujarāt from the territory of the Rānā. They then arrived to the frontiers of Broach. Shāh Mirzā joined them. Sharf-ud-din Mirzā came out from Baroda to join them. As stated before, they spent the night together and he fled on horse-back to Dholka. He left behind what was with him. They advanced to Baroda and settled there. It became for them. Muḥammed Husain Mirzā encamped at Surat. In the meantime, Rustam Khān and Bijli Khān corresponded with him. Bijli Khān went to Duhāran. There was a negress concubine who played on harp and lute. She delighted him by her songs and affected the tender emotions by her voice. By her movement she petrified every one by her play on strings. She and Lāl Kunwar, chief among the singers were proficient in art. Kutan and De tān were poets at Khanbhāyat. An account of Lāl Kunwar comes. Sherwān Khān summoned the negress. She avoided acceptance of his summons. There was a ford through which a horseman and a footman could enter at one and the same time and wade through it to a distance of one farsakh. They then came out from it. The flood-tide should be known at the time of entry and exit to pass through it and to go with it, or the overflow of reflex (ebb-tide) would perish the man. Some time passed in questions and answers. When she obliged him with acceptance, they waded through the sea. They found the reflex going out, they departed hastily

* Original Text, p. 528.

with baggage. Badr, a mamluk habshi of Sherwān Khān was one who departed from it. It so happened. During this interval of entry into water, the lower self was clothed with lusty instinct. A search for exit was made when water began to overflow. Ibrāhim Mirzā learnt about it and watched the path. In the morning, they moved from Jānbusar, he and Bijli Khān made their appearance in the cavalcade. The Mughal army was in a majority. When they dispersed to meet him, the whole body got separated in the face of the enemy. It was an invert day and an ill-omened star. He fled to Broach. Veteran horseman of the battle-field Sherwān Khān was free from the enemy. He had good qualities in him which extricated praise from the enemy. He came safely to Broach. Miftāh Bijli Khān Sharzah Khān was strong, brave, mostly engaged in war. What he missed was his hasty death. He departed with it. Such was* the case with Saif Khān. Rustam Khān received intelligence about it. He came out for help in his cavalcade. When he met him, he stopped with his companions. Most men of his party who entered Broach were bare-footed, stripped of clothes. Rustam Khān did well in this matter; similarly the mother of Changiz, Asad Khān and the great Rumis. On the 10th day of his arrival, he gave him the territory he wanted. It was said that he refused it. He examined, within a short time, his condition and preparations. He was not contented with anything on account of avidity. The mamālik's wickedness was that they wanted to increase the number to more than one hundred. He did not forbid any other thing. It resulted in a revolt between the Rumis and the Habshis. It so happened that he wanted to inhabit them outside the fort but they felt about it. He corresponded with Ibrāhim Mirzā. He joined with him. Ibrāhim had alighted at Broach. One day, Rustam Khān and 'Ādil Khān went out for a war together. 'Ādil Khān acted the hypocrite and went away from his post after making a show of his friendship and entering into a pact with Muhammed Husain Mirzā. Rustam returned from the battle-field to the action of cannons. He was outside the fort. Similarly, the cannons of the fort were not made to assemble. They then returned from the fort and Rustam entered it. Similarly, Khudāwand Khān was expelling 'Ali Muhammed Husain from the fort from the side of Surat. Kāban-ul-Ash'as did not gird himself with a sword except in an hour of need. He did not fight except with wooden sticks wherever he alighted, he bruised the enemy and made him come down to the ground. Rustam was noted for the mace while he for sticks. Both of them were horsemen, not free from the help of God through saints of Broach. Great men of the Mughals assembled and held consultation for conquest of the fort with Salālam. Ibrāhim Mirzā had pitched his tent at Chamārgāon. One night they entered upon him and assailed him at that place. He went to Broach. The distance from the camp to Broach was of two farsakhs, They decided

* Original Text, p. 529.

for disappearance to humiliate Salālam, rose upto the balconies. Some of them descended and some of them climbed up from the descent and some of them were on the ascent. Inmates of the fort were in inadvertance. They raised shouts. Rustam came out and did not spare any one of them. He then came out with torches from the fort-gate and killed every one whom he found near the ladder or dropped him down from it. Heads got heaped. He ordered to throw them away from the turrets and balconies. They ( heads )* were four hundred in number according to calculation of the people. It was a scene of intrepidity and valour for many persons of the world and the decline of a precursor. Ibrāhim Mirzā lost the possibility and left the place and returned to Baroda. Men within the fort breathed freely for many months.

*Exploits of Rustam which he performed yesterday at Ibrahim*
*By breaking his middle teeth and murder of Shāh Madad.*

Its account is: Those men of Ibrahim Mirzā who escaped safely at night practised violence in the cities. The verse of the Qurān is " Verily your Lord is in the ambush." He was a stubborn horseman. He was a man of stout, bulky body, brave, with big arms, a lashing devil. His name was Shāh Madad. Rustam was obliged to be hard on him when he came into his view. He assailed him from the saddle. On this, he went to Ibrāhim Mirzā at Chamārgaon. Rustam received the intelligence of what he had said. He got ready and issued forth with Asad Khān. It was not possible for him to come out a day earlier. He appointed him at a place with the standard and the drum and commanded him for Chamārgaon. When they saw both together, Asad Khān stopped in the battle-field and advanced to the place of vanguard of his men. He assailed the Mughals with an unsightly assault and made them unsteady. He broke the row to Ibrāhim. Shāh Madad prevented him. He was separated from Rustam in the assault of his companions. They had driven the enemy to a bad position. Rustam did not see the split of the row. They called him as far as their knowledge. When Rustam prevented Shāh Madad with violence and fury, he was upon a horse strong like a fort. His name was Dali Sakrān. He spurred him on, and rushed upon him. He had a mace in the grip of his palm. He defended his fore-arm from a blow. Ibrānim came near him to engage him. He threw his horse below his left hand. He repulsed him by the external side of his armour. There was steel-protection upon it which is called dastānah ( hand-glove ). It did not ridge his teeth. It was smashed to pieces, blood flowed from it, he placed his hand on his mouth out of pain. He was about to run away publicly from the road. Shāh Madad warned him from the fall of the mace for his annoyance to prevent him from it. Rustam took it into his hands and the connection of the mace with the joint of the palm. Both fell on the ground due

* Original Text p. 530.

to movement of their horses. There was none in the battle-field except they. Rustam took beneath himself and knelt down upon him and intended to butcher him by his dagger. But he stood up from him. He did not get to his horse, Dali Sakarān. He seized the horse of the murdered by the rope, removed his armour and left him on the saddle. He then cut off his head and rode back to* the place of the standard. He did not find any one. He smiled, walked a little distance and found Dali Sakrān with the army. He was delighted thereby and because most of his men, killed the enemy. He questioned Asad Khān about continuation of the station. He replied that he who was from us had the ability to see your horse without you and he was steadfast. He laughed and moved with them to the fort and ordered for suspending the head. Shaikh Astanboli was with Asad Khān. When the horse returned without the rider and the army turned back with the standard, the Shaikh prevented them. He said to them about the hypothesis of the event in favour of Rustom and to decide now not to go unaccounted for it. "I am the first to demand his blood." None paid attention to him. He advised to repulse them in anger and took his staff in hand. Some uncivil persons did not tolerate his remark, struck him with the sword and made him a martyr. May God the Great show mercy to him. In the year 978 (1570), Rustam Khān wrote to Muḥammed Shāh, the ruler of Asir telling him, "you are a rightful claimant to the kingdom as belonging to the descendants of Ulugh. To restrict limitations of time before death, I commit the matter to you and be its ruler." He advanced and encamped on the boundary of Ankleshwar. Rustam crossed the river there and met him and returned to the fort. Those amirs of Gujarāt who had written to him joined him. Syed Hāmid son of Syed Mirān son of Syed Mubārak Bukhāri, the ruler of Dholka became a member of his party. Amir Sharf-ud-din Mirzā was one of the descendants of Khwāja Ahrār, may God sanctify his grave. Similarly was Kuchak 'Ali titled Qiyām-ul-Mulk. Rustam Khān met them more than once. It so happened that he was in a war with the Mughals. He crossed the river to come to Broach and encamped outside the fort in a plain. Rustam Khān would not give up the fort. Every day, he went out of it and returned to it. In the meantime, Muḥammed Husain Mirzā arrived from Surat to his brother at Chamārgāon. On the second day of his arrival, the two brothers met together. It was a distress. The army of Āsir became impatient. It was in the centre. They learnt about the help of the right wing of the army under the command† of the Amir Syed Hāmid Bukhāri, the Amir Sharfuddin, Amir Yāfai'Qāzi titled 'Arab Khān and the Amir Qiyām-ul-Mulk. Rustam Khān was in the left wing with his companions. He waited with patience till he saw the preponderance of the Mughals. In the meanwhile, he moved and the ground stretched forth with pressure. The Mughals assembled before his face. The dust split up. There

* Original Text, p. 531.

† Original Text, p. 532.

was in it like a shining star and the vanguard proceeded forward to the centre. It entered into it and dispersed the assemblage. Muḥammed Husain Mirzā got annoyed. He was a brave horseman. Rustam struck him with a mace. He was severely angry. Death was not yet for him. It hit his forearm. It got into two parts on its back. He snatched it from his hand. He fled without consciousness due to the wound. He was not in a position to sit aright in his saddle. Rustam had almost perceived that had there been no Sherwān Khān in his army, he would have surrounded him and the Mughal defeat would have been complete. Friend and foe showered praise upon Rustam Khān. He had all the qualities to perfection in him. None was qualified with these qualities. He was matchless in personality, figure, might, valour, horsemanship, steadiness, awe, severe fury with easy movement. Mughals of the foremost fame perished at his hands. The man whom he assailed from the saddle, brought him down to the ground and ascertained him to be the enemy, in particular, the criterion of strength, valour, severe might, the afore-said Mughal, Shāh Madad. He was formerly at Mahmudābād with Shaikh Yusuf A'zam-i-Humāyun Manduwāli. He was with Ibrāhim Mirzā whose teeth got broken and Muhammed Husain Mirzā. How remarkable a horseman! He performed his duty to whomsoever he supported and became humpbacked with him. It was not with Rustam with prolongation of war and without a stroke of a cupping-glass. His eyes of cowardice did not sleep. The affair of Muhammed Shāh was about to become serious due to this victory. But he made hurry and demanded the fort from him for the inhabitants. Rustam was affected by this demand and Muhammed Shāh with denial. Both of them had internal denial. The emissary of Āsir arrived to report about the arrival of his brother Tāj Khān to Burhānpur. He was for an opportunity. He went out from the fort to the Sultān of Hind and to provide with disturbance with the army. He bade him farewell and he returned. Muhammed Shāh did not find it necessary to make amends. Rustam and the wazir Zainuddin Banbāni 'Abbāsi repented for mutual warfare. They held consultation and decided for peace with the Mughals with Broach to be in possession of Rustam. He bade farewell to Rustam and crossed the river for* Ankleshwar. He met Rustam on the second day of his crossing the river and titled him as 'Imād-ul-Mulk from himself and Yusuf as Khudāwand Khān. They both returned to Broach. Muhammed Shāh marched to the direction of his kingdom. He saw the sons of Muḥammed Timur Sultān in the vicinity of Murgh-i-darrah. Had there been no Sharfuddin, 'Arab Khān and Qiyām-ul-Mulk, he would have been in the hand of the Mughals with all his elephants and baggage. Qiyām-ul-Mulk made him a captive for some days. He then got an opportunity and came out from them and proceeded to Burhānpur. The Mughals wanted a surety for Bijli Khān. One of the famous elephants of

* Original Text, p. 533.

Muḥammed Shāh was Suman. The spoils were brought for view. When this elephant came along with other elephants, Muḥammed Husain Mirzā seized him and displayed him as a belonging of Bijli Khān as was his wont to say with whom it was possible both for 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Ulugh Khān. Muḥammed Husain harboured vindictive feelings against Ibrāhim and waited for an opportunity. Syed Hāmid returned to Dholka from Broach. But the inmates of the fort got disappointed of help with the return of Muḥammed Shāh. They assembled in the Diwān of Bibi Sāheb. Asad Khān approached from behind the curtain and he rejected, in accordance with exigency of time, their unanimous opinion for surrender of Broach to the Mughals and guarantee of security first of all to Rustam along with public favour for him in all circumstances and a portion of territory for him. Rustam was inadvertant about their gathering in his house with his family. He entered the fort-gate with the blow of the Mughal bugle and beating of drums. He took up the mace and came out. The Rumis had assembled at the door of his house. One of them informed him about the present circumstances. He struck the earth with his mace and entered the house in anger. Ibrāhim Mirzā entered the house of Bibi Sāheb with all his nobles, and sat in her Ḍiwān. Asad Khān and all the Rumis saluted him. Mirzā turned to them and pacified them by pleasant words. He then sent Asad Khān with salām to Bibi Sāheb and the emissary. After pacification of minds, he sent a respectable noble to Rustam Khān. He was accompanied by Asad Khān and other great Rumis. They met him and first of all opened the conversation with praise on him. They then continued the conversation to his consolation by giving precedence to that which he loved. He rode with them to the Mirzā. When he met him, he moved for him and Khān Zamān-al-Kolābi stood* up from the majlis and holding his hand, took him for salām to the Mirzā. When he extended his hand to his feet, the Mirzā caught it and brought it to his breast, embraced him and seated him on his left and said to him, "were it not for the oath of the majlis of my brother Muḥammed Husain, you had a claim with him and your majlis from me is for you. This is what has been left to us. None can precede you in it. The eyes were desirous of seeing the face of Rustam-i-Zāl. I saw it now with your face. For a man like you, the two little fingers met in praise. His breath fell. You are my brother, my support and Bibi Sāheb is my mother. There will be nothing but love for you, God willing." He then sent for the Holy Qurān and took an oath of it for safety, loyalty, favour, regard. He too swore similarly. Ibrāhim then returned from the house of Bibi Sāheb and went to the house of Changiz Khān. Rustam Khān and Asad Khān went with him to it. Then every one of them returned to his house. The region and relics became safe. Similarly, Muḥammed Husain Mirzā ceased the siege of Surat due to the death of Khudāwand Khān in this year.

* Original Text, p. 534.

He was Āqā Alājin. He was more than eighty. With his death, Khudāwand Khān was adopted. He had become weak because of war. His pagan self-respect wished the Firangis to remain within the fort and not the Mughals. There were men of might inside the fort such as Mirjān Yāqut Jahāngir Khāni. He met him and said to him that Surat was under Broach and that he was subordinate to Rustam. Stratagem would not benefit him in world-events. This Muslim fort could be of the Firangis. There was no strength in sin. Then correspondence continued between him and Muḥammed Husain Mirzā. Peace was made in accordance with the terms of peace of Broach. He entered the fort in concord with him. Āqā Alājin met him. He had with him what he loved. Death hastened to him in a short time. Mirjān was distinguished with kindness. He was titled Shamsher Khān. This region became safe and secure. In short, the kingdom of Changiz was cleared of troubles. Allāh does what He wishes.

*Estrangement of the great amir Jhujhār Khān from the Majlis-ul-Āli Ulugh Khān.*

The great amir Mirjān Jhujhar Khān was in the capital of his territory Bhamnol. It is situated at a stage from Maḥmudābād. The cause of his going away from it to Maḥmudābād was the ascendancy of the Khāreji Sher Khān Nyāzi in the * territory of Ulugh Khān. Sayyid Hāmid Bukhāri sent his wazir Abal Fath to the afore-said Khān to inform him that "Sharfuddin Mirza, Bāz Bahādur, and Kālā Pahād were in the vicinity of Dholka with more than one thousand horses. One from among the companions of Shaikh Bahāuddin Multāni was with five hundred horses. You have assigned Khanbhāyat to Sharfuddin and Bhiwal to the three afore-said persons. They are assembling an army double than what they have at present with them. They collected this army to expel him from the territory. I am a guarantee to this." Bhiwal was in possession of Junaid Afghān, while Khanbhāyat was in possession of Ulugh Khān. Hoshiār-ul-Mulk and Malek Alan Deccan were administering it on his behalf. Abil Fateh repeatedly arrived for this purpose. At the last time, Amir Mustafā, the brother of Bāz Bahādur arrived with him from the side of Bāz Bahādur. Similarly, the vakil of Sharfuddin came from his side. They took an oath of service and loyalty for the expulsion of Niyāzi. He wrote to both of them for this, and in particular to Bāz Bahādur for the collection of fifty thousand Mahmudis. He said to the vakil of Sharfuddin by way of a joke as to whom did Khanbhāyat belong. He was not in need of help for such a thing. He then sent to him with him an Arab horse from his special stable with its accoutrement of decoration, a gold-plated sword, a shield and a robe of honour worthy of him. Similarly, he sent them to Kālā Pahād and Bahāuddin. What was from Bāz Bahādur,

* Original Text, p. 535

he placed the case of Bhiwal under his pillow, disposed of cash and slept with comfort. His two companions did the same. When Sharfuddin ai at the frontiers of Khanbhāyat, he became impatient to expel the abov tioned Amir Malek Atan. He entered the city in his moment of inadver he demanded the going out of the amir from the fort of his residenc his expulsion from the city fighting. He strengthened the cities against There was the unbeliever, the broker of the city by name Wachha, titled K Rāi during the regime of Sultān of Hind who was against him. He brough in by unknown paths through houses of unbelievers. The amir was at the of the house. He had come out without armour and came to him. He di deem it necessary to fight with those who had presented themselves before The city came in possession of Sharfuddin. He acted with it what the Khi had acted with Maḥmudābād. During the course of his domination over we persons, some of them had invited the Khāreji. He marched towards Sharfuddin fled from it to Dholka with shame of his misdeed. It was a w that the unmannerly behaviour with which the Khāreji was qualified, sat the citizens. They were not satisfied with what was in possession of Sharfu He protected their houses. They were contented with those who attacked When Sher Khān returned in peace, Bāz Bahādur arrived at Ahmedābād, the Khān and requested him to implement his order for Bhiwal. The Khāt and arranged a meeting between him and Itimād Khān and requested hi show the favour to him. He agreed to show regard to a person who had a to it. The Khān repeated to him what was said to him. It was at the of the power of the Sultān of Mandu. He suffered adversity what he sufi He had no fault in him. He felt ashamed before him. I'timād Khān rem silent. Ulugh Khān passed the order. He returned to Dholka. Amir Pahād was a slave of his father. He was at Mandu during the reign Bahādur. He had arrived from the side of the Sultan of Hind, Abd Khān Uzbek. During this time, Kālā Pahād fell short of his duty. H his kingdom with it and the order came for his flight. When both of them together as amir of Bhiwal, he was one day killed in a moment of remis He became ascendant over Bhil. The Khān wrote to him rebuking him then became dominant over the belongings to Kālā Pahād at Bhiwal. Bahādur lived at Dholka and continued to write to the Khān for his p of territory. The Khān avoided it. Some of the malevolent perso Jhujhār Khān's party attacked what belonged to Bāz Bahādur in the c well as what was in his territory. Bāz Bahādur came to Mahmudābād liberation. Jhujhār Khān refused to accept his intercession. Ulugh Khā to him to persuade him. He did not see him doing it. He returned from

* Original Text, p. 536.

and did not bid him farewell. He was affected and rode that very hour back to Bhamnol, and lived there. Bāz Bahādur returned to Dholka finding fault with his behaviour. Commander of the army Mahaldār Khān remained behind. He was the Wazir of Maḥmud son of Lād Muḥammed. He did nothing except at his instruction. He corresponded with Jhujhār Khān for the liberation of Bhiwal until he became severe in his reply. He invited him to expel him to the verandah of Ulugh Khān to the side of Bhamnol. Jhujhār Khān received intelligence about that. He was greatly affected. He cited an example from what has been said:*

I know about his archery every day
When his fore-arm became strong, he darted an arrow.

He got inclined for separation after friendship. The rope of amity got renovated. It became stable with concordance. Yāqut Ulugh Khān had in particular invited him first. He fraternised with him and took him as support. He was a brave horseman. Ulugh Khān Mirjān is reported to have said that "one day both of us met, his reins were with my reins; he loved to have me with one hundred horse in a day to help with what I can help and sympathised with me during the reign of Aḥmed till titled as Jhujhār Khān. It so happened whan he was in the territory of Mundah. Ulugh Khān had a horse, small in size. He was famous with the name of Duldul. It so happened that he called him to himself but there was no reply from him. His house was near. He did not bear a sword. Several days had passed and he did not see him with it. He was asked about it. He said that it was easy to go out with Duldul. He sent for it with decoration which continued as his habit. He met him in his house and rested for a day. On his return, he rode on Duldul with him. He did not see the world except under his hoofs and ampled from Bhamnol to Mundah. Whan he was near death, he made a will. His fortunate son Muhammed Ulugh Khān stood up in attendance upon him as was worthy of him. The Khān had attained to puberty. He tried for preservation of his own personality and reputation. He stood up for his prestige with fanaticism. He galloped on horse-back to summon me at leisure to the territory of his father and its administration. He did not die. In that week, he was to ride on Saturday to the plain for play with a polo-stick and he had to be in the Diwān on Sunday. He chose Bahr-ul-Mulk Yāqut Qādri for his majlis. He was from the house of the Amir Salmān, an aged man, wise, perfect. Mirjān Atul Khān was very much matured with involvement in the world. He was one of the most perfect men of religion. Farhān Sultāni alias Lurak was a habshi. He was a man of prowess and noted for chastity and valour. He was extremely moral in character. The perfect master, beauty of the world and faith, Muḥammed son

* Original Text, p. 537.

of Husain al-Qarashi, al-Mahāyami famous as the Qāzi was the most matchless* among scholars and literary men. Haider Khān Kāshmiri belonged to the family of sultāns. He sacrificed his life in service and support of his words which increased his fame more than that of his father. He continued his traditions. He was always with him. When a majority of persons excited his ire at Bhiwal, he went to Bhamnol from Mahmudābād. Inspite of this, he was *from him and to him.* He did not abandon his habit with him. When he heard about attaek on the verandah to him, he regarded himself as much as many, he disapproved of it. He found power in disturbance who sought for it. His wazir was Badr Sultāni. His friend was Mirjān Mu'ta bir-ul-Mulk. Both of them were in his diwān as Mahaldār Khān was in the diwān of Ulugh. All of them were my friends. There was no malice on account of quarrels in my brothers. One of them wrote to Malek-ush-Sharq to be a mediator in the assembly withe I'timād Khān and surrender of what was seized from the territory for him on condition of ascendancy over what was seized by Ulugh Khān. People of the kingdom had proposed and in particular, Malek-ush-Sharq for the two villages for him in possession of Saif-ul-Muluk, one of which was Chankā and the other Mahlāu. Hence, they met with the exception of I'timād Khān and wrote the answer in accordance with the question. They then wrote stipulating the day *of meeting to surrender the territory to the third man who was Mujāhid Khān* within three days. When the condition was fulfilled, the territory will be mine as it was yours. When the reply came with acceplance, he came out of Bhamnol with cannons and elephants to go to Ahmedābād and met the residents. He then entered the city, walked on the road which led to his house, bade farewell to his companion and walked on alone on the road to his house. He entered it through a lane in secret, in the heart of which, he was about to forget, in particular, if he did not find the road to I'timād Khan. He was troubled for separation of Ulugh and prepared for the events of the world. He looked for consolation in time. This was recited.

Events terrified you from brothers always
Days are for trial.

On the third day, the city and frontiers belonged to Ulugh Khān. He sent word to Malek-ush-Sharq telling him that it was the last day of the condition but he did not find him acting accordingly. They postponed it to tomorrow. In the *morning,* they met together in the majlis of Malek-ush-Sharq. Jhujhār Khān was present in it. They plunged in talk of war. They agreed upon it.† They then differed in what was to be in the war at the centre. Malek-ush-Sharq said that he was for peace but Jhujhār Khān disagreed with him. Jhujhār Khān examined his mind and replied, " I, my elephants and my can-

* Original Text, p. 538.

† Original Text, p. 539.

nons stand in opposition. The soldiers who are habshis among them are pleased to draw out sword in opposition. Yes, war of the right and left wings was possible for them." They held consultation and said that Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk should stand in opposition. He was wise and disposed to Ulugh Khān. There was affection between them. He replied, "We make a pact for this consultation of the majlis. We see why the majlis broke up." Jhujhār Khān took back what was put in charge of Mujāhid Khān and he lived in the city along with them, with great pain. On his entry into Ahmedābād, his brother Mirjān Sultāni titled Muhāfiz Khān went to Maḥmudābād out of love and not relation. The amirs welcomed him. When he approached the Dār-us-Saltanat, Ulugh Khān met him, treated him with kindness and gave him robes of honour with liberality. He gave him the standard of amirship of the right wing and went with it and the drum to his house. He did not wreak vengeance for what Jhujhār Khān had relied upon him with the concordance of people of the kingdom against his opposition wherein there was no good.

In the year 979 (1571), Raihān 'Imād-ul-Mulki Bijli Khān got martyrdom. He was a mughal. They had taken an oath of the Holy Qurān to spare one's life, safety and loyalty for him. When he saw him, he was affected by them for the elephant of Muḥammed Shāh, famous as 'Imam'. It has been hinted about it before in the account of flight of Muḥammed Shāh. They assembled for dishonesty and waited with patience to turn to Baroda. It was out of caution, for caution is not obtained from fate. Ibrāhim one day went out for hunting. He sent for him. He rode in haste with two horsemen with him. After their meeting, there arrived Muḥammed Husain Mirzā at that hour from Surat. He and Ibrāhim were for his murder since long out of revenge for the murder of Bijli Khān. It so happened. They made haste to go to the tent for plunder and captured all those who were inside it. Sherwān Khan was in a village. He got ready with arms and went to Khanbhāyat with* his men. The slaves of Bijli Khān A'zam Khān, Sabit Khān and Ghāzi Khan joined him. All of them together came to Ulugh Khān. He gave them asylum and assembled them in the Diwān and treated them with kindness and showed regard to them, in particular to Sherwān Khan. He adorned him with the amirship of the left wing. He went to his house with a standard and a drum. Only three persons of the Bijli Khān group were left out of captivity. One of them was from among the great mamālik, Bilāl Ramzān. He was distinguished by Ulugh Khān. He was raised to the rank of nearness till he became his companion. The other two were Jauhar Kishwar Khān and Sabih Ankas Khān. He called them. Saif-ul Muluk was from them. These two men were men of wisdom and sword. Bijli Khān loved Ulugh Khān from beginning to end as

* Original Text, p. 540.

well as Bilāl Ramzān from among his companions. He lived with him since Bijli Khān marched to Duhāran and to his death. Babhār and Sherwān Khān and the third of them, the fortunate martyr Jauhar Muhsin-ul-Mulk, left Bijli Khān and joined him after the death of Changiz. They were wise and prudent and Ulugh Khān loved them. He made them his associates, consulted them and decorated them with the mansab of amirship. When the Khān shifted himself to Maḥmudābād, they took leave of the Khān and went to Bhiwal. They went out ahunting one day from the residential quarters of Katwārah. There was plenty of game. One of the residents of that place was with a cavalry of Rajputs. After a scuffle, he became a martyr. The Khān was much pained. He ordered his mamluk, Sāheb-i-Hawāla, Amir Mirjān alias Baya' Istanboli to proced to Katwārah. The residents pursued the Rajputs, murdered them, plundered their property and returned. This happened in 976 (1568). Peculiar quality of the Khān and his abundant sincerity for him are noticed in the event of a siege of Sher Khān at the Dār-us-Saltanat. One day, the Khān rode to Bijli Khān and closeted with him. A singing girl, who was a source of disturbance to the people was present. She was in the harem of Changiz Khān. Her name was Lāl Kunwar. She was the daughter of a proficient musician and a poet of the age, Kutah. She represented by his sight whether he intended to accept her. The Khān was bashfnl. The Khān liked her in heart but he remained silent. He lowered down his eyelids through modesty. When he returned, he* became impatient of her. He sent Khurshid Khān to get her ready for marriage. Bijli Khān forbade him for it and said, " I showed her to him. There is a proverb " Every exhibit is not an uncultivated land. Keep yourself away from her. He should not put me to shame by accepting her when she becomes pregnant by him. But now, it is not so. She had become my wife." The Khān neglected her. He was distracted with her. 'Ali Muhsin-ul-Mulk publicised what he found. Bijli Khān had particularly rebuked him by forbidding him to marry her. He did nothing more than forbidding. He was always with him until he got angry with him. He came out with this reason to the Khān and became a member of his party. On his g ing out to Duhāran he had left a Changizi concubine with Shaikh Sa'eed Sultāni. On the statement of one who knew her she was an alternate woman. Her name was 'Anbar Nasim with Egyptian training. She was from Sherwān Khān at the time of crossing the sea. Lāl Kunwar was left at Khanbhāyat with women in whom he had confidence. Muhsin-ul-Mulk was always in search of her. He was informed about her house. Those who visited her from the side of Bijli Khān met the Khān in privacy and told him about the exact state of affairs. They cited, for example, the tradition of the Prophet, may benedictions and salutation of God be on him, that the

* Original Text, p. 541.

assemblies are with deposits. He then appointed a party of men to search her and carry her to him. The Khān received intelligence about the arrival of the mamālik of Bijli Khān for going to him. Amir-ul-Hawāla Raihān Jāmdār ordered to keep a watch on her and to bring her. When she learnt about it, she was in a litter which was scarified. It had a door which was locked. Her companions forestalled them. Bijli Khān had learnt about it from the Khān. He advised them to kill her at the time of ascendancy over her. When they forestalled them in recovering the litter from them, they got no opportunity to open the lock to be possible to kill her. They pierced their lances in the hide-lace. They left her and fled to Broach. The amir returned with the litter and he did not know who was inside it. He came with the litter to the harem-palace and went with her to the Khān. On her right breast, there was a slight effect of a stab. It needed treatment. He could not summon a surgeon out of self-respect to treat her. He should sit by her side and treat her. The surgeon is reported to have said to him, " Take a vow of dedication for her health. Health will be with the praise of Allah and His obligation. She became his wife. She gave birth to two sons, Ahmed Khān and Jamāl Khān. He greatly praised her for her beauty first and then for her art which was much * more than that of her father. The Khān gathered around her all the members of his family, enlarged their means of livelihood and they obtained goodness till his death. Bijli Khān sent a letter to the Khān writing in it what Abi Farās al-Hamdāni mourned about :

I did not take you with oppression, verily
I was steadfast with you like true brothers.
A beautiful enemy is other than beautiful
An ugly friend is other than ugly.

I forbade marriage with her for self-exaltation with her but not for obtainment of a fall from your heart. You disgraced yourself and your forefathers for her sake. With her disgrace, you are involved in personal disgrace. Others are disgusted with you. I do not ignore that you were very sincere in appreciation of her both in word and meaning. He particularly glorifies himself with reputation of his master. May God bless you with her. May you enjoy easy life in the present, and be strong. Bijli Khān was distinguished with many things. He was disposed towards men of the sword. If they belonged to his community,† that is the habshi, he tried his utmost to collect them in his Diwān to please them with cash, grant of villages and property. They became extremely rich through him. Another quality was attraction to outward beauty to follow him. He was inclined to service of the scholars and particularly the Arabs. He gave them liberal rewards and showed sympathy to them. When he heard that

* Original Text, p. 542. † Original Text, p. 543.

there was a proficient man in arts or that he was exceptional in the art of singing and playing upon a musical instrument, he would send gold to him even if he were in Yaman or Hijāz and invite him. He was very fond of attendance upon the nobles. The Tarim tribesmen stayed for a period with him. He ordered them to lead chaste lives and marry who failed to do so. Those who were inclined to return to their native land were given sufficient provisions so that they lived with lawful means in their houses. It was his habit to distribute them to nobles on their arrival. They lived with sufficiency with them. They were given provisions and conveyance on travel. This was his habit. May mercy of God be on him.

Jauhar Muḥammedi Muhsin-ul-Mulk was an assemblage of friends and a rendezvous of companions. His assembly was not without literary men. He was always in joy and delight. He was disposed to spend dirhams and dinārs. He was inclined to make offering of them. He had faith in pious men as well as in the sweet creed of Sufism, practice of continuous charity, attendance on congregational prayers, recitation of the Qurān and permanent conversation with men of religion. May God raise his ranks.

In short, Jhujhār Khān became one of the amirs of the city, a report came in circulation about their invasion against Ulugh Khān. He did not see its effects. The army did not quit Ulugh. They followed him to a distance of certain farsakhs nearly a distance of a robe between the two armies for war or as much as self-respect tolerated. When the day rose up, they turned their reins for nothing returning to Mahmudābād. Then they became helpless against opposition of Ulugh, they sought help from the Mughals. Their correspondence fell into the hands of spies and Ulugh was wonderstruck at its subject-matter which was neither beneficial or otherwise. From the time of the correspsondence of Masnad-ul-'Āli I'timād Khān, he came out of the city, to make amends. On his arrival at Maḥmudabad, he wanted to pacify his mind and return with it but he did not find a way to do it. He was then pleased with the arrival of his son Sher Khān but he did not pacify him. He alighted to please him by entering the city, presenting himself in the Diwān and meeting him. It was for keeping the kingdom in the hands of his family. It was always on the increase from * his erring. "He whom God misguides, there is no guidance for him from any one." Sher Khān Fauladi always corresponded with Ulugh Khān for expelling the Mughals from the kingdom as it was written in the document of agreement. Similarly, the Khān did not give up defending in the best manner possible to receive help from the people against the Mughals. His wazir Muzaffar Khān died this year. He discouraged this movement. His son became the wazir and was given his father's title. In the meanwhile, he blamed the Khān and sent

* Original Text, p. 544.

word to incline the Khān to a meeting whenever he pleased and repeated it from him. Since the Khān lived at Maḥmudābād, the two enemies were near in case of human negligence and avoidance. He sent for his maleks and interchanged questions with them. In the meanwhile, the emissary of Sher Khān came. They decided on his acceptance to transfer the camp to the vicinity of Sarkhej. Ghālib Khān appointed an emissary to go to him with a reply to his letter. The Khān then wrote to the Amir Sayyid Hāmid. He was the ruler after the death of his father in the year, 976 ( 1568 ) of the kingdom. He was disposed towards I'timād Khān. He complained about jealousy, hatred, erring of people of the kingdom. He requested to give advice to them. He said, "If their habits hardened particularly among the people of the state, leading upto censure, they will not be propitiated and determinedly they would create disṭurbance; if they will get greatly demoralised with them as they are blind in their state of drunkenness." He wrote to I'timād Khān telling him that his army was now between the two enemies from one side and that of the Mughals from the other side. Mischief will arise when you will have to seek help against the Mughals. Tunes will be more in the tambourine when Sher Khān happens to be demanding conditions for peace, the third enemy

I do not find great prestige in address
Most difficult is enmity of the people.

Hence I see welfare of the people and cities in peace and amity. If the question is not near its answer; there is opportunity now. Drink, your own choice which is not bitter with grief to yourself. God says:

Selves do not turn from promptings ( misguidance )*
No restraint was there for them.
From the day, no censure, no denial
Everyone from us in what he sees will be, in the widest excuse
Ibn-i-Fāridh

I advise you knowledge in desires and which I see
Is enmity, then choose for yourself what is delightful.

Ghālib Khān returned and Sher Khān had taken oaths upon subjects written. In the meanwhile, Ulugh Khān wrote to him from the requests which were about the march to a place known as Till in the vicinity of Sarkhej. On 2nd Shawwāl of the year, Ulugh Khān assembled the amirs and chiefs of the people in an assembly and said, "What do you see? What has happened to the pact? Sher Khān had encamped at Till." The first man who replied was Ghālib Khān. He said, "Fulfilment of conditions is from you who gathered and the encampment with him. For you from us to the relation of the sky in its centre is obedience to the order and patience." Sherwān Khān then said,

* Original Text, p. 546.

" He had spoken the truth and said that it was righteousness. There is no deviation from it, God willing."

Similarly, all those who were present were unanimous on this point. Because of this, Ulugh Khān, marched from Maḥmudābād actively at the hour elected by the astrologer to the side of Sher Khān Faulādi on 16th Zilhajj of the year. He encamped at Jitalpur situated at a distance of three farsakhs from Aḥmadābād and stayed there for some days being occupied with a desire to make amends with I'timād Khān. Would to God! They continued with friendship since long; its evil end is not possible. Its consequences would be serious.

What is near the house is not beneficial
When you desired it, it was not with affection.

This day, he did not want to give up the good of the state and was not disposed to anything other than self-respect for reputation of the Saltanat and preservation of the palace from entry of stranger. He felt pain for this. He always augmented sorrow for what was called the decline of the kingdom and he feared that that might be the cause. For him it was a fall with it. He found a way to it. It was, that all those who had assembled around him would find office at the present time. Guidance is distinguished from misguidance. Your Lord does not oppress any one. He, at that stage, thought over what was said:*

" Who is just? Who is society? They are many for me, mostly. They are true and I see the exit from truth difficult like the writing which is easy in pages and the method difficult."

*Separation of Majlis-ul-Āli Ulugh Khān after a test from Masnad-ul-'Āli I'timād Khān.*

On the 1st Muharram, 980 (1572), Majlis-ul-'Āli Muhammed Ulugh Khān crossed the river Sābhar. Along with him, Masnad-ul-'Āli I'timād Khān issued forth from his frontiers. He was with three thousand horse. The vanguard consisted of the amir, son-in-law of Shaikh Istanboli, mamluk Daryā Khān Rumi, Ankas Khān Rumi was appointed with him, Saif Khān Rumi, Shāh Rukh 'Agami, Dāl Piri Rumi, Hasan Jiv San'ullāh Lāri, Jari, the name of his father on tongues of the people and he was from them by birth and growth, Sunelā. He was with three thousand horse of foreigners. In the fore-part of both the wings there were those who were before as previously stated. In the centre was Commander of the army Mahaldār Khān and in the rear Malek Maḥmud Wazir. Ulugh personally posted himself between the vanguard and the centre and the elephant Udaigir was with him. Fateh Jang was in the centre, al-Burj and Kohshikan elephants were in the vanguard. On the right wing, there was Songhir and on the left wing Sang Ra'ad. They were arranged in this manner.

* Original Text, p. 547.

Sher Khān's posting on the side of Masnad-ul-'Āli was incautious. He bore the Sher Shāhia Afghān title. His title was Wazir-us-Saltanat in Hind. Muḥammed Khān, son of Sher Khān and the Wazir Muzaffer Khān met him. Both of them went with him to the camp of the pavilion at a distance of two miles from Sher Khān. They both returned to Sher Khān and rode out to him on the second day, embraced him while they were on their horses. They then moved on riding talking to the Bārgāh (audience hall) while all the followers (subordinates) were on foot. They came to the Bārgāh. Here was the majlis of the Head of Nauba. He had fixed nine pillars in width and height, on top of each of them there was a copper dome made out of white tin which appeared* like silver to the eye. There was a large crowd. Sher Khān got down and sat under it. Every thing except entry to the dome which was carpeted for him with trouble in its external parts and with caution in internal portion was forbidden. He made no change in respect of his seat. Fāredhi has said:

> Welcome, with what I am not, welcome for the occasion.
> Statement of a giver of good news is that after disappointment is joy.

He then stood up and took leave with the Khān from his house and ordered Muzaffar Khān to transfer the tent to a mile from the side of the right wing and it was done. On the third day of his alightment, Muzaffer Khān met the Khān and came, in accordance with custom of the feast, with nine elephants, forty-one horses, one hundred cows, one thousand sheep, five hundred calves with butter and sugar and pills and one hundred thousand Mahmudis. The Khān distributed them among his amirs and chiefs of army. Afterwards, all the horses and men assembled at the kitchen. He wished good for people of the kingdom. When Sher Khān consulted him about alighting at the capital of the kingdom, he said nothing about it. He was qualified with obedience to him and his self was out of control, to send I'timād Khān, his Wazir Wajih-ul-Mulk and with him Shāh Abu Turāb Uraizi Husaini to the Mughals. Ibrāhim Mirzā arrived at the fort of Kamadlor (Kamandor) in the vicinity of the Kánkariya tank situated at a distance of one mile from Ahmedābād on 12th Rabi, I of the year. He encamped at Kamadlor. When darkness extended its wings, I'timād Khān behaved humbly with him, walked on foot from his house to him, met him and returned. He did not see him afterwards. When Sher Khān learnt about his arrival, he held consultation with the Khān. At his arrival, people of the kingdom acted on behalf of Ulugh Khān in the city and its outskirts for he had ordered for alightment in the city. Ulugh Khān learnt about it from Shamshir-ul-Mulk Shādi. He was a mamluk (slave) of I'timād Khān as well as an amir in his territory. More than one thousand horsemen used to assemble around him and one thousand footmen also. He came to the village of the Khān called

* Original Text, p. 548.

Sojintara. Jarhān Malaki was there with ten men. No horsemen was equal to him. He fought with him on the bank adjacent to the gate and killed him. He sent for him with Hasan Jiv Sanullah. He was decorated with amirship at his kingdom of Mahmudābād. He then met Sher Khān by chance at the crossing of the river. This took place on 13th Rabi, I of the year. When Sher Khān* was in his tent on his estate on the river in the boundary of I'timād Khān, his Wazir came to him saying from him, " I was for an hour at this camp at a distance from Ahmedabad or near. I was from his limit. There was no talk with any one. I came out from him to you practically as is stated in the proverb, " Life informed him about it and then it spread. " Help, help. His reply was that Sher Khān came out from his boundary. I put his pledge into practice. I alighted with him at the Dar-us-Saltanat hence help us first. Besides, every one act according to his nature. I asked him to mock at the opportunity for it has passed for nothing will harm you.

Do not delay pleasure when possible
Verily the world is of speedy movement.

The Kāfir was for Sher Khān in the rank of Muzaffer Khān whom he addressed as Muhāfir-ul-Mulk on his arrival to him with something from the treasury. Ibrāhim Mirzā learnt about it. He hastened to him one night with a party of citizens and the Kāfir fled away after a skirmish. Ibrāhim seized some of his elephants and baggage and returned. Sher Khān learnt about it, he hastily despatched his favourite subordinates in his wake in time but for the negligence of the Afghan amirs, he rode away in the morning in all haste. The amirs pursued him despite. He did not leave behind any of their notables except Ismā'il Khān Maswāni. He rode out equipped with arms and similarly, Ulugh Khān, Syed Hāmid and Amin Khān Ghori. They stopped at the cannons to empty the tent of its master and take shelter in it. But they did not find the Mughals. They returned in the evening and spent the night. When the sun rose, Ismā'il Khān and his companions except Ulugh Khān returned. He sent Saif-ul-Muluk to Sher Khān saying to him, " We are away to a distance of two farsakhs from the city and yesterday, what happened from the side of I'timād Khān. I crossed the river to expel him but it was proper to advance at this hour to him and to reduce him to straits, otherwise the camp would become a plaything to the Mughals. Sher Khān ordered the drum to be beaten and advanced to a farsakh from the city and encamped in the plain of Bāri Barsangpur known now as Shāh Bāri. The cannons preceded to a mile. Four † thousand Afghāns encamped in opposition to his side. Amir Hasan Jiv San'ullah was at this manzil. The Khān advised him what was to be advised. They proceeded to Maḥmudābād. News was received from Shamshir Khān

* Original Text, p. 549. † Original Text, p. 550.

about what was with him at Sojintara. It was tolerated from him and he encountered with one hundred and fled from him. Before the arrival of news to Ulugh Khān on the second day after alightment of Sher Khān, the citizens got disturbed with the movement of Sher Khān. Chiefs of the city and leaders came to him from the side of I'timād Khān for peace. Life of Sher Khān and his forefathers passed with those, in particular, Sayyid Jiv 'Abdur-Raḥmān. He was a descendant of Mawlānā Burhān ud-Din Kuṭb-i 'Ālam, and enjoyed such fame in the city as there was no possibility of opposition to him. He was notable for horses and attendants. He met them with a whirr of an arrow-shot and showed humility to them. When he settled down with them in the majlis, they delivered the message and obliged him for peace. It was done. He ordered beating of drums for announcement of peace. Ulugh Khān did not know about anybody's arrival and the purpose of beating drums. When he heard beating of the drums, he sent some one to get the news of it. He was then informed about facts. He was affected by causes, firstly, there came a person from I'timād Khān to show friendship in a short time; secondly, going out of most of the territory from his hand, and thirdly, he was emboldened to reveal that he was for neither one group nor for another. His companions gathered around him. They compelled the Khan to go out from Maḥmudābād to him but he refused to move. They said to him, " A period of absence for this cause is of six days. Departure will be on the day of meeting with Sher Khān. On the seventh day, he would be in Maḥmudābād. They came out on this condition with him. When Sher Khān sought permission, he refused it. When they met now in the majlis, he rebuked them. In the meantime, the letter of Hasan Jiv arrived with this information that his anger got excited, his self-esteem and pride got stirred. Sayf ul-Muluk said addressing his companions, " What passed, could not be regained. It was not possible that they would make peace. They did not extricate it from our hands what was in the city and the outskirts. We are upon what is near us from their territory as far as possible. Shamshir ul-Mulk had prepared his boundary. Matter of both the sides should be arranged according to the pact. A condition was that the ruler should be here with 1000 horses. We move on to his territory, turn out Shamsir ul-Mulk from it and occupy, in its place, what is for us in the city and the outskirts and what belonged to Malek ush-Shark firstly, Nadiad etc., then Petlad and Khanbhayat to the frontiers of Baroda and to a farsakh from Ahmadabad and drew out in a day revenue of the year or more from their territory. When the peace is concluded ; they should abandon what was for us, we abandon what was theirs. This is better for us than we return what was with us with obligation from I'timād Khān or with intercession of Sher Khān. He stood up and rode the horse. He was in arms and under his standard. Similarly Mahaldār Khān, Sherwān Khān and Muhāfiz-Khān. There was

general self-respect in the army. None had any need for a summons. He came to his ruler. They had a dignity to ride, on hearing the news, with arms to the place of the king. Before the start of the malek, wazir Muzaffer Khān arrived as an emissary from Sher Khān with a report of peace. The Khān blamed him for despotism in peace without examining it saying, " who informed him about lack of courage in Sher Khān. He had little self-respect. He had killed a party of men. It was a Mughal victory. He sold his elephants for publicity of his disgrace at the door of I'timād Khān. What advantage is there now in his peace for he was afraid of the Mughals. Did I not forbid him from doing a thing over which he had no power ? With his coming to him, he spent from my such and such income, from the city and the outskirts so much and created an enemy for I'timād Khān. His sincerity did not prove advantageous from the side of Sher Khān. In the end, if you were with him, I would thrust my sword in the head of his enemy being satiated myself with his brain, extended my territory and enlarged number of my men. You would have done the same if you were with I'timād Khān. On supposition, we are not, from whom am I ? " They said, " God is sufficient for us and a good security. " Muzaffer Khān said, " On supposition of peace, Sher Khān does not march from here till he returns to you what dirhems he spent of you. The Khān replied, " I do not rejoice in war and I do not feel pain for peace. But Saif-ul-Muluk and other persons similar to him are enraged at Shamshir-ul-Mulk for the murder of their brother Farhān-ul-Mulki and defeat of Hasan Jive from him. They have resolved upon religious retaliation and customary demand. It has pained them. I forbade them from a distance to conclude peace with* you. " Muzaffer Khān turned to them, opened conversation but he failed to get cancellation of their determination. " He knows from Sher Khān as to who is to make peace with whom ; due to suspicion of Ulugh Khān about enmity of I'timād Khān. When it is clear from the Khān and perfect enmity from them. He permitted them for march and occupy the territory. They proceeded to Sher Khān and informed him what they heard and saw. Sher Khān rode to Orkanbhur and stopped there. He sent two amirs with one thousand horses with each in the wake of Saif-ul-Muluk and said to them, as far as possible, pursue the Mughals. If you see them with reinforcement as needed; they do not retreat and occupy the territory as far as the river Mahi. Return to his dome. He had sent Muzaffer Khān to the Khān to pacify his mind and apprise him for help. Sher Khān concealed from chiefs of the city that he had written to Saif-ul-Muluk and what was from him as well as who occupied all the property of I'timād Khān including Khanbhāyat." Shādi Shamshir-ul-Mulk and Khānji Shitāb Khān returned to the city. He had left out the conquest of Khanbhāyat with its lofty houses, narrow lanes, extensive buildings containing

* Original Text, p. 552.

separating parts at the doors preventing penetration of guns, arrows and concordance of its citizens with its ruler, Shitāb Khān. Shamshir-ul-Mulk had fled away from the territory of his own. He had increased more than one thousand horses and similarly footmen. Saif-ul-Mulk alighted on it from the side of the gate while Sherwān Khān encamped on the side of the residence of the amir which was in the shape of a fort. Mahaldār Khān encamped from the side of the harbour. It belonged to Vakil of Ulugh Khān. Therein he ordered purchases for embarkation to Jiddah. He was the best man Raihān Chormali and the Vakil at Div, Anbar 'Abdun Nabi. Both of them knew entrances and exits of the city. They guided to that. Sherwān Khān climbed the wall adjacent to the open space (square) which was near the door of the residential quarters of the Amir. Mahaldār Khān intended to go up the wall from a house adjoining the wall of the harbour. Men had assembled there for that purpose, one of them was Ghāzi Khān Bijli Khāni. He learnt about them at the time of his definite turn of watchmanship. They were taking out its ceiling to make free with chief fireworks in the house and lit the wick. It then came down with the strength of gunpowder. Ghāzi Khān threw his staff. He caught it in his hand to come with its support. Bravo to his strength and deed! Men in the* house perished. In the meanwhile, another man guiding him said to him that the soldiers ascended from the direction of Dār-ul-Imārat. He left it from his hand and disappeared. Mahaldār Khān climbed up from his side and Saif-ul-Muluk stopped at the gate and entered it after caution. Shādi and Khān Jiv fled from the Dār-ul-Imārat from the seaside gate. It was a victory. None received any harm. Just then, any doubt that was, disappeared about the concealment of I'timād Khān. A majlis was convened in response for the leaders. Ulugh Khān, Sayyid Hāmid Bukhāri and Amir Khān Ghori were present. Members from the party of I'timād Khān were in their respective territories at the time of the event for the sake of Sher Khān. They presented themselves in the camp with body but not heart. Sher Khān sent his hājib to them to consult them to know the reply of leaders in that respect about war and peace. Syed Hāmid was in favour of peace and Amin Khān agreed with him. When Ulugh Khān was questioned, his reply was, " I am a man of sword and wisdom. Sher Khān wanted to fight. He was the first man to take the sword. He is for making peace as well as those who are his subordinates." He repeated the same question in this majlis three times. Sayyid Hāmid blamed the Khān for the reply he gave. He did not agree with him. A man who was distinguished in the gathering, replied to the Khān " Don't you see him intending to act nobly? If he had doubt for it, he should test us. He does not act but with the judgment of his people. I saw him coming out with judgment in it. The end is safe and it is near safety." Sher Khān presented

* Original Text, p. 553

himself in the assembly and the leaders were sent for presence. Muzaffer Khān opened the conversation with a document of former peace in his hand addressing Sayyid Hāmid, "Is this not a document of agreement?" He said, "It is." He said, "Is it not the seal and decree of fate?" He said, "It is." He said, "Is it not for expulsion of the Mughals? He said, "yes." He said, "what was against the pact?" He then turned to the leaders and said, "These are your letters." They said, "yes." He said, "what is the reason of opposition? You have Ulugh Khān as your leader in prompting for loyalty to the pact and expulsion as a condition as far as possible. I do not find I'timād Khān in ignorance for interference in what God the Great had said. He who violated the covenant, he infringes it for himself. This is remissness towards the threat of Allāh, the Mighty, the Revengeful for himself. If it is not vindicated; I ordered him for evil as against goodness of Ulugh Khān when there is no* mention of places adjacent to the city." He returned to his place with it as it was. In the tradition of the Prophet, may the benedictions and salutation of God be on him, it is stated that wickedness is unlawful to self to turn out from world unless it is equated with goodness. Muzaffer Khān became silent. Sher Khān turned to the leaders and said to them, "I and my brother Musā Khān were in the regime of the fortunate Sultān Maḥmud. We were in the spring of youth. A boy was ignorant of making love with what was upon him with our equals in the gathering of wise men, sucking the cup, listening to what is pleasant and enjoying wonders to the contrary which were not usual with the character of his father and grand-father. The Sultān used to become angry with him. Our place of return was Masnad-ul-'Āli I'timād Khān. Therefore, we had resort to 'Imad-ul-Mulk during the period of his ascendancy. Thanks to the former means of support and loyalty for favour. Fateh Khān Baluch was with possible breadth of vision. He spent away before what was with him. He made efforts to his possible means. When he came to him, he said to his brother, "you demanded Barli from me. This kingdom is for me." He replied, "Barli! What is in my hand of the kingdom, is yours everything. I give it to you for your welfare. How you wished and for whom did you wish it. I am a slave and the kingdom is for his master. We acted according to reason. He did not deny it. It was a favour. God the Great did Justice to us. He elevated our words, helped us with victory and support. it is so at this time. Changiz had expelled him to a desert. He brought him into this and ordered himself to Ulugh for prosperity. He divided the kingdom and made peace for expulsion of the Mughals. He gained ascendancy over what was with him in hand. He disappeared with a contemptible amount and made excuses for it. If he were true in his claim, it was falsehood with his place for leaving the whole territory for that contemptible thing not to be mentioned.

* Original Text, p. 554.

But he made it a means of need by denying what he expected from the Mughals thinking that he would be helped by them in an encounter. Would to God! The Khān of the pact did not admit them in the kingdom. The Sultān of Hind mourned their existence in frontiers of prosperous kingdoms then how under Gujarat. They arrived here to gain ascendancy. He was not in favour of their gathering. They were as has been said :

You said when they gather
They debate about my murder.
There is no care for their assembling
For he gathered females.*

If it were a mistake for him, the rejected one made a blunder. It was proper that when you came for peace, you go back to him, retreat to them and gather after their permission along with grandees of your kingdom and those of mine in the mausoleum of the master of blessing, the lord of Sarkhej and unanimously decide the matter of peace. Who differed from us after that, their friends should treat them as enemies. I intend making peace as lies within my power. Grace is from God, I rely upon Him and I turn to him. If the mentioned matter was a thing destined contrary, it was not as Sher Khān saw it in continuation of his opposition. Sher Khān was not pleased with taking the city by force. He was kind to citizens. One day, he received intelligence about the city soldiers who issued forth for war. There was none in the assemblage qualified for it except Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk. He rode out with his regiment against them to expel them. He routed them reduced them to straits for entry into the city. He surrounded the city and expelled them from it. Ulugh Khān proceeded near by him. When they terminated at Qutbpur, there was none between it and the city execpt the building adjacent to it. It was laid waste at the hands of the army before he came to know about it. He saw it in a ruined state and wept and began to say, " you apologize residents of the house. They have turned them out from their property. During the course of war, he held back his tears. The chief of residents of Asāwal in the neighbourhood of Qutbpur, Mawlānā Syed Jiv ' Abdur Rahmān wrote to him about it. He was one of the leaders for peace. He requested him to postpone fighting for a day to take out the members of his family to Syed citizens for shelter in open space. He had then to do what he wished. When he read the letter, the first army supervised the city. He turned his reins for going back to his pavilion. He paid no attention to who retired of him and who summoned him to the place to be there. Such was the condition of Sher Khān. He was citizen of the state in heredity. He was not pleased with conquest of the city by doing harm to its citizens, nay, he lamented it for prolongation of siege. But he wanted to turn them out in a

* Original Text, p. 550.

helpless state or make them safe through peace. But this would not be stable except that he who was made safe, had morning; but he who doubled in day, would have for him an hour. If he anticipated possibility, it would be* lost afterwards. Its account follows. God had said, "The time is a sharp sword. You cut it or you will be cut by it." A war happened to take place in the morning between Syed Hāmid Bukhāri and the vanguard of I'brāhim Mirzā. Akber, the mamālik of Hilāl Habshi was killed in it. His sister was married to his master. He was hit by an arrow in the fore-arm. Its account is that he met Sher Khān that night and informed him about designs of the Mughals of Dholka. It being their habitation, its residents took leave for going out from it. They gave permission for it. They came out of it in the last fourth part of the night. Distance from the camp was half a mile. It terminated to balanites (thorny bushes). This hedge surrounded him as well as the road. The Mughals darted their arrows from a side through the hedge but their sight was not steady. The sayyid stopped and darted an arrow against an arrow. In addition, he shot guns at them. With the noise of the guns Ulugh Khān sent a massage to Sher Khān permitting him to go to the help of Sayyid Hāmid. His reply was that there would be no clash, for the Mughals had designs to make a night-attack. Beware, Sādāt Khān received a report. He knew that Sher Khān was in anger. He did not permit him to go. He rode out with his cavalry and elephants to him. When he was on the point of reaching the battled-field, Khudā Banda, the commandant of the vanguard regarded it as large. He returned to Ibrāhim Mirzā. He had encamped at a place, called Jhaldanbi between the camp and city. A report about it came to Sher Khān. When he learnt about the retreat of the Mughals from that place, he summoned Ulugh Khān and said to him that the report was as was circulated. He set that aside. He then rode with most of the army. When he came near, he got down from his horse and walked fast to him. He was sacrificing himself for him and thanking for his safety. He carried him in a litter to his tent, sat near him for an hour feeling pain for him. Ulugh Khān was to his side. Sher Khān turned to him and said to him secretly, "Would to God! It should have finished." The Khān mentoined it and smiled. When his wound get healed, he expected from him, through mediation of the Khān, a robe of honour with a horse, an elephant etc. for he fought with Ibrāhim Mirzā and routed him. It became public in the morning of that night. The Khān saw that the defeat of such a person like Ibrāhim Mirzā was a matter of self respect. He gave permission to inquire about the event from Muhtarim Khān Lāri. He was in the city. It was written to him. He replied that it was with Khudā-Banda. The Khān asked† him for a robe of honour many a time. He replied on the third day that he had known the intention of Ibrāhim Mirzā about night-assault. He was pleased to

* Original Text p. 556. † Original Text, p. 557.

expel him to a side. He got involved in what he had desired for others. It was an example from Allāh. Allāh is Mighty and Wise. He who threw away his duty, there is no robe of honour for him.

On the 1st Jamadi II of the year, the city-army came out to go to Nadiad to fight with the army of Ulugh Khān except Jhujhār Khan, Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk and Malek-ush-Sharq. From the other party issued forth their sons, Vali Khān, Zain Khān and Nāsir-ul-Mulk. Jhujhār Khān sent seventeen cannons with his son. It so happened that Ghālib Khān, Kishwar Khān, Ankas Khān, Yāqut 'Imād Mulki titled Ansar-Khān and Ātish Khān Rumi Khāni deserted from the Camp of Ulugh Khān and went over to I'timād Khān. They arrived at Nadiad. It was under Saif-ul-Muluk. The notables who came, were Junaid, the Afghān and Husain Khān, the Mughal. Ghālib Khān and his companions except Ansar Khān were with his favour. He wrote to them blaming for desertion from the camp; firstly, they enjoyed favour of the Khān for a long time and within a short period of ten days, they proved ungrateful and went over to his enemy for nothing. The blame affected them. They wrote in reply. It was a satanic quarrel. The cause of it was Mahaldār Khān. It was not from us, God willing, except that we did not desert out of a fault. All of them were five hundred horses. I was in this disturbance from the side of Khān and the army. I acted as an emissary, coming and going in a vehicle from Maḥmudābād to him. I met him and informed him about Ghālib Khān and his companions. He ordered me to write from him to them and wrote in the margin with his own hand." I ordered such and such a person with what you are pleased. They should be of good self" and sealed it. He granted leave to the Amir-ul-Hawāla Mandal to go to Saif-ul-Muluk. He permitted Daulat Khān, son of Muzaffer Khān Khalji and Kālā Pahād Niyāzi and Awsāni to go in their wake out of respect and pleading on their behalf in connection with portions of territory in their names. They arrived at Maḥmudābād. The Malek had gone out from it to Jalāj known as Kājbi. At mid-night, the army rode out alone to Nadiad. All of them consist-* ed of three thousand horses. When the sun had not risen, they appeared to the enemy's eye as a sea surging waves of iron and a lightning dazzling their sight. When the two armies met, Ghālib Khān and his confederates were the first to strike the sword from the side of the Khān. The city army consisted of twelve thousand horses. The army then made an assault and the enemy fled away at the first attack. Wali Khān was captured. Dawlat Khān and Kālā Pahād were on the right side of Saif-ul-Muluk. He thanked them for their exploits. The army returned in a day to Maḥmudābād with Wali Khān, cannons and luggage. It was a clear victory. Ulugh Khān, the ruler received intelligence about it at the slight passing of night. He met Sher Khān, and gave him tidings of victory. He rejoiced at it. Most men of the Khān were delighted with it and were in a

* Original Text, p. 558.

cheerful mood for these good news. Citizens were in intense grief. Sadness of *a rout spread amongst them.* They were despaired of war as the army of Ulugh had gained ascendancy over them and not another person. It was a slight to them in trial. At the spread of night, he ordered the drum to be beaten with the arrangemind of cannons for discharge. It was a great agitation with a charge on citizens. Those who came with the news dispersed due to fall of rain and returned with sadness. Jhujhār Khān heard the account of his son and cannons. He got suffocated and immediately rode out to Bhamnol and inquired about his son. It was reported to him that he received a wound in hand and *got separated from his saddle.* Āqā Bahrām got him down from the horse and Bahāman Murād treated his wound which was about to be healed. Saif-ul-Muluk carried him on a bhel to Mahmudābād and alighted him in the house of Muhāfiz Khān. In the meanwhile, the perturbation of Jhujhār Khān subsided. He wrote to Saif-ul-Muluk and Mahaldār Khān and Muhāfiz Khān acknowledging their obligation and praising them. When Ulugh Khān learnt about Jujhār Khān's visiting his son, he wrote to him to come to him. It so happened. Jhujhār Khān wrote to the Khān apologising for the past and renewing friendship at the time of visit.

On 10th Jamādi II of the year, one night Muzaffer Shāh descended from the fort wall to go to Ulugh Khān. He met him. That was an advancement for him. After a due stay, he met Sher Khān and apprised him of it. Sher* Khān rode out to him and displayed great humility towards him. He set apart a pavilion for his alightment. He put attendents and soldiers for his servitude. Ashraf Khān, grandson of the wazir Khānjiv Ikhtiār Khān from his side and Hoshiār-ul-Mulk from the side of Ulugh Khān were appointed for service to him. With the Sultān's arrival to him, every one including Ibrāhim Mirzā entered into a pact with him with the exception of I'timād Khān and Malek-ush-Sharq. In the meantime, Husain Khān Mughal, Diler Khān Habshi, Shamshir-ul-Mulk and Shitāb Khān proceeded to Khanbhāyat in concord with some Hindu residents. When they alighted in the city, its amir Mirjān Istanbolī assailed them all of a sudden. Amir-ul-Hawāla Mandal rushed to his help from Maḥmudābād. His arrival happened to be timely. The party of I'timād Khān got routed. A party of their men perished. Diler Khān was made a captive. It was officiousness in such a movement. Saif-ul-Muluk received information about it. He could not control joy. He came to Mahaldār Khān to give him good news about it. They all decided to kill him. Wazir Maḥmad was in the assembly. He secretly told me for his release. It was evening. I attended to him, secretly travelled as usual and represented the case to the ruler and requested forgiveness for him. It was done. He then ordered me to meet

* Original Text, p. 559.

Sher Khân. I relied upon Jhujhâr Khân for his welfare and took his promise for that. I then conveyed to him benedictions of Saif-ul-Muluk. I said that a report had come about arrival of Kalaj Khân Kurd from Ibrâhim Mirzâ in demand of fulfilment of the pact. What was the reply to him. He said that he should be permitted to question it in the presence (of the Khân), I gave him that reply. The pact should not pause. It is for the Huzur. He will be after his going out to Baroda. I have received a letter of Khân-i-Kalân, the ruler of Nâgor informing about the arrival of Sultan-ul-Hind Jalâluddin Akbar with designs against you. I exerted myself in it with you for distress to the city for its conquest by him. When you proceed to Baroda, you reply to him. I had sent you a letter to Baroda from the city but I have not invited you to it. There is no need. Sultan-ul-Hind takes trouble to come for his matter. I am from his party and this matter is sufficient for him. He then sent for the letter of Khân-i-Kalân and I gave him information about it. It was as was stated. When I returned from him to the ruler Ulugh, he ordered what was ordered.* He then gave me permission to return. Ibrâhim Mirzà was at Bhambhol. He came to Nadiad. He then proceeded to Maḥmudâbâd. He met the amirs and they all decided for war. Saif-ul-Muluk said to them, "I do not leave my place till the Sâheb (ruler) comes to me." When every one was present from amongst us, he looks at him and makes an effort to please him. Without him, it was probable for every one of us to make a mistake in help to the ruler for a defeat. He tries, gains an ascendancy and leaves his own name. Whence for him was to gain an ascendancy? And the ruler was defeated. For removal of this suspicion, it was probable to have patience from war. Patience was better. It was best for the ruler to be present. They met together and I wrote for them. I kept the letter secret from the ruler. Sher Khân was permitted to stop the party of amirs to be sent for help. The Khân sent me to him. I apprised him of the exact state of affairs. War with the Mughals was not easy when equated with mutual feud. His reply to me was that the Khân did not separate him and that he shoud send tomorrow other than he. I returned to the Khân with his reply. He said to me, " Go back to the Malek and tell him, with permission from him, then there was no arrival. " If you have resolved upon renunciation, I will come out from his camp one night contrary to him and join you. I returned to him. His companions met and decided, after consultation, upon coming. I don't care for him who behaves in this matter at such a time. Ibrâhim Mirzâ was at the door of the palace. He does not send the help and does not permit the chief man to be in his army. After this day, what can we hope from him? I rode out in an hour with the reply to him and represented to him ditto what they stated. Ibrâhim Mirzâ was at Talâj Kâchbi during day and spent the night in the neighbourhood of Bhamnol. His

* Original Text, p. 560.

emissary came to and went from the Malek in search of concord and friendship. The Malek was delighted with him in his hope to clear it to him. Help from Sher Khān or remissness as usual and on this chance, the Khān went to him and said to him, "Time is short to endure and the man who is prepared for every time, for action is necessary. I fear delay of war emboldens the enemy get attached to him. He desires feud in the army and therein is rebellion which cannot be hidden. Sher Khān pondered over it for an hour. He then ordered the drum to be beaten and said, "I know that the army without the ruler is like sheep without a shepherd. Separation is difficult for me. If there is no* reliance for help with care, I will be in anxiety for it. I saw that it was not advisable for all to march with the Sultān to Maḥmudābād. It so happened. He spent the night in the vicinity of Kaniz. It was morning on the river of Maḥmudābād from the side of the mausoleum of Syed Mubārak. The army of the Khan, the ruler was ready and paused on the side from the river. Every one of them was in complete arms and the sun was in their faces. Their armours constantly shone, similarly their helmets and shields of faces of horses. Therefore their interference with rays of the sun made them like disturbed mirror emitting sparks like fire from lightning. He asked the ruler Muzaffer Shāh and Sher Khān to stop in a house worthy of their reputation. He came to his companions and marched with them in the array of war to him. They then presented themselves before Sher Khān. He had a cane-stick in his hand. Sher Khān lifted up his eyes to see array of the army, arms and their large number. He was reciting benedictions on the Prophet, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and reading the statement of God " If you approach the unbelievers, they will make you slip by their sight etc. to avert the cursed seer." When the army reached the flow of the river, every amir got separated to be arrayed in his respective row. All of them arranged themselves in rows. The Sultān and Sher Khān marched with them hand in hand. The Khān led them as the Imām (commander). He had a cane-stick in hand giving order and forbidding to stop at every row from side to side. Every amir came out from under his standard and stopped. All of them consisted of seven thousand horsemen, twenty elephants, thirty cannons, one thousand guns and two thousand fire-stars. When Sher Khān came to the last direction, he turned to the Khān and said to him " If I had known this preparation with you, I would have been till now, independent of Gujarāt but the affairs are subject to their times. Hemistich: " When the season came, you come." It has been said:

Pains are difficult even if you are a learned man
Committal of sin is difficult though not disturbing in the beginning

After alighting in the Saltanat building, the Khān took trouble for a feast.

* Original Text, p. 561.

Every one who alighted in the capital of his territory had what he deserved. But Ibrāhim Mirza feared dependence. He went away from this place to the direction of Sarkhej. His companions did as their habit was to plunder every side. They showed bad manners in the Holy Mausoleum and removed the* covering from over the auspicious coffin (tomb). They repented of what evil they did and despaired of what territory they had in their hands. The report reached them of the arrival of Sultān-ul-Hind at Naharwala Pattan on 1st Rajab of the year. They returned from Sarkhej to Asāwal. People of the kingdom gave report of what they had resolved upon in respect of plan of the war. It was the cause (of their retreat). They abused and got satisfied with curses and proceeded to Broach. Rustam Khān was here fully equipped in travel and residence. Asad Khān was constantly in his house at Broach.

*Arrival of an edict of Sultān-ul-Hind to Mahmudābād*

*It was on 6th Rajab of the year. People were in negligence of precepts.*

In the meanwhile, Sher Khān was in his blessed house with his good fortune when a written document of pact arrived from the Sultān of Hind Jalāluddin Akber. It was written to its ruler Ulugh dated 1st Rajab. He commanded the capital of Pattan. On the 3rd he encamped in his frontiers. They gathered together for consultation. The reply of the ruler Ulugh was that I'timād alone could reply to his emissary. He was in his search since long. But Jhujhār Khān gave guarantee of concord. Sons of Muḥammed Sultān did the same. When their emissary had come we were full of might and strength. We had amassed treasures, harim, elephants and cannons. There was no lack of goods and want of baggage in places. We advanced to Ankleswar. We resided alone in Baroda to meet I'timād Khān and to clarify or explain the news to him. After his arrival at Aḥmedābād, we remained at Ankleshwar and proceeded with what we had to Nazarbār and made a halt at Bālāpur in the territory of Japur. On this arrival of Sultān-ul-Hind, we did see its ruler Nizām Shāh like invisible beings in his help and protection of his kingdom. Sultān-ul-Hind had made it difficult for us to reside in Gujarāt. When he returned, it was not without an amir. He returned similarly. A Mughal amir joined his army with sons of Muḥammed Sultān. The Afghāns joined you. The Gujarātis joined with me especially and our Sultān was with us. Sher Khān was by nature with lack of courage and want of imagination; he deviated from this judgement and marched to Dholka. The Afghāns were free to become familiar with them but they had no territory with them. Mirzā Muqim left† Maḥmudābād. He was a capable man. He went over to Sultān-ul-Hind. But Ulugh Khān did not find any of his friends to follow him to Dholka. Forty followers of Sher Khān were loyal to him. They were Amir Hazarbar

* Original Text, p. 562. † Original Text, p. 563.

Shirwān Khān, Khurshid Khān, Atal Khān, Bahrām Khān, Amir-ul-H Raihān Jāmdār and similarly Mandal, A'zam Khān, Ghāzi Khān, scholar Ustād Mawlānā Qāzi Jamāluddin Muhammed, son of Husain Qara Mahāimi, versatile in arts of consolation in movements and postures S Haddād Jaunpuri. Sher Khān spent the night with the Sultān. Th was feasting Syed Hāmid Bukhari. In the morning, they moved on to th of Junāgadh. The Sultān moved a little and lagged behind. Und advice of his associate and master of affairs, Kāmil Khān Shaikhu son of Mu'tazil, pious man 'Abdul Wāhid Multāni went to Sultān-ul-Hind, me and bowed down in respect. Syed Hāmid became a surety for Syed Muhai Bukhāri, an amir of the Saltanat. He had taken him to his Akbar) atte The Khān saw that he intended to make himself equal of Sher Khān. H to him that equality with time is better than the equality of one who l wisdom in him. Powerful and dominant Sultān had advanced. He conde him saying that he was a wicked deserter, that is, to I'timād Khān. Ther no space in the kingdom for such of us. It is proper that we should be difficulty as we were in prosperity. It is not right for you what is not rig me. As I stand a surety for Syed Muhammed for his great rank, I st guarantee for you. God the Great is sufficient for us. His reply to hin that he who sought now, did not get it. He is a man of changeful nature various tricks. I do not love to be the first to advance to him from a people of the kingdom. In the meanwhile, they are for change of sp They presented themselves for they heard about Sultān Muzaffer for wh did. He said, "I permit widest apology." Syed Hāmid then went t Sultān of Hind, met him and presented to his sight his elephant Songir. accepted it. Syed Hāmid had alighted on a side from Syed Muhammed. Khān, son of Hāji Khān, Sher Shāhi Afghān and Bāz Bahādur son of Saji Khān were present at the time of his arrival and they were acquainted both the sides. Every one from them narrated in detail the good qualities praise of the Khān. Bāz Bahādur, while praising him stated "This is a this is a king and he is alone. He augmented his dignity. After his an none remained behind in fear. Praise of Hāji Khān was the outcome of fo acquaintance and sincerity between them. The Khān corresponded with after Sher Khān's sitting on the throne of Gujarāt after Changiz Khān relied upon his information. Once he wrote to him about the night-atta Sher Khān that if he were not there in the camp, it would not have . Therein is the proof of his regard. God the Great has said, "God di punish them, (oh Prophet) for you were among them." He relied upo truth of intention and moved in anger from the camp to Sarkhej. He

* Original Text, p. 564.

returned to it. It so happened that night that what was in the siege of the Dār-us-Saltanat from Jhujhār Khān was for the Khān to inform Hājib Khān to abandon the night-attack. He apologised for going for being rebuked. It was an internal affair between him and Sher Khān. He did not give up becoming angry with him and bringing his father back from going to Sultan-ul-Hind after the death of the wazir Muzaffer Khān. When he was in his service, the Afghans got benefited by his arrival. Bāz Bahādur praised the Khān for his arrival indicating regard to nobles of his community and proper departure. Bāz Bahādur greatly missed it. He did with him what no man did, at the time of the siege, in an hour of need of food for the army. It was such an army which consisted of men of fame, nobility and glory with majesty. The Khān, the ruler seized by force money from a Hindu merchant of Khanbhāyat in time of need-. His name was Dhanrāj. None was equal to him in abundance of gold and silver. He gave him one hundred thousand Mahmudis from it. Half of it was given with a mandate of kingdom of Bhiwal. An account of it was given before. The object of hinting at it is that the amount was spent improperly and Bhiwal was given and he preferred it. It was specially for Bijli Khān who did not part with it. Jhujhār Khān was praised on his arrival to Sultān-ul-Hind. He was exonerated* from his previons offence. The Khan lost his slaves, and cattle and other bounties, fame and praise alone remained.

*Arrival of Sultān-ul-Hind at Pattan, capital of ancient time and his sending of Hakim to I'timād Khān.*

The arrival of Sultān-ul-Hind at Pattan took place on 1st Rajab. He sent Mir Fakhruddin to I'timād Khān and Ain-ul-Mulk Hakim after him. The Hakim was once in Gujarāt in the service of Changiz Khān. He frequently visited I'timad Khān. When he met him, he recognized him and was left alone with him for some days. He solicited his favour because of that acquaintance by giving an account of the present state of affairs in detail. The Hakim read out the word of God the Great " Oh believers ! do not question the things which begin with evil for you ". On 7th Rajab, a Khutba was recited for the Sultān in the masjid of Farhat-ul-Mulk existing at the gate. They dispersed, dislocated and extracted magnificence of the throne for trial of fate to Sāntij with all the companions consisting of Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk and Jhujhār Khān. On 7th Rajab, Sayyid Ahmed Bāraha was appionted as an Amir of Naharwala Pattan. He proceeded to Kadi. When he came to the Sultān and met him, he tried to embarras Ulugh Khān and Jhujhār Khān. It so happened. He dispersed their companions. He appointed Shāh Quli Mahram to summon the army of Ulugh Khān. The Sultān ordered him to write to them. His reply was, " They are not my slaves. They act according to my letter. It is in this condition. He

* Original Text, p. 565.

said to him, "I write. It is not necessary for their reply." He wrote, Sherwān Khān was transported with praise of his valour and horsemanship from records of Changiz Khān's kingdom. He was the best among them. His acquaintances benefited him. They were a guarantee for him. The Sultān turned to him and addressed him. He found him capable. He was wonder-struck with him. He suspended a sword in his hand. He had known that from amirs of Ulugh. He was present in time. He gave him letter of the Khān to his army and sent him in company of Shāh Quli Mahram. When they arrived at the river of Maḥmudābād, Shāh Quli encamped there and met Sherwān Khān with Saif-ul-Muluk and the remaining amirs.* Saif-ul-Muluk rebelled and ordered soldiers to be equipped with arms. Sherwān Khān said to him, "Is this justice to get the ruler captured? You fight with him and shed his abundant tears." Saif-ul-Muluk said to him, "how do you so order me?" Acceptance of obedience is safety for the ruler." The matter is safe. He rode out with him and his companions to Shāh Quli Mahram and they all met him. He said to them, "Issue the order for surrender of arms." Each one of them turned to the other. Mahaldār Khān then said, "We do not do it when the ruler is in the hands of another man." He was the first to strike the ground. He was followed by Muhāfiz Khān and Saif-ul-Muluk. He said after surrender of the sword, "I will give it to the hand of the Sultan." Shāh Quli Mahram was wise perfect, aged. He did not demand it. All of them spent the night on the river. In the morning, it is said, that the people said praise secretly. It was contrary. Most of the soldiers were in the village. He was in company of the amirs who were present. He who was absent had dispersed and was frightened. I was at Mahmudābād indisposed. I had fever for the last forty days when I had no talk with people nor I had sleep at noon. I went out with them to the city-gate. I entered it and remained hidden in my house till recovery. Details after this concise account will come, God the great willing. When the party assembled at Diwān-us-Saltanat, Saif-ul-Muluk happened to be in charge of Shamsi-Auj Atka, pure Nawwāb Khān-i-A'zam Aziz Kukah. Mahaldār Khān was in charge of Shāh Quli Mahram. Khān-i-A'zam turned to the Malek and behaved well with kindness and favour. He wrote out an order of security of his house and what was in it which he owned such as the horses, the arms and the mamālik and that connected with him in life. He continued in the service of Khān-i-A'zam with the camp in the condition of military expedition. In his existing house in the city, his wazir Miā Bakhshu lived under his banner with things he owned under his control. Only his elephant al-Burj was taken from him. Similarly Shāh Quli-Maḥram behaved well with Mahaldār Khān with regard and sufficiency. Similarly, was the case with one who was a security for the ruler Ulugh. None was prevented from them including Muhāfiz Khān and the slaves

* Original Text, p. 566.

of the Saltanat. The rest dispersed in the neighbourhood. They then assembled in the fort of the city and then they dispersed. It was the future of those* who lived with patience with the Khān or went out of the land with the wrath of God. In the meanwhile, I'timād Khān rejoiced with pleasure. He was delighted with the departure of his anger. All saw coldness in him. The groups saw disappointment in him. It was from others that he learnt a lesson as well as from calamities that befell upon others. He who did evil to him, was affected. He came under influence not showing misfortune to your brother. May God forgive him and keep you pure. Sultān-ul-Hind left for him in the beginning his territory. All men of his community assembled under his banner. When he entered Ahmedābād and proceeded to Khambhāyat, he lingered behind him. Khān-i-Kalān Atka moved with him. Their manzils were one and the same. One night Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk got ready and sent Mujāhid Khān to him saying, "I report you and my leg in the stirrup upon the horse passing with the speed of a cloud. I am more experienced than you. I betrayed you. I deemed it proper with knowledge of certainty in it to place it before your eyes. I saw that flight is more advisable from him than perfidiousness and falsehood. If you follow me, you need not question me any thing till I mention you. I have communicated it to you and I apologise. I love I'timād Khān's behaviour. Malek-ush-Sharq and Shāh Abu Turāb restrained him from it. The Sultān learnt the report. Both of them sent for him. The order came for his misfortune, captivity and tearing of the curtain. The ruler Ulugh is in goodness, his family is safe and secure with him. He does not deny except bowing down. God is full of His great favour.

*An account of Gujarat after the Akberi event due to perfect accomplishments of its inhabitants till death of its Sultan Muzaffer, may God raise his ranks.*

Know that Gujarat during the regime of the Muzaffery Dynasty may God raise their ranks, was a prosperous country in the world till the invasion of Sultān Nasiruddin Humāyun. It was cleared of barbarity in the regions.† Similarly, God the Holy has narrated the story of Hudhud (lapwing) with Sulaimān, may peace be on him from Bilqis. It was like its plume in the nation. Whenever the kings entered villages which were made desolute through disturbances, they removed disgrace and raised honours of its citizens. It then prospered during the Saltanat of Mahmud till it reached great preparadness from the arrayed army. It neither increased nor decreased from one hundred thousand. With his martyrdom how did its fortune suffer its reverse? Its Mahmud had perished. Then O for him! The word martyrdom reversed his accomplishment. During the course of nearly seven years, its citizens got

* Original Text p. 567.

† Original Text, p. 568.

annihilated and they suffered great losses. Its citizens got scattered and the kingdom got confused. In the present event with the greatest Sultan of the age, it had swordsmen who dispersed regret; spearmen who guideded with the stars of their spears and edges of hoofs of horses raised settled dust. There were twelve thousand horsemen full of fierceness and fury, brave and valiant like Antar in the race-course. Seven hundred horsemen from Abyssinia were under the banner of Amir-i-Amir-ul-Jaish Majlis-ul-Ali Muhammed Ulugh Khān. Three hundred Turk horsemen were under the standard of 'Imād-ul-Mulk Rustam Khān. Four hundred Behlim hoursemen were under the banner of their amir Haibat Khān. Six hundred Ghori horsemen were under the banner of their amir Amin Khān. Five hundred Mughal horsemen were under the banner of the sons of Muhammed Sultān. Five hundred horsemen of the Bukhāri Syeds were under the banner of their amir Syed Hāmid, son of Syed Mirān, son of the fierce lion Syed Mubārak Bukhāri. Four thousand Afghān horsemen were under the banner of their amir Sher Khān Faulādi. Five thousand horsemen of different parties of Gujarāt assembled under the banner of Majlis-us-Sāmi Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk Sultāni. There were three hundred elephants. Amongst them, it is said that there was a corps of elephants consisting of more than one thousand elephants. There were five hundred copper cannons, six thousand Kokabs (fire stars) and double than which were the guns with the Amir son of Jahāngir Khān and Asad Khān. There were sparklings-mischief visitors. The rest horsemen and footmen consisting of aliens and loyal men, say, numbered one hundred thousand, if you wish. By God, double the number had grown of the local men. Those were twelve thousand in nnmber. The amirs were with magnificence and splendour. Though a small number yet they were not weak. They did not court disgrace. This was with concord. They arbitrated with thin yamani swords. I'timād Khān was in the kingdom. He tried to commit a mistake of smelling from the shukrā for himself an egg of the city which was rotten. An account of such examples as well as unusual words follows. He showed strength in enmity. It was an increased disturbance. It was not with himself except what the eye saw from the calamity of event. Kingdom had gone out of the heir. That was the trial for the faithful. They were shaken with a* severe quake. God has revealed about it in His noble Book. Hear it with wisdom. The statement of God is "And the disturbance is more severe than murder." It has come in the commentary that blasphemy in the Holy Place (Haram) is more severe than murder. Oh, it is greatest of murder to tolerate an unbeliever in Haram. It is said that trouble and calamity which descend upon man out of punishment are more severe than murder. A philosopher was asked "What is more severe than death?" He replied, "A desire for something in which there is death." It was hinted before in the preface from the histories.

* Original Text, p. 569.

It was an account about their misfortune. I do not shorten it less or more. What happened was mischief written for him. I deviated from it by smelling for the guided souls from the consolation with the breaths of Nāsiruddin, Qutb-ul-Yaqin, Shams-ul-'Ārifin Abi 'Abdullah b. 'Abd-ud-Dāyam b. Muhammad b. Salāmat Ansāri, may his grave be sanctified from his excellent panegyric where he has said:

> To him the existing beings clarify the desire of this power
> What he wishes by the manners that come to him
> Nothing is hidden for the community with the Beloved.
> It is a limit. It comes to light to the Lover.
> We give a free hand to them in the universe, from what
> He wishes and what is wished of him comes to pass.
> If you are surprised from this, there is no wonder
> For God has secrets in creation for you to see.
> There is nothing in the creation which is not without influence.
> And what is influenced is other than God.
> He whose desire is not sincere in the beginning.
> He desires pleasure with it in that what is more desirable.
> He was born in 731 or 732 and died on 27th Jamādi I 797.

(In the margin) shukrā is a horse which goes to strike the rider. He straitened the colt. He tore the belly. He stopped his mischief with edges of hoof of its feet: It was edge of the hoof. This horse belonged to 'Abdul Qais. It was refractory. People were afraid of him. None rode upon it. His owner rode upon it one day for being overthrown. It became restive with him. It passed by the border of a valley. It had become refractory. He intended to be firm with it. He made a mistake therein. He veered to the edge. Its neck* and feet got pounded. The man was sound and safe. He took its bridle. He went to his people slowly moving with the bridle. He was asked about the story. He said, "The shuqra did not recede edges of his hoofs. It went like a man who does not refrain from committing mischief. Similarly, the wazir above-mentioned became inimical and refractory. He intends mischief with others. It was first with him. "Egg of the city. Ibn-ul-A'rbi said," The proverb is that the egg of bounties which you abandon, none gets guided to it, it becomes rotten. Nothing remains near it. Such is the case with the above-mentioned in this event)

On 10th Zilhajj of 980 (1572), Sultān-ul-Hind returned from Gujarat to the capital of his kingdom Agra with its Sultān and Muluks and their followers except a party whose account will be narrated in their obituary. "God erases what he wishes and makes it firm. He has the Mother of books with Him."

* Original Text, p. 570.

It is a message to the people. It warns them with it and instructs th verily He is God, one for the mention of those who are possessed of wisc

*Martyrdom of horseman of the plain 'Imād-ul-Mulk Hasan Rustam K*

In Sha'ban of 980 (1572) Imād-ul-Mulk Rustam Khān got marty was one of the sons of Muhammed Sultān who had met together in that Broach. They all decided to march to Agra with Ibrāhim Mirzā, He to do what Sultān-ul-Hind did with him. In the meanwhile, he ac to return from him to it. Muhammed Husain Mirzā was in the neighb of Gujarat. The Sultān then marched to Khanbhāyat: They resolved attack from Broach. Rustam Khān questioned them, "Is he with them He replied, "I am against your enemy with you and if he were not, hi order for me to come for you to act upon. He showed the letter t They closeted themselves from him. They said, "His separation is not us. It is not possible that he should remain at Broach. He is alone. will be weakened. How. He is in the Sultanat. Permit him not to retu us except with his murder". They crossed the river. He lingered at They sent some one to summon him. He then delayed. He then repli they seize his arms and make him a captive, I will halt to perform ab say two genuflexions of prayers, recite prayers and submit the matter and surrender myself. He but cheered him like a sheep. Verily, to belong and to Him we return." First lesson: He who said two genuflex prayer at the time of assassination was Khulaib bin 'Adi Ansāri, Awsi, a of Badr may God be pleased with him. He was one of the ten who,we Abi Sulaimān 'Asam b. Sābit b. 'Asmat b. Nu'mān b. Mālek b. Uma Zabi' at b. Mālek b. Auf b. 'Amru b. 'Auf b. Mālek b. Aws Ansāri. Ha -i-'Abdul Birr, the best authority for this tradition said in "Al-Isti'āb w stated to him by 'Abdur Razzāk who narrated from Mu'ammar who n from Zahri who narrated from 'Umaru son of Abi Safin al-Thakafi who n from Abi Huraira may God be pleased with him. He said, "The Proph peace and benediction of God be on him, sent Suriya 'Ainā for it and ap 'Āṣim son of Thābit, grand-father of Āṣim bin 'Umar bin al-Khattb m be pleased with them as Amir (commander) over them. They marcl encamped on the road situated between 'Asfān and Makka. Al-Hay Hazail as said by Banu Seḥyān stated that there were nearly one h persons in all. They talked about their track until they joined them. they saw 'Āṣim and his companions, they retreated to Fadfad. Some arrived and they surrounded them. They told you about the pact an nant for having alighted with them and that they would not fight with 'Āsim said, "I will not alight under security of an unbeliever. Oh God

* Original Text, p. 571.

about us to your Prophet." They shot them and killed 'Āṣim with seven persons. Khabib bin 'Adi, Zaid bin al-Dathna and another man were spared. They gave them pact and covenant to alight with them. They alighted with them. When they overpowered them, they pulled out strings of their bows and bound them with them. The third man, who was with them, said, "This is the first perfidy. I refuse to associate with them. They pulled him. He refused to obey them and said that he was not of their stuff. They struck off his neck. They took Khabib bin 'Ādi and Zaid to Makka to sell them. The Kuraish sent some one to bring some part of the body of 'Aṣim to them to recognize him. It was a great carnage on the day of Badr. God sent upon them something like a shade of bees which stung those who were sent. They could do nothing. When they became helpless they said that the bees would not go till night-fall. At night, God, Honoured and Glorified poured down rain upon them and there was a flood. They failed to carry him. God intervened between them and he. Khabib was sold in Makka to Banu Ḥārith son of 'Āmir son of Nawfal. Khabib had killed Ḥārith on the day of Badr. He was kept as a captive with them.* When they assembled to kill him, Musā gave him as a loan to one of the daughters of Ḥārith to punish him. She borrowed him. She said, "I have become negligent towards my son." She wrote to him to come and take him away. She said, "Take him." He took possession of him. She saw him and lamented on recognizing him. Musā too did the same while he was in his hand. He said, "Were you afraid that I would kill him. This deed you did not commit." Ibn-i-Shihāb said, "She said that she had not seen a captive better than Khabib. I had seen him plucking grapes and eating them which today are found in a garden at Makka. He was fettered in iron-chain. It was the livelihood which God gave him." They then came out from the Holy Place with him to kill him. He said, "Permit me to perform two genuflexions in prayer." He said, "I am not in lamentation because of death." He was the first man to say prayers just at the time of murder. He then said, "Oh God!" They counted numbers and killed him in a scattered state. None was left from amongst them. He then said as narrated by Muḥammed bin Isḥāk al-Maṭlabi

The parters had assembled around me and destruction
Their tribes, every assembly had gathered.
Their children and their women came near
They were with lengthy lamentation
Every one showed enmity, striving
Upon me, for I was in extravagant fetters.
I complain to God for my exile after my hardship
Parties have assembled for me near my killing-place

* Original Text, p. 572.

And that is in the being of God, and if he wishes
He will bless joints to be torn asunder.
They had suggested unbelief and death
My eyes shed tears, nothing but tears.
There was no avoidance of death for me, I am for death
But I avoid heat of fire to cover me.
I was not humble to the enemy
And not with wails, for my place of return is God.
I was not careful at the time when a Muslim is killed
By God, my place is the grave.

Bin Ḥārith stood behind him and killed him. He turned his back. He was there as well as Abu 'Ubaidah al-Ābdari. He was done to death with pleasure. It was in the third year of Hijri. May God raise his place in paradise! Rustam was all pleasure in the form of a human being but in moments of anger, he had the nature of wild animals, may, he was almost a harmful beast in nature. His associate was not delighted with his cheerfulness nor with his jests. He al-* ways behaved with good manners avoiding harshness therein. He was dreadful in appearance and character. As far as possible, he laughed on few occasions in life and completely avoided jest. He who saw that beastly figure in device and disposition, would be drawn away from him. In respect of his limited laughters, what I heard from my lord, my authority, my brother, my support Abi Muhammed 'Abd-ul-Latif bin Muḥammed al-Madni, the famous secretary, who was with Rustam in the fort of Broach is: "One day, he sent me to Sharfuddin Mirzā. He had alighted with Muhammed Shāh Fāruqi on the outskirts of Broach. When I returned with his reply, I found him in a room which had a door. It was such a door that he saw who came to him but he was not seen. He had an iron mace in hand. A page of Sharafuddin had come in my wake. I did not know that. He stood on a side from the door of the room. He asked me, "Who is this?" I turned towards him and recognised him. I was not acquainted with the face of Rustam. In the meanwhile, I was in great fear of him. I saw him moving and throwing the mace. I was not in doubt about his intention for me. I got frightened and came out of the room. He called me with a soft voice. I did not understand any thing from his call. He entered. He laughed a little before me and said, "You doubted me for the lad. You are like a father to me. But I intended to change my sitting and so I threw it from my hand. He calmed down a little, stood up for the 'Asr (afternoon) prayer and asked me "Are you with ablutions?" I replied, "That behaviour made me without it." I saw him with a roar of laughter. He was disposed to it on other days also. He did not resolve upon anything and passed it in case

* Original Text, p. 573.

there was harm in it. He assassinated Ma'mur-ul-Mulk Suchah. One day, he was extremely in anger. He kept it a secret from him and killed him by his hand. The Mughals had brought most of the territory in their control. He planned the army and attacked them according to his capacity and dispersed his companions. Ma'mur-ul-Mulk was an independent absolute wazir in financial matters at the ports of Broach and from Surat to Daman during the regime of 'Imâd-ul-Mulk Aslân. Hs came to Bibi Sâheb, mother of Changiz Khan. He came out from Ahmedâbâd at the time of the event. He reconciled him with kindness for sufficient management of affairs confided to him. He then assassinated him and thus obtained everything that was in his hand. It was he who made known the rest of the wealth that was in the hand of different vakils* in various portions of territory. It belonged to Bibi Sâheb. With the help of this wealth, he treated with injustice, the surrounding places. This happened in the year 977 (1569). He killed Muhammed Lâri titled 'Ain-ul-Mulk. He. was Jâmdar ( cup-holder ) to Changiz Khân. He occupied a nearplace with him. At the fort of Broach, it was said about him to Rustam as to what made him to kill him. The knowledge of it affected him very much. He particularly feared the men of Persia and continued in this way till 'Âdil Khân known as at Banki left him. Rustam was of right faith with rigour in religion with malice against Rafezis in heart. They had assembled in the majlis of Changiz. Rustam presented them to teach them manners. He heard and saw from 'Ain-ul-Mulk and 'Âdil Khân what disgusted him. He had no power over them during the time of Changiz. His anger against Lâri subsided in his age. Al-Banki feared him and therfore avoided him. He had married the sister of Changiz. He condemned the Turks. He had an Arab associate who was a handsome youth. He was a liteary and learned men. His age was seventeen. He was disposed to hear from him the account of Ibn-i-Hamdun. He was a wonderfully shrewd and chaste man. Rustam was more chaste than he as the Prophet had said to his community in their time, " verily you learn what you intend to learn." He got intoxicated one day and descended in a pool of water in his majlis to cool himself with water. The youth was present. He ordered him to get down into water. There was none except young servants. Intoxication made him to jest in a manner he did not know. He swam to him and caught hold of his wrist bone and plunged him in water. He then raised him up. He found him holding back his breath in water in a manner of a laughing-stock. He laughed and left him in water and raised him up. He again laughed. He was miserable in his intoxication due to what he had drunk. He did not leave him till he stopped breathing in water. When he raised his head, he opened his mouth, showed his teeth, lifted up his eyes, slanted his neck, he considered that he laughs. There was a roar in his laughter and he plunged him

* Original Text, p. 574.

in water. When he raised him up and did not notice any movement in him and did not hear any speech, he shrank. He regained his consciousness from* intoxication. He sat upon the side of the pool and inquired about his condition. It was said to him that he was dead. He moaned for him and stood up in a sad manner and ordered his funeral. This became the cause of his repentance. There was no heir for him. He distributed in charity half of his blood-money. Rustam feared dissimulation. Harshness and barbarity were connected with him. Time rotated upon him. Members of his family turned to kindness. Substance of the account is: Had it not been for his might and valour, his life would have sobered down to knowledge of time and action. For that was real with the kingdom of one of the sons of Muhammed Sultān. Perfection is with God. His mace weighed thirty ratals. He revived the fame of Rustam-i-Zāl of bygone days. He was similar to him in fight at all places. Like Rustam, he did not butcher any one though in his control and did not smash any one of age and break last bone of his back. He did not waste his blood. Were it not for his oath with God, he did not pare off his finger-nails in moments of victory. There is no least account of it. His coffin was not carried from the earth when spread, through leaf of a door for example. There were many sons of Muhammed Sultān who were above treachery and disgrace. His character was equal [to Rustam-i-Zāl and Asfandiyār. Rustam-i-Zāl was from Persia while he belonged to Hind. His brother Shaghād bin Zāl questioned him about tribute of Kābul. Its ruler was Kābul Shāh. He carried it to him but he prevented it. He, therefore, returned in wrath to Kābul. Daughter of the ruler was in his wedlock. He carried her inspite of prevention. Rustam killed him. Kābul Shāh went out to a wood-land full of grass. He selected spacious underground holes containing sharp thorns on hind-parts and covering the front part with delicate screen. Shughād returned to his brother and said to him about the ruler of Kābul. He talked against him. He had forbidden him for payment of tribute. Rustom got infuriated and went against him. When he was in his territory, he met the ruler. He kissed the earth before him and washed his hands of what he had said. He walked in his stirrup bare-footed and bare-headed till he turned to him and pardoned him. He then asked him to return to that land to eat its ready dainties there by way of feast. He praised that land with great disposition and went with him to it. When he commanded its view, Kābul Shāh threaded a path to excavations, Rustom, in unawareness of his evil designs, heeded to greenness all around. He was in exultation on horse-back. When he was at the first excavation, he was on sharp pikes. Kābul Shāh disappeared from his sight. His brother Shughād remained on one side of him. Rustom bore serious pricking of pikes. He endured pain as far as he could and came out of the excavated ground. He sat on its border without

* Original Text, p. 575.

owning anything himself. He slept there. His brother stood there gloating. Rustam said to him, "Leave the bow by my side to ward off beasts of the* land." He did so. Rustam sat with difficulty. He aimed his brother with the bow. He fled from before him to penetrate the thicket of trees to take shelter. Rustam darted an arrow. It penetrated through the thicket and nailed him. Shughad perished. Rustam was rejoiced to hear something of his sigh at the time of departure of soul. He said for example:

To fire, then to go and who was like him
upon that thing. Sorrow comes to us.

He praised God on avenging himself from him before separation from the world. He also died in his wake. Asfandiyâr was the son of Gushtasp. He had promised him the kingdom on certain conditions. When he died, he said to him, "To you is left till the arrival of Rustam bin Zāl in fetters and chains. He would not be near me and he would not conquer my kingdom." Rustam was at Sistān. For this reason, it is known as Zābulistān in Persia as Kābul similarly is known as Kābulistân. Asfandiyâr marched against it with his son, Bahman. When he alighted on his frontiers, he sent Bahman in search of him. He was questioned about him. It was said to him that he was in his house. He climbed up a mountain and overlooked from that place. He was at its foot. He had arranged some wild animals on an iron bar. He was reversing them on embers. He ate when roasted. He had a jar of wine on one side to drink from. He saw his frightful and dreadful figure. He was wonderstruck. He tested him with a stone which was sent down rolling to him which was not about to miss to leave its place. It descended rolling. He raised his glance to its direction. It was not far from him but near him. He stretched his legs towards it and removed it from him with tips of fingers to a side from him. He connived at it. It increased whereupon he felt a surprise. He came down and sat near him. Rustam asked him his name and family. When he learnt about him, he treated him with politeness and put eatables and drink before him. When they were free from eating and drinking, Bahman said to him that he had come to summon him. He responded to him and met Asfandiyâr with good manners and courtly etiquette. He invited him to a feast at his house. Asfandiyâr said to him, "I was not with the doer. He did not clarify to you about arrival in fetters to Gushtasp. Rustam replied, "For the arrival, there is no excuse for it. For the iron, it was not my name in person with the offenders. It is fame of my name which they denied." Asfandiyâr said to him, "There is no captive with you to him." Conversation continued between them from softness to harshness and postponed for the next day. Rustam returned to his manzil and spent the night† there. In the morning every one of them made his appearance in the maidân.

* Original Text, p. 577. † Original Text, p. 576.

They spent their day in alighting and roaming till evening parted them. Such was the programme between them. Rustam remained with him and slept in his residence. In the morning, he came to the maidān. Rustam put on his mace and went mad saying, "throw him down with an arrow" and frightened him. When Rustam saw him thrown, he repented, groaned, wailed and wept. People assembled and mourned and wept. Asfandiyār recovered slightly and found Rustam and people in lamentation. He came face to face with Rustam and said, "This cup from which you drank it was necessarily for me. I did not drink it except with feeling meanness. I commend my son Bahman to you." He then left the world. (Rawḍat-uṣ-Ṣafā). When Zāl son of Sām received intelligence about Asfandiyār, his lamentation and grief became severe as happened to him through his son. He said to him, "Oh my son! I believe you killed Asfandiyār. Verily you kiiled yourself. I mentioned to him about place of murder; a discourse I had heard from the wise men before you were born at the time when our house would be destroyed after affliction to him. It was like that." After a little while, it was from Shughād what was. House of Sām bin Narimān titled Jahān Pahelwān got ruined at the hand of Shughād as stated by astrologers in his horoscope. Rustam had a son named Farāmurz in the country of Nimroz. He marched to Kābul and won a victory. He killed Kābul Shāh in a battle. He carried the coffin of Rustam from Kābul to Sistān and buried him in a subterraneanean place. His age was, according to the Persian, six hundred years. Bahman son of Asfandiyār marched to Sistān and faced Farāmurz son of Rustam, son of Zāl, son of Jahān Pahelwān Sām son of Narimān. It was a fierce encounter wherein Farāmurz was killed and Zāl was made a captive. He then ordered for vacating his path. House of Sām got ruined. "Every thing is perishable except His Face. To Him is the order and to Him you are to return."

On arrival of Zilhajj of the year, the deeds of the great amir Mirjān* Sultāni titled Jhujhār Khān came to an end by his martyrdom in a manner which cannot be thought of. The account of his martyrdom with what he hopes tomorrow of forgiveness is connected with him. A suggestion about it will be made. "All the sins, verily God will forgive them." Sincerity and faith of man will count. May God forgive the amir who was full of hardness and dread. He was a horseman, fond of horses, brave, intrepid, wise and statesmanlike. He was distinguished among men of his community by his character. Rumikhāniya mamāliks were literary men with courage, leadership and valour. Many of them were meant for rulership. What I noticed in their appearance, they had character, kindness and etiquette of society. They were perfect in elevation. I was most wonderstruck by their dignity. I am acquainted with

* Original Text, p. 578.

the Abyssinian victories written by Shihāb Ahmad son of 'Abdur Qādir son of Sālem son of Usmān, resident of Jizān called "Tuhfat-uz-Zamān." It is a history with which God the Generous and Obliging has obliged us. It is written by Imām Aḥmad bin Ibrāhim, may God the Compassionate, the Merciful show mercy to him. He has given an account of Dir. The above-mentioned Shihāb has stated about it in it. I received this intelligence from Imām Ahmad. He was in Harar, the city of Islām in the country of Sa'duddin. The Bishop Dajaljān, son-in-law of the king of Habash invaded the frontiers of Islām. He had six hundred horsemen and a large number of footmen. The Imām marched against him with one hundred horse. When he encamped at Uqm, a great river, he made inquiries. He did not find nearby any unbeliever. Amir Husain al-Jawātri made preparation to send seven horsemen to get information. He came across a large army on his way. He returned to the Imām and informed him about it to him. The Imām rode against that army. When he terminated at a mountain elevated on a place, the Imām climbed it up. Wazir 'Adali and the Amir Yarduh and Amir Ali were with him. They then commanded over the unbelievers. They were at a place called Dir. They flamed forth fire. The Imām encamped. He then came to the place. In the morning, all the unbelievers were there. The Imām pursued them. He was fighting in all magnificence as has been said.

Oh very well! voice of the announcer
Guarantor of morning, come for jihād ( fight for religion ).
When they ride, oh negroes! count them.
When they alight, they are pegs of cities.

The unbelievers learnt about them. They turned for war. The first who* assailed from the horsemen of Islām was Sultān Din bin 'Ali from the family of Yamal. He was from amongst valiant heroes. He dispersed them and captured the bishop Saruh son of bishop Bahlia from amongst them. He pulled him from his saddle and made him stand before the Imām. He then made a second assault and captured the second bishop. When the grinding stone-mill of war rotated, the motto of Muslims that day was "Yā Hu, Yā Hu (oh He! Oh He). The Imām was steadfast. No unbeliever came near him except to perish. Four hundred and forty-eight unbelievers fell in captivity. Besides, the cattle were in a very large number. No Muslim was killed. When they were disengaged from war, the captives were brought in the presence of the Imām. Banās was sent from amongst them to Zubaid for the Amir Salmān. He made them slaves. Amongst them were those who were killed and those whose were dispersed in tens. He returned triumphant to his city, Harar. His age at that time was twenty-one years. This event took place in 932, or

* Original Text, p. 579.

933 (1525 or 1526). It became clear to me that the captives of Dir of the Habashi army were the Rumikhänis. Its freemen and chiefs are not like the armies who came with them stealthily as well as cultivators (subjects) and officers. They distinguished themselves among their community-men in device and disposition, felicity and fortune. After Salmän, they were with the Amir Mustufä titled Rumi Khän. After him, they were with Safar Salmäni titled Khudäwand Khän. After him they were with Muḥarram Rumi Khän. After him, they were with his brother Rajab Khudäwand Khän under Wazir to his father Safar. He was his interpreter. He was Yäqut Safar al-Bahri titled Bahar Khän. Members of this house disagreed among themselves and thus the rot set in among them. Bahar Khän happened to be in prison of Sultän Maḥmud to the end of the days of Maḥmuds. This disagreement found its way into the House of the Saltanat. Thus the mamäliks came into existence. There is no wonder about their lofty dignity and honourable places. Amongst them was Sa'eed Sultäni alias Shaikh Sa'eed whose independent account of life will be given in the year of his death. Another man was Mirjän Sultäni titled Muhäfiz Khän. His account too follows. Another man was Yäqut Rumi Khäni alias Tawil titled Khurshid Khän. There will be his life-account. He* did not enter into the House of the Saltanat. Similarly Mirjän Rumikhäni alias Shämi did not enter into the House of Saltanat. He was an Amir with a standard and a drum during the regime of the Säheb (ruler) Muhammed Ulugh Khän. After his abandonment of the original House, he was with 'Imäd-ul-Mulk and in the party of Bijli Khän till power departed from Aḥmedäbäd in the year 966 (1558). He was then with Ulugh Khän till the descent of I'timäd Khän on Baroda, 967 (1559). He was then with Changiz Khän after his return from I'timäd Khän. He was then divested of the service of Mulnks. He left Broach and proceeded to the direction of Daman. He had persons obedient to him and sincere for jihäd. He assailed the firangis of the neighbourhood for plunder. He killed a large number of them. His affair was about to flourish. A gun was straightway aimed at him and he became a martyr. Sayyid Hadrami Taqiuddin Abu Bakr was martyred with him on the same day. His coffin was carried to Surat. Mirjän buried him at the pillar of the Qibla from the shelf of the dome where Safar Khudäwand Khän is buried. It has become famous for performance of miracles and sufficient vows. Every Friday night residents of ports and sea met together with an object of visiting the tomb under its umbrella. They beat the drum, played flute and hoisted banners and offered vows. On my return from Mecca to Gujarat in a boat of Surat named "Tezrav," I saw the boat, the port with a star of flag, cavalcade of clemency, horseman of the plain, the Akbari Amir Muhammed Qalij Khän He stood on an elevated place at the port, came with robes for chiefs of army of

* Original Text, p. 580.

the boat according to his habit. The first who cut the canopy and flag was the great, famous saint, resident of the ancient port at Surat, Manner or Rāner Mawlānā Shaikh 'Isā, may God benefit me through him. Then similar to him with an acceptable name in time, al-Mujāhid, ash-Shahid, Mirjān, may God benefit me through him. His martyrdom took place in the year, 967 (1559). But the subject of this life-sketch is Jhujhār Khān. Yāqut Ulugh Khān was his brother. He placed confidence in him. He gave an admonition to his son Muhammed Ulugh Khān. An account of their being in a state of unanimity was given before in connection with events of their life when he left his centre and house and Muhammed Ulugh Khān got him strongly established with I'timād Khān. He remained with him till the arrival of Sultān-ul-Hind. He met him along with all the members of his party. He did not choose reliance on him.* He was pleased with him in the beginning. He was distinguished with honour among all his equals. He made him safe and secure with the Saltanat and fell (in estimation). Ulugh Khān immediately became submissive to him. When he was made a captive, he did not utter abusive language. People used abusive language both in presence and absence in great Hind. Sultān-ul-Hind heard this language and digested it till he conquered Surat. Period of his descent upon it was three months. The army of Muḥammed Husain Mirzā was in Surat. When he returned to Broach, Bibi Sáheb mother of Changiz Khān presented herself before him and ordered him wishing for his blood. She paused in the beginning of the affair and said, "who is Jhujhār Khān that you spoke about him in respect of Changiz?" She then forced him to say that he killed him in retaliation. She did. He came out on a plane elevated in the plain with a bow and arrow in his hand. (Aliya was standing by his side) and the daughter of Maḥmad al-Sa'radi. He then came to Jhujhār Khān in his captivity and ordered him for the elephant. This affair was written in his respect before he was born. He did not know it for a time except God, the Holy. Verily to God we belong and to Him we return. I heard Sandal Ghālib Khān saying as to who were present at the place of murder. Yāqut Sultāni and Jhujhār Khān were in a balcony in his palace with a bow and arrow in hand as well as Ātiya and the daughter of Maḥmud. His two wives were with him. Yāqut darted an arrow at the elephant. There is no doubt that he killed him out of revenge. I refer to what I mentioned in the beginning of life account of the deceased. Sarhān, a merchant of Khanbhāyat was martyred along with him. The root cause of it was that Jhujhār Khān asked Maḥmud al-Sa'radi for the hand of his daughter. The proposal was accepted. Two years passed on this event. Maḥmud died and she forgot the talk. She was at Khanbhāyat with her relatives. Sarhān married her. Her relatives planned for marriage of the daughter. Sarhān sent for Yāqut known as Maghrabi to be present at the

* Original Text, p. 581.

marriage. He was Wazir of Mahaldār Khān. Mahaldār Khān permitted him for his need but did not allow him to remain present at the marriage. He set out from Maḥmudābād, fulfilled his need, apologised him and returned. There was a pause between Jhujhār Khān and Mahaldār Khān. He was asked as to* who married the daughter of Maḥmud. Verily it was Sarhān in appearance. Jhujhār Khān made a mention of her. He ordered his wazir Badr Sultāni to send him a letter for bidding him for the same. He had married her. He in vain shed his blood. Sarhān shifted from Khanbhāyat to Mahmudābād. He entered it secretly. Jhujhār Khān learnt about it. He kept quiet till Ulugh Khān went to Sher Khān. Sarhān lived in a village fortifying himself therein. Jhujhār Khān sent an army against him. They assaulted him. He yearned for her. They seized his wife after his assassination and carried her to him. She thus became his wife. She was with him till submission took place. He carried her and his wife Āliya to Sultān-ul-Hind. Both of them were under him till the end of his life. Officers who did justice in this matter, ignored Sarhān as his enemy. It was nothing except surrender. The body of Jhujhār Khān was deposited in a mausoleum at Broach. Ahmedābād was besieged in 981 (1573). His son Wali Khān and his favourite mamluk Farhān were in the army. He was a handsome youth, golden in colour inclined to redness and extremely shining with lustre. Besides, he was a brave warrior equivalent to one hundred in a row. He was in charge of cannons and everything connected with them. He came to Sarkhej with the coffin with their desire and buried him under a dome situated on a reservoir between Bilāl Jhujhār Khān and Yāqut Ulugh Khān. As I stated, he and the Sāheb (ruler) Muhammed Ulugh Khān used to be present in the morning of the night of the 'Urs (anniversary) of the lord of Sarkhej, may his grave be sanctified, after a visit to it to get his blessings. Jhujhār Khān used to say, "Perhaps, I feel to be interned at this place" pointing out the vacuum between the two graves. The Khān will agree to bury me and erect a structure over it." He said, "No, he who goes before from among us, will be consigned here." It so happened. The mausoleum is on two long rows. It has a sitting place, a room, a spacious enclosure for animals for training and a gate. The row of columns which is near the room is on the famous reservoir at Sarkhej in the neighbourhood of the illumined mausoleum over which there is a small dome elevated over pillars strongly resting that which is beneath it. In the row (of columns) which is adjacent to the long one towards the Qibla, like that in the first dome to the east, is the tomb of the martyr, Bilāl Jhujhār Khān, the first Malek from among the mamā-† liks of Saltanat. He was the first to be entombed. Among the four tombs, the second is that of Mandal Ulugh Khān Sultāni. The third one is adjacent to the tomb of Yāqut Ulugh Khān. Mirjān Jhujhār Khān's tomb is the third between

* Original Text, p. 582.

† Original Text p. 583.

the second one and that of Jhujhār Khān. I was present at the time of burial when Muḥammed Ulugh Khān came with the coffin. It so happened that there was some space near the tomb of his father. He was, therefore, buried between the tomb of his father and that of Mirjān Jhujhār Khān. He who entombed his father was rich enough to construct a tomb-couch wherein the two tombs were constructed. They were not removed for the sake of balance between equi-distant pillars. May God keep their graves pure and give them paradise by way of reward. The coffin of Aḥmad Khān, son of Muhammed Ulugh Khān was brought. It was the fifth dome towards the Qibla, which was open. I was affected by it on supposition that perhaps a stranger, not of this family may be buried there. May God forgive him for that. With the death of Changiz Khān, Jhujhār Khān firmly established his power in the kingdom. He ruled it with absolute power. He was proud of it. He was, in truth, confronted with matters which never hovered around any other person. One of them was the death of Changiz. No mother gave birth to such a brave child. It was due to the might of his one hundred horsemen that the champion horseman, Yāqut Ulugh Khān got martyred. He was aware of it. Martyrdom of such a horsemen of Khān Ulugh was equated with other two martyrs and more. It was this eulogy, in particular, of Khazima bin Sābit, may God be pleased with him. He was one of the amirs of Qarā Hasan Jahāngir Khān ar-Rumi and Bahri Khān. He was also a Rumi in charge of cannons of war. Shamshir Khān bin Shamshir Khān was an amir of high noble rank. He was noted for swordmanship and connected with our lord 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, may God be pleased with him. The number of his horses reached one thousand; he had forty elephants, one hundred and sixty cannons, and eight hundred attendants who carried his bows, guns and fire-stars. He had an iron-weapon, half a yard thick with wood on one side of it. His habit was to strike it moderately his community-men out of slight. It was six yards in length. When he fought in the army, he moved it in rotation. It worked with its iron and wood, the like of which a cannon* failed to do. It was more powerful than ten cannons. The gun-powder continued in it in a revolving manner like a grinding mill-stone. Its abominable dentation emitted sparks which dispersed crowds and made horses uncontrollable. Other means of destruction proved ineffective before it. A cannon suffered distress by it. Its sound resembled a thunder. Its flame was similar to that

* Original Text, p. 584.

of a lightning. Its stone penetrated through two or three men. He kept his army in proper array. It was completely equipped with arms and size. The soldiers were not paid in money till the period of their service was over.